Gen corresp file
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July 7, 1953

Dr. Howard W. Odum
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dr. Odum:

Many thanks!

I am sending a copy of the Ford appeal to you separately.

That is still our request. It is officially before the Fund for the Republic.

I learn subterraneously that the Fund for the Republic may well reach decision on it in the early autumn months. The Fund for the Republic has an informal Executive Committee composed of Paul Hoffman, George Shuster, Erwin Griswold, and Elmo Roper.

The other members of the Board, as you know, are: James F. Brownlee, Huntington Cairns, Charles W. Cole, Russell L. Dearmont, Richard Finnegan, William H. Joyce, Jr., Meyer Kestnbaum, M. Albert Linton, Jubal R. Parten, Mrs. William E. Stevenson, James D. Zellerbach.

In January or February of this year Marion Wright, as president of the Council, opened a contact with Chester Davis, of the Ford Foundation, letting him know that we needed $25,000 to keep us going at all. The Ford Foundation thereupon sent us $20,000, and that's what we have been living on this year, plus what else we could raise, as usual. There isn't enough to last us through the year. When Chester Davis sent the $20,000, he telephoned our office here from Pasadena, and the impression obtained at this end was that the Fund for the Republic would be unlikely to make any contribution to us disproportionate to what we could raise ourselves. That's a normal reaction; so normal that we are aghast over the prospect of teaching the Fund for the Republic that something major has to be done to break the vicious circle of no race relations work in the South. Ridiculous that from Virginia to Texas one cannot count more than fifteen paid people working full-time at race relations, and they are spread between the Quakers, and the Presbyterians and the Methodists and the Jewish organizations and the Southern

What we want is a sufficient sum to enable us to put paid personnel into each State and build in each State a vigorous organization, with its own membership and itsown sources of contributions. If we could subsidize that for about five years, I believe that in most of the States ways w ld be found to keep them going, and at a good level, after the subsidy was over. But we simply have to accustom each State to having an organization of that kind. We have shown in all these years that patient effort with volunteer officers won't do the trick. Neither can Southern communities rely on the normal Northern device of local or State appropriations. They ought to be had, but the businesspeople will not pay for them unless they see them and know what they can do. So it takes a good, stiff outside subsidy to launch it.

What we ask for, then, is $300,000 a year for each of five years. It's a little less than that in the early years and more in the later ones, making a total of a million five for five years. That gives a white person and a Negro person and a clerk for each State, a little to keep an office going in each State, plus enough to have three or four specialized research people in a central office, linking research work to be done in colleges and elsewhere with the actual needs of an on-going field program. Additionally, we would get out a central publication and would tie together the work done in the various State groups.

We've got the by-laws altered to meet those new arrangements if the money is available.

I have not myself had much contact with the Fund for the Republic. I've talked to one or two of their lesser people. But it seems best to let Marion Wright do the letter writing from the Council to the Fund for the Republic. But we all understand that the letters are proforma, and the decisions are taken on the basis of just the representation you could make there.

So do, please, tell them that they ought to come through this fall and really play a part in Southern race relations.

We've got Anna Greene Smith helping us for the summer, administering a program that hopes to start discussion groups, interracial in character, throughout the South, on how to comply with whatever the Supreme Court may say on the schools.

We have sent the Fund for the Republic two other letters. Copies enclosed. Though the program changes some, the real thing we want to do first is this matter of peaceful acceptance of what the Supreme Court will say, and that depends on organization and personnel, and that depends on money.

We try very hard to raise extra money ourselves, but have little success. Marion Wright is working on some of your fellow North Carolinians for goodly sums, but I don't know when that may come through.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL

July 3, 1953

RECEIVED
JUL 6
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

Some time before August I'd like to have some general idea of what your latest thought and strategy is on continuing the approach to the Ford Foundation. I still think we ought to get a million dollars. We are making a good many contacts with the Ford people lately, as you know.

I wonder if you could send me an extra copy of your appeal if they are mimeographed.

Cordially yours,

Howard W. Odum

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

HWO:n

February 5, 1954

TO THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC:

I hereby certify that the Southern Regional Council has not departed from the terms of the ruling by the Treasury Department of the United States establishing a tax-ecempt status for that organization; and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, that ruling is still in full force and effect.

Respectfully submitted,

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

By M. A. Wright

MAW:raj

MAY 20 1955

FBR
HCF
GTH
return to
GSM

FROM: The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
1 East 54th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

FOR RELEASE: 3:30 PM
Friday, May 20, 1955.

The following are statements by Robert M. Hutchins, President of The Fund for the Republic, and Earl B. Schwulst, President of the Bowery Savings Bank, at a press conference in the Bowery Savings Bank, New York City, Friday, May 20, at 3 p.m.

Mr. Hutchins:

"The Fund for the Republic has appropriated $100,000 to establish a Commission on Race and Housing that will conduct a nation-wide study of the housing of minority groups.

"Seventeen business men and educators make up the Commission. The Chairman is Earl B. Schwulst, President and Chairman of the Bowery Savings Bank, New York City.

"The Commission will study the difficulties of all minority groups in obtaining adequate private or public housing. It will give particular attention to the problems of Negroes in large metropolitan areas.

"The Commission will operate with complete independence. The decisions of the Commission will be based on its own investigation and will be arrived at without further reference to the Fund.

"The basic importance of housing is obvious. Those who cannot find a place to live or who are crowded into inadequate quarters and forced to pay an exorbitant price for them can hardly feel that they are enjoying the blessings of liberty. When bad housing rests on discrimination against persons of certain races, religions, and national origins, it constitutes a

major violation of the principles on which American society is organized.

"It is remarkable that no national survey of the facts has ever been made. The first job of the Commission is to conduct such a study. Its second is to make recommendations to the public based on the findings of fact.

"Now that segregation in public education has been legally settled, the greatest issue in race relations is housing, which is not unrelated to the problem of segregation in the schools. The Fund for the Republic is fortunate to have been able to enlist the services of such a distinguished group as the members of this Commission to tackle this pressing problem."

(The Commission is the fifth activity in the field of intergroup relations that the Fund has supported. It has made grants to the American Friends Service Committee - $141,500 for three years; the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago - $10,000 for one year; the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America - $10,000 for one year; and the Southern Regional Council - $240,000 for eighteen months. A description of the programs undertaken by these agencies under terms of the Fund grants is attached.)

Statement by Mr. Schwulst:

"I am pleased to announce the names of the distinguished civic leaders who are serving with me as members of the Commission on Race and Housing. They are:

Gordon W. Allport, Professor of Psychology, Harvard University;
Elliott V. Bell, Chairman, Executive Committee and Director, McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., Inc.; Editor and Publisher Business Week;
Laird Bell, Attorney, Bell, Boyd, Marshall & Lloyd, Chicago;
Rev. John J. Cavanaugh, C.S.C., Director of the University of Notre Dame Foundation, Notre Dame, Indiana;
Peter Grimm, Chairman of the Board and Director, William A. White & Sons, New York;
Charles S. Johnson, President, Fisk University;
Charles Keller, Jr., President, Keller Construction Corporation, New Orleans;
Clark Kerr, Chancellor, University of California at Berkeley;
Philip M. Klutznick, Chairman of the Board, American Community Builders, Inc., Park Forest, Illinois;
Henry R. Luce, Editor-in-Chief, Time, Life, Fortune, Sports Illustrated, Architectural Forum, and House & Home;
Stanley Marcus, President, Neiman-Marcus, Dallas;
H. C. McClellan, President, Old Colony Paint & Chemical Co., Los Angeles;
Ward Melville, President, Melville Shoe Corporation, New York;
Francis T. P. Plimpton, Attorney, Debevoise, Plimpton, & McLean, New York;
R. Stewart Rauch, Jr., President, The Philadelphia Savings Fund Society;
Robert R. Taylor, Secretary and Executive Director of Illinois Federal Savings and Loan Association;

"Substandard and/or racially segregated housing for minority groups create serious problems which on occasion have aroused tensions with a disruptive and damaging effect on community and national life.

"We are beginning our survey with as few preconceived notions as possible. We are going after the facts on what kinds of

housing minority groups are -- or are not -- getting, and why.

"We will attempt to find out how much of the minority housing problem is due to low income and how much is due to prejudice.

"While our study will be national in scope, we are especially interested in what is happening in our metropolitan centers. For instance, we would like to learn what these communities are doing to see that Negroes have access to decent housing, and what effective methods these communities have found for dealing with prejudices and racial tensions in both old and new neighborhoods.

"We know we are taking on a big job, but all of the Commissioners are convinced we will come up with some useful information and ideas.

"We hope at the end of the study to present some concrete and workable suggestions as to how government, private builders, realtors, financial institutions and civic groups can cooperate in bringing about better living conditions for all people.

"The first meeting of the Commission will be held on June 28. Until then I cannot estimate how long the study will take. I can only say now that we are extremely anxious to get started.

"The Commission will be assisted by a full-time research staff. Selection of a research director will probably be made at the Commission's first meeting after which the fact-finding part of the survey can get underway."

# # #

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

March 3, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic
1 East 54th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Since Frank Loescher's visit we have been busy with review of plans and budgets. Here is a revised request which the Southern Regional Council now makes of the Fund for the Republic.

It has been a tough thing to work out a program that would be sound and that would cost substantially less than that offered in our original request of May, 1951. One thing is on our side; the situation has moved on, and interest is greater in getting done locally what our program proposes. Hence we are emboldened to expect a larger proportion of locally raised funds than we had originally forecast.

We have made two serious sacrifices.

(1) We originally asked for enough money to let us start and run for five years a program in each of twelve Southern states. Five years, because we thought it would take that to cut grooves that the state programs could run on in, with local private or public funds. Five years seems not long for that objective, but we are willing to promise the best effort of all our people in the South to get that done in shorter periods. For the more difficult states, we've set a full four-year program. For those where the going should be easier, and local funds could come forward more readily, we've said three years.

(2) With the greatest reluctance we have eliminated the full-time service of associate secretaries (who would be Negroes) from the state organizations, and come to what is a poor substitute: three associate secretaries dividing their time between seven of the states which stand in greatest need of help of this kind. (Exhibit III) It isn't fair and square, and it is not the best start in the task of enlisting the whole-hearted cooperation of Negro citizenry in the developing program. It's what happens so often in things Southern: people say get it started with a mainly white staff, and in time it can do what's right on dividing responsibility between people from both races. And the time comes mighty slowly. To do it right, from the beginning and for three years, would cost another seventy-five thousand dollars. That would make a total of

six associate secretaries, serving full-time the states most in need, and affording some travel into the other states as well. This extra seventy-five thousand is not budgeted, though we still think it is a needful part of doing the job the right way.

One thought counterweighs. Though it will almost certainly be the judgement of each state organization that its full-time secretary at the beginning should be white, it is quite possible that in two or three years some of the states would operate in full effectiveness with Negro secretaries alone.

The whole budget, for the state organizations and for a central office, is set out in the attached exhibits.

We have carefully weighed each figure, balancing what is absolutely necessary for effectiveness against the heed for a supportably low final figure. I invite inspection, for example, of the budget for each state organization's first year. What business firm would put in a branch office on those figures for personnel and equipment and 'phone bill and travel? And we have agonized over each fifty-dollar increment or decrement in these items, to be sure we could offer what our state people would think workable, and what would meet the Fund's experience and purposes. The same is true for the central office. The expenditures proposed are inescapable if the job is to be done.

Back on the point of continuity -- three years and four years and five years. The people who must be asked to do the staff jobs, and the members of state organizations who must work cooperatively and give policy guidance and raise funds and do forward-looking things in their own communities have more than the normal American temptations to inactivity or lip-service. Livelihood, reputation, organizational commitments, the whole structure of Southern society is strained by this growth-from-within. We have to be in a position to offer tolerable security and tolerable continuity; else only the footloose and the ineffective will help.

On actual funds, we would be agreeable to whatever device you wish. Annual grants, each one after the first to be conditioned upon review of performance and of adherence to budgeted figures, would be, we think, a reasonable device. And for interim reports, we would be happy to submit quarterly accountings, and an annual audit of all receipts and expenditures by state organizations and by the central office. We ask the power of shifting funds as between the state programs, within a tolerance of say twenty per cent. We do not suppose that advance budgeting as herewith submitted could exactly match the give-and-take needs of developing state programs.

We think the program here attached would yield the things outlined in our original request, and in the subsequent correspondence with the Fund for the Republic. We are satisfied that the figures are as low as is workable. Also, we believe that in most if not in all the states the program undertaken would be picked up and carried along after the initial period of subsidy.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

EXHIBIT I

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Total proposed budget for State Organizations (6 states for 3 years, 6 states for 4 years)	$ 620,227.00	
Proportion of this budget to be raised by State Organizations	148,500.00	
Proportion of this budget requested from Fund for the Republic	471,727.00	
Less 10% for lapses	47,172.70	
Net amount requested for State Organizations		$ 424,554.30
Total proposed budget for Central Organization (Four years)	309,655.00	
Proportion of this budget to be raised by Central Office	194,000.00	
Proportion of this budget requested from Fund for the Republic	115,655.00	
Less 5% for lapses	5,782.75	
Net amount requested for Central Organization		109,872.25
Total amount of request from Fund for the Republic		$ 534,426.55

EXHIBIT II

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Total budget for 12 states

Alabama	(4 year program)	$ 66,920.00
Georgia	(" " ")	66,920.00
South Carolina	(" " ")	66,920.00
Mississippi	(" " ")	61,119.00
Louisiana	(" " ")	61,119.00
Tennessee	(" " ")	50,080.00
Kentucky	(3 year program)	37,710.00
Virginia	(" " ")	37,710.00
Texas	(" " ")	37,710.00
Florida	(" " ")	37.710.00
North Carolina	(" " ")	50,304.00
Arkansas	(" " ")	46,005.00

Total proposed budget for State Organizations $ 620,227.00

Proposed distribution of finance

1st year		
12 state organizations to raise $1,000. each	$ 12,000.00	
2nd year		
12 state organizations to raise $2,700. each	32,400.00	
3rd year		
12 state organizations to raise $5,200. each	62,400.00	
4th year		
6 state organizations to raise $6,950.00 each	41,700.00	
Total amount to be raised by state organizations		148,500.00
Amount requested from Fund for the Republic for State Organizations		471,727.00
Less 10% for lapses		47,172.70
Net amount requested from Fund for the Republic for State Organizations		$ 424,554.30

this

EXHIBIT III

Breakdown of proposed individual state budgets

First year

State Secretary		$ ~~6,000.00~~ 5000.00
Clerical assistance		2,500.00
Social Security		~~170.00~~ 150.00
Travel		1,800.00
Office		
Rent	$ 1,000.	
Furniture & equpt,	500.	
Supplies	400.	
Communications	600.	2,500.00

Total budget first year $ ~~12,970.00~~ 11,950.00

Subsequent years each

State Secretary		$ ~~6,000.00~~ 5,500.00
Clerical assistance		2,500.00
Social Security		~~180.00~~
Travel		1,800.00
Office		
Rent	$ 1,000.	
Communications	600.	
Supplies	300.	1,900.00

Budget for each of subsequent years $ 12,370.00

Proposed budget for Associate Secretaries to be shared by State Organizations
(3 secretaries to be shared by 7 states)

Budget for each year

Associate secretary	$ 6,000.00
Social Security	120.00
Travel	2,000.00
Communications	300.00

Total budget per year for Associate Secretaries $8,420.00

EXHIBIT IV

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR EACH OF 6 STATES HAVING 4 YEAR PROGRAMS

ALABAMA

1st year		
State Organization	$ 12,970.00	
Half cost of Assoc. Secty.	4,210.00	
		17,180.00
2nd year		
State Organization	12,370.00	
Half cost of Assoc. Secty	4,210.00	
		16,580.00
3rd year		
State Organization	12,370.00	
Half cost of Assoc. Secty	4,210.00	
		16,580.00
4th year		
State Organization	12,370.00	
Half cost of Assoc. Secty.	4,210.00	
		16,580.00
Total budget for Alabama - 4 years		$ 66,920.00

GEORGIA

Same budget as Alabama for four year period $ 66,920.00

SOUTH CAROLINA

Same budget as Alabama for four year period $ 66,920.00

MISSISSIPPI

1st year		
State Organization	$ 12,970.00	
One-third cost Assoc. Secty	2,807.00	
		15,777.00
2nd year		
State Organization	12,370.00	
One-third Cost Assoc. Secty	2,807.00	
		15,114.00
3rd year		
State Organization	12,370.00	
One-third cost Assoc. Secty.	2,807.00	
		15,114.00
4th year		
State Organization	12,370.00	
One-third cost Assoc. Secty	2,807.00	
		15,114.00
Total budget for Mississippi for 4 years		$ 61,119.00

LOUISIANA

Same budget as Mississippi for four years $ 61,119.00

TENNESSEE

1st year - State Organization	$ 12,970.00
2nd year - State Organization	12,370.00
3rd year - State Organization	12,370.00
4th year - State Organization	12,370.00
Total budget for Tennessee for 4 years	$ 50,080.00

EXHIBIT V

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR EACH OF 6 STATES HAVING 3 YEAR PROGRAMS

KENTUCKY

1st year		
State Organization	$ 12,970.00	
2nd year		
State Organization	12,370.00	
3rd year		
State Organization	12,370.00	
Total budget for Kentucky for 3 years		$ 37,710.00

VIRGINIA

Same budget as Kentucky for three year period	$ 37,710.00

TEXAS

Same budget as Kentucky for three year period	$ 37,710.00

FLORIDA

Same budget as Kentucky for three year period	$ 37,710.00

NORTH CAROLINA

1st year		
State Organization	12,970.00	
Half cost of Assoc. Secty	4,210.00	
		$ 17,180.00
2nd year		
State Organization	12,370.00	
Half cost of Assoc. Secty	4,210.00	
		16,580.00
3rd year		
State Organization	12,370.00	
Half cost Assoc. Secty	4,210.00	
		16,580.00
Total budget for North Carolina for 3 years		$ 50,304.00

ARKANSAS

1st year		
State Organization	$ 12,970.00	
One-third cost Assoc. Secty.	2,807.00	
		$ 15,777.00
2nd year		
State Organization	12,370.00	
One-third cost Assoc. Secty.	2,807.00	
		15,114.00
3rd year		
State Organization	12,370.00	
One-third cost Assoc. Secty.	2,807.00	
		15,114.00
Total budget for Arkansas for 3 years		$ 46,005.00

TT

RECEIVED JAN 21 1956

1/17/55

Dear George,

Everything fine now at home.

Thank you and Alice so much for a good week end.

See you Saturday.

Maybe the enclosed clipping could be used constructively.

Regards

Frank

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

November 1, 1955

Mr. Fred B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Fred:

Thank you for your note of October 28, the SRC Newsletter and the Georgia Committee folder. We are glad that you are keeping us posted.

Keep up the good work.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

November 9, 1955

Mr. Fred B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thank you for sending me the folders of Arkansas and Florida

I am also glad to have the word about Texas.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Frank Loescher

Frank Loescher

HW

Mr. Frank S. Loescher,
The Fund for the Republic Inc.,
60 East 42nd. Street,
New York 17, N. Y.

November 22, 1955.

Dear Frank,

Do use that good January for coming this way on a tour.

We don't as yet know what State meetings are up for January, but will know in early December, and will send in to you the dope, by December 5.

Here's a list of Board members, starred by Fred Routh.
I give you fewer stars:

Hodding Carter.
Jerome Crossman.
Paul Christopher.
A.W. Dent.
E.A. McDowell.
Fr. Shean.
Florence Sytz.
Marion Wright.
Carter Wesley.
Carroll Brooke.

Towns on a Southward sig-zag:
Staunton, Va, Carroll Brooke.
Richmond State office.
Chapel Hill, N.C. Guy Johnson and the others.
Charlotte State Office.
Mayesville, S.C., plantation home of J.M. Dabbs, wisest and rightest man in that State. For direction inquire of the mule collar dealer in Mayesville, or of Miss Rebecca Reid, Calhoun St, Sumter, S.C. (about seven miles from Sumter and seven miles from Mayesville.)
Columbia, S.C. State office.
Atlanta, office.
Montgomery, State office.
Jackson, State office. Greenville, Hodding Carter.
New Orleans, State office and A.W. Dent.
Austin, State office (under orders to do better, and maybe doing it).
Houston, Carter Wesley.
Mrs. Jas. B. Crate.
Chattanooga, State office.
Louisville, State office, on ice. See Hugh Brim at SBTS, Louisville.

Sheet 2.

Mr. Frank S. Loescher,
The Fund for the Republic Inc.,
60 East 42nd. Street,
New York, 17. N. Y.

November 22, 1955.

Any or all, and you'll be welcome everywhere. I suggest you hold final plan till we write you December 5, and then you write out, or tell us when and where and we'll write ahead for you.

Best wishes,

GSM:rl.
Encl.

Notice Dec. 5 Deadline, and please mark it.

LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Rm 303 Board of Trade Annex Bldg
New Orleans 12, La.

November 29, 1955

The annual fall STATE meeting of the LCHR will feature a forum on "How Can The LCHR Prepare The Communities In Louisiana For Integration". A. P. Tureaud, legal councel for the NAACP, and John McCann, Chairman of the Race Relations Department of the Catholic Committee of the South, will serve on the panel.

The temporary election of STATE officers, who will serve until the regular election in April, will take place.

The meeting will be held at the American Red Cross Building, 2000 Tulane Avenue, New Orleans, La. at 7:30 P.M. on Thursday, December 15, 1955.

Please make every effort to be present.

MCV/bac

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 22, 1955

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: ALL STATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS

FROM: Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director.

Frank Loescher of the Fund for the Republic will be traveling about the south in the month of January and will visit our state offices and confer with state organization officers. He is interested in attending any Executive Committee Meetings, or Board Meetings, or Annual Meetings that take place during that month. We would like to help him plan his itinerary to use his time most effectively.

Therefore, will you please send to me at once any proposed meetings that your organization will hold during the month of January. Please give this your prompt attention as we have promised to notify him by December 5.

cc: State Chairman.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

December 12, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED DEC 13 1955

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter of December 7. I appreciate the suggestions.

Here is a tentative itinerary:

Tuesday, January 3 -
11 a.m. - Washington: Jacob Seidenberg, President's Committee on Government Contracts
afternoon - Alexandria: Armistead Booth

Wednesday, January 4 - Lynchburg, Virginia
Profs. E. Wiggin and E. Brook
RMWC Pres. W. Quillian
Dunbar H.S. Prin. C. W. Seay

* Thursday, January 5 -
a.m. - The Rev. Theodore Adams
afternoon - Richmond, Virginia. Council on Human Relations

Friday, January 6 - Durham, N.C.
Prof. Waldo Beach, Duke University
(MacNeil Poteat, Wake Forest; Paul Guthrie, Chapel Hill)

* Saturday, January 7 -
night - Selma, Alabama
Alabama Council on Human Relations

Sunday, January 8 - ?

Monday, January 9 - (Little Rock, Arkansas: Arkansas Council on Human Relations. I am not going to promise at this time to fly to Little Rock unless you think it is important for me to be there.)

*Monday, January 9 (continued) - Note: I plan to visit state headquarters in Daytona Beach on the 9th.

*Tuesday, January 10 -
night - Birmingham: Alabama Council on Human Relations

* Wednesday, Thursday, Friday - January 11, 12, 13 -
- J. M. Dabbs, Magesville, S.C.
Columbia, S.C. Council on Human Relations
Charlotte, N.C. Council on Human Relations
Note: I am leaving this flexible. If any meetings are being held by S.C. or N.C. affiliates between January 11 and 13, I shall plan to attend. Otherwise I shall visit executives, try to see Father Shean, Dabbs, Hinton, and look around in Clarendon County by car. (Philadelphia Negro Baptist Churches have sent canned goods and money to NAACP for relief in Clarendon County.)

Saturday, Sunday, Monday - January 14, 15, 16 -
- The thought of a bull session sometime that weekend. (also Calhoun)

* Tuesday, January 17 - Jackson, Mississippi - attending meeting on Tuesday of Mississippi Council on Human Relations
* night - Mobile, Alabama - meeting of Alabama Council on Human Relations

Wednesday, January 18 - Alabama - Rent a car

* Thursday, January 19 -
night - Montgomery. Meeting of Alabama Council on Human Relations

* Friday and Saturday, January 20-21 -
New Orleans. Meetings of Executive Committee of SRC and Louisiana Methodist Women

Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, January 22, 23, 24 -
Texas. I am leaving this flexible. Possibilities:
Dallas: Jerome Crossman, Dallas Chamber of Commerce; Merrimon Cunniggim, SMU; Almita Robinson, AFSC.
Austin: Tom Sutherland and Associate
AFSC Former Regional Chairman
AFSC Regional Executive (Hutchins)
Houston: Mrs. James S. Crate; Carter Wesley; Jubal Parten, Fund Board.
* If there is a meeting scheduled of Texas affiliate, I would plan to attend.

Wednesday, January 25 - Fly north.

I have to be back in Philadelphia by Thursday, January 26. As outlined it's pretty heavy on Alabama, but that does give me a chance to explore one state somewhat thoroughly.

Arkansas, Tennessee and Kentucky are not covered. It looks like Arkansas, Tennessee and Kentucky will have to go over till spring.

I would appreciate it if you would note the starred dates and pass the word along.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:wo

Jan Frank Schedule

Mr. Frank S. Loescher,
Fund for the Republic,
60 East 42nd. Street,
New York 17.

December 13th, 1955.

Dear Frank,

A valuable meeting occurs at Macon, Georgia, January 16th. It had been scheduled for today and has been put off till then. Well-attended meeting of Ga. Interracial Committee, usually held in Christ Church (Epip). Worth thinking of when you finally plan your tour.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.

Jan Frank

Mr. Frank S. Loescher,
414 South 46th Street,
Philadelphia 43,
PENNSYLVANIA.

December 21st., 1955.

Dear Frank,

I still need to hear from you, in writing, that the January trip is to be more, or less, like the last letter that went up, with revised schedule. (December about the 15th). Then I'll notify the various folks as to when to expect you.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.

January travel

December 23, 1955

Mr. Frank S. Loescher,
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.,
60 East 42nd St.,
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

You scheduled and we scheduled you to be in Mississippi January 17. Now, belatedly, word comes from Mississippi that January 17 turns out to be the day they inaugurate a new Governor in Mississippi, and some important members of the Executive Committee could not get to a meeting that day. So they are moving their meeting to some other day in January (6th or 30th), neither of which you can make, I assume.

I will write them that you can not get to Mississippi.

I assume that Mobile still holds.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Loescher-travel

December 28, 1955

Mr. Frank Loescher
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd St.,
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

Harry Jones, Executive Director of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, has written that he expects to be in Durham, Friday, January 6, the day you are scheduled to be there, and will try to contact you.

He also notified us that McNeill Poteat died in Raleigh last Tuesday.

Harry will be stopping at the Washington Duke Hotel in Durham. We, of course, could not tell him at which hotel you would be stopping.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef/f

Mr. Frank S. Loescher,
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.,
60 East 42nd. Street,
New York 17,
NEW YORK.

December 14th, 1955.

Dear Frank,

I have done an altered schedule for you. Follow it or not.

As soon as you write me whether this is generally what you'll be doing, I'll write out to the State people (appropriate ones) to schedule their meetings. Nearly all are just happening, anyway.

Best wishes,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.
Encl.

Through January 7. just as you have it in your letter to me of December 12th, '55.

Monday, January 9, By all means go to Daytona Beach and visit the people there. The local wise man is Herbert Davidson, editor of the paper, and a Board member of SRC. Two able youngsters in our State office. Florida can get things done. The State PTA has recommended that all local (white) PTA's meet with Negro PTA groups, and prepare.

As to Arkansas, which you thought of; skip it. Too far, you have seen it, it is doing all right.

Tuesday, January 10. You said go to Birmingham. I advise against it, on grounds of distance. I know in this age people forget distance, but I'm tidy on travel, and I think it foolish to go to Birmingham to get to South Carolina from Florida! So head North from Daytona Beach, and take in more of North Florida (Tallahassee, by preference, as a stopping place, rather than Gainesville), and go on to Charleston and the low-country.

Wed. Jan. 10 thru Friday, Jan. 13. South Carolina and North Carolina. Do see Mr. Dabbs, at Mayesville, S. C., as to whom special note attached.

Sat. Jan. 14 to Monday, Jan. 16. Come to Atlanta, stay at George Mitchell's house if you can be persuaded, and we'll get the gang, not too many, out for talk and idea-growing.

Monday, Jan. 16. Let one of us drive you down to Macon for that day's meeting of the South Georgia end of the Ga. Interracial Committee.

Tuesday, Jan. 17. Jackson, Miss. Mobile that night - tough but manageable.

Wed. Jan. 18. Head North through Alabama, toward Montgomery. I have a close friend named Alvin Smith, owns a big farm a few miles north of Uniontown, Ala. (near Newbern). Worth visiting. Used to be a finance officer for a New Deal Agency; belongs to (an inactive) White Citizens' Council. Can tell you about both worlds.

Thursday. Jan. 19. Montgomery's local Chapter meeting.

Fri. January 20 Sat. January 21. New Orleans for SRC meeting, and the Methodist women P.M. of the 21st. I suggest you be on hand mainly for the 21st. so as to give the Exec. Com. some time to squabble policywise in simple zuzammenheit. Best hotel usually the St. Charles. Or you would be welcomed at Dillard. Meetings at Dillard.

Sunday. Jan. 22)
Monday. Jan. 23) Texas. I'll tell you what and where a meeting is scheduled.
Tuesday Jan. 24) Tennessee (Chattanooga) if you should prefer.
Wed. Jan. 25) Fly North.

Mr. Frank Loescher,

December 7th, 1955.

Dear Frank,

About January travel.

(1)	Thursday.	January 5th. afternoon.	Richmond, Va. The Board of the Virginia Council on Human Relations (the Board is the whole show) meets, beginning with a luncheon at 12.30 (probably in the downtown white YMCA.) They needed a meeting, and set it at this time partly in the hope of attracting you. So do go.
(2)	Saturday.	January 7th. night.	Selma, Alabama. The West Black Belt district of the Alabama Council on Human Relations meets. Selma is near the bottom in badness. Interesting meeting. Arrange contact with Robert Hughes, Montgomery, Ala., 2-0450. Or if you should arrive locally unannounced, spear into Selma University (Negro) and try for contact. Old Dr. Dinkins there would know or could find out.
(3)	Monday.	January 9th. day.	Little Rock, Ark. Executive Committee of Arkansas Council on Human Relations (fattened by local workhorses from the Board) in its regular meeting. Awkwardly soon after Va. meeting, but you could make it by air, and thence work back toward home.
(4)	Tuesday.	January 10th. night.	Birmingham District, Alabama Council.
(5)	Tuesday.	January 17th. night.	Mobile District, Alabama Council on Human Relations. Mr. LeFlore, NAACP would know about, or Fr. Albert Foley, Spring Hill College, nr. Mobile.
(6)	Tuesday.	January 17th. day.	Jackson, Miss. Miss. Council would be glad to schedule an executive committee meeting, if given sufficient notice (which needn't be a lot.)

Mr. Frank Loescher. December 7th, 1955.

(7)	Thursday.	January 19th. night.	Montgomery, Alabama. local chapter of Alabama Council.
(8)	Friday & Saturday.	January 20th, P.M. & night. January 21st. A.M.	New Orleans, Executive Committee of SRC meets, at Dillard University. If you could be there for some of the meeting it would be a fine occasion. We all need to be briefed on New York events, and it would give us a good chance to bring you up to date on the Executive Committee. They will wish some of the time to wash their own linen. Suppose you tried to show for the Saturday morning (or for Friday, as might suit you). On the Saturday afternoon I speak elsewhere in New Orleans to the Louisiana Methodist women, in a Statewide training meeting. I think you would like it, and would get a noble chance to judge the temper of things.

Florida, Texas, or indeed any of the others would arrange some gathering of clansmen if they would know a bit ahead of time when you might come.

Suppose you make up a tour, let me know, and I'll tell them when you'll be in the various States, and we will do what is proper. I conspire with you to keep out all trumpetings, one way or another, and to try to make visits natural and merely revealing.

The cities where our State offices are, for convenience, are:

Richmond.
Charlotte.
Columbia.
Atlanta.
Montgomery.
New Orleans.
Austin.
Little Rock.
Chattanooga.
Louisville (temporarily without office space).
Jackson.
Daytona Beach.

You are much welcomed here at Atlanta, at any time. Let Atlanta be home base, use it for mail or messages to be received or forwarded, etc.

Sincerely yours,

GSM:rl.

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.).

Dec 5, 1955.
4435 Blenheim
Louisville, Ky

Mr Fred Routh
Atlanta, Ga

DEC 7 1955

Dear Fred —

A thousand pardons for this delay — we have decided on an Executive Committee meeting on either Jan 14th or Jan 21st whichever will fit your schedule for Mr Loescher. Please advise us —

Cordially

Sig

5 Dec '55

Jan. 5th Luncheon 12.30 Richmond, Va.

Jan 7th West Black Belt (Selma) District meeting - Ala.

Jan 9th Exec. Comm. meeting Little Rock Ark.

Jan 17th Exec. Com. meeting Jackson Miss (if requested)

Jan 31st Ga. Bd meeting in Atlanta.

Fla - any Sat except Jan 3rd in Daytona Beach (if requested)

Texas - will call State Advisory Committee in Austin on request -

Dec 15th La. annual meet in N. Orleans -

Dec 20th Miss. meeting of new Bd. & Dir.

GSM

Here is the correspondence thus far received. Suggest you send it on to Frank and let him write our people directly.

Haven't heard from: Ky - N.C. - S.C. - Tenn. yet.

S. Jan 1
M " 2
T " 3 — Wash. as the crow's.
W " 4 — Lynchburg
T " 5 — Richmond — Board of Va C H R
F " 6 — Durham, as the crow's
S " 7 — Selma. Ala.
S " 8
M " 9 — ~~Pomeroy Little Rock~~ Pomeroy Daytona Beach
T " 10 — Birmingham — wk ACHR (dilute)
W " 11 — S. C. N C Cola
T " 12 — 2 Pres. SC Board weeks Charlotte
F " 13
S " 14 — Alcorn? — discussion
S. " 15
M " 16 — Macon — * Macon.
T " 17 — Jackson, Miss. (* Cotton Conf. Wolfe) — Mobile at night.
W " 18 — Alabama driving
T " 19 — * Montgomery. (local chapter)
F " 20 — New Orleans.
S " 21
S " 22 — * Conf. Ala. Schools — wk of Texas outlet.
M " 23
T " 24
W " 25 — Pine Bluff.
T " 26
F " 27

Through January 7, just as you have it in your letter to me of December 12, '55

Monday, January 9 By all means go to Daytona Beach and visit the people there. The local wise man is Herbert Davidson, editor of the paper, and a Board member of SRC. Two able youngsetrs in our State office. Florida can get things done. The State PTA has recommended that all local (white) PTA's meet with Negro PTA groups, and prepare.

As to Arkansas, which you thought of; skip it. Too far, you have seen it, it is doing all right.

Tuesday, January 10 You said go to Birmingham. I advise against it, on grounds of distance. I know in this age people forget distance, but I'm tidy on travel, and I think it foolish to go to Birmingham to get to South Carolina from Florida. So head North from Daytona Beach, and take in more of North Florida (Tallahassee, by preference as a stopping place, rather than Gainesville), and go on to Charleston and the low-country.

Wed. Jan 10 thru Fri, Jan 13 South Carolina and North Carolina.
Do see Mr. Dabbs, at MAYESVILLE, S.C., as to whom special note attached.

~~Sun~~
Sat Jan 14 to ~~thru Sunday~~ Monday, Jan. 16 Come to Atlanta, stay at George Mitchell's house if you can be persuaded, and we'll get the gang, not too many, out for talk and idea-growing.

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Mobile that night tough, but manageable

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~~xMx~~
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(over)

Exec. Comm. some time to squabble policywise
~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ in simple ~~zuzammenheit~~
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hotel usually, the St. Charles. Or you would
be welcomed at Dillard. Meetings at Dillard.

Sun. Jan 22
Mon. Jan 23
Tue. Jan 24
Wed. Jan 25

Texas. I'll tell you what and where a meeting
is scheduled. Tennessee (Chattanooga) if you
fly North should prefer.

Note on J. M. Dabbs,

For a goodish spell taught English at Coker College, at Hartsville, S. C. For a second marriage married a former Coker student, and thereabouts in time unexpectedly inherited a plantation home. (Had a farming brother whom J. M. D. thought was to get both places, but one came to J.M.D.) Gave up teaching and went to live on the place. Huge, incredible house. Remaining land not much - at a guess 160 acres. Lord, what a house! Once when I was there J.M.D. said he had that year lost 50.00 on his cotton crop, but his wife made 2000 on her chickens, and they had lived on that.

Active in a Brick Presbyterian Church nearby, and of the utmost skill in his writings in the Presbyterian Outlook, in Richmond, which serves the Southern Presby Church. Straight, honest - a real Christian.

Sometime Chairman of the S. C. Division of SRC, and recently elected to our Board and Executive Committee - though as yet I haven't written him to notify and invite him!

Directions to reach:

NOTE ON J. M. DABBS:

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Directions to reach:

9SM - Article - 1955

None
Orig + 2

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
& Mr. Hoffman.

December 27th, 1955.

Dear Frank and Dear Mr. Hoffman,

Frank Loescher said I should write the two of you with views on what to do about Southern agriculture.

I'm a partial witness. I like the little guys. And they have been unimportant, except to do the work, in Southern agriculture. They are voiceless, completely unorganized, and weakened by years of poverty and the slow squeezes that move them out and off.

Benson put out a pamphlet recently (copies herewith) that reviewed the plight of the little fellows all over the country. Startling figures on low incomes. And fierce concentration of the bad conditions in the South. See where the red places are on the colored map - all of them Southern except some Indian country in New Mexico. I read Benson's pamphlet with care. It says help the best of the little guys to stay in and get bigger, and let the others out as easily as you can. Recruit 'em to industrial jobs, retrain 'em for non-farm work, and so on. It's the old Hoover theory that if you squeeze off or rub off the submarginal farmers (who are posited as distressfully spoiling the market for the bigger and better farmers) you will restore a situation in which the honest-to-goodness farmers (as distinct from the poor little guys) can ask prices that will be rewarding.

The tangible basis of this line of argument is the fact (I have no figures to dispute it) that some tiny upper percentage of all the farmers in the country make some huge proportion of the marketed crops. In other words, the little guys don' really count; it's the big farmers that grow the stuff, and they're the boys to look after.

I'm still for the little guys.

The North and the West grew up with the family farm. It is the backbone of their deomcracy. I believe in distributed ownership of property.

It is one kind of conservation I'm for. The South never went for the family farm, except in the mountain country and in the Piedmont country. The whole great costal plain fell into the plantation pattern. There are some family farms in it (some of them hot-house grown in the last few years), but mostly the habit is several hundred up to several thousand acres, and tenants or croppers or day-laborers. Out of that pattern comes most of the misery of Southern attitudes and Southern politics and Southern racialism. We don't really get over what's wrong with the South until we get good big gobs of basically equal land-tenure into the old plantation areas. Extra important because by a queer history, these old plantation areas, which have been losing people for forty-five years, never lose seats in State legislatures; hence they have a political hammer-lock on a South turning to towns and to factory jobs. People play a new game; politics plays the old one, learned in slavery times.

Years ago a farmer in North Carolina took me out behind his barn. "Mitchell," he said, "my daddy was a blacksmith. He taught that nothing won't weld on the first heat. Hot it up one time, and cool it off. Hot it up the second time, hammer it together, and it'll stick."

The first heat was the New Deal Farm Security Administration and its poor battered successor, the Farmers Home Administration. By a succession of accidents the country hit on a trick that worked. All of a sudden in the depths of the 1932 depression there were two million farm people on relief. This country had never had anything of the kind before. We had only one technique for relief; shoo out some city-type social workers, with grocery-orders, and feed the poor guys. The old Federal Emergency Relief Administration began doing it. Thenssome landowing farmer, mostly in the South, seeing the social-worker-types tooling down the country road in autos at so much a mile paid for by the Government, said "lookahere. If them fellows keep on passing out grocery baskets the tenants ain't going to make no crop. Why should they? And yet they've got land, and time, and country knowledge. They could grow their sump'n t'eat. But that city guy can't teach 'em nothing. Now, here's my boy Will. He's back from the Ag College where I sent him, and he can't get no job. Why don't the Government hire Will to ride in that auto, and Will, instead of giving out groceries, will give out seeds, and ploughs, and fence-wire, and he can stay behind those folks, and teach 'em how to grow studd, and do all right, and git offa the Government's hands." FERA Hired Will. Then they hired Willela, his sister, fresh back from the Home Economics place. Then Will and Willela, after some experience said,"Usually we don't really need to give these people these things. We could lend them the money, and they could learn enough pretty soon about using the new trip to pay back the loan." They did that too. And that was the trick. That married credit to teaching. Government gave the trick a long name - called it "rural rehabilitation." They fixed up at least a million farm families with that device.

Point is that if a smart Government agent goes to a really poor man and says, "Brother, there's a new way to farm, and it will cost fifty dollars to try it. Why don't you try it?" the poor man will answer to himself, "I'm bumping bottom the way I'm doing. If I put fifty dollars on that thing two of my children will starve." So he is polite, but he doesn't"learn." He has the conservatism of the very poor. Go at him with this other scheme, and he behaves differently. Offer to lend him fifty for the new way, saying he's to pay it back if the thing works out, and the Government will come and pick up the rusty junk if it soesn't. He'll try. And chances are, if you work with him steadily, he'll climb out.

Catch is you have to pay off pretty heavily for the teaching.

And then a banker comes and says to a Congressman. "These FSA loans - what's the percent of administrative overhead?" Well, it's a devastating per cent. But it teaches the very poor how to come through. And it is richly worth it.

The banker and his friends years ago got the Congress to stop talking about rural rehabilitation and supervised credit. Congress just says loans. But each family that gets a loan makes a farm plan, worked out with the Government people. And the government lends him money because he and the Government both believe that if he follows the plan, he can pay the loan.

Now you've got that machinery in operation. Dampened down, spread too thin, deprived of the home economists who put courage into the farm wives. But there, and capable of having life breathed back into it.

That machinery sprouted a branch of itself that learned how to make owners out of tenants. Never mind how; they know, and it pays out - or rather the tenants do, handsomely.

Next problem: farm land leases. I enclose a memo to save typing. Thing to notice is that such a plan costs next to nothing. It just means stirring the Extension Service to do its decent duty. Far fetched, but draw a parallel between the man Vinoba Bhave in India and some saintly Extension guy who would shove through a real campaign on it in US. And - we wouldn't be giving the land away, only renting it out on reasonable terms.

Turn to Extension. Here's a bit of carefully concealed info, which is what makes the wheels go around. In most Southern States, as far as I know in all, county agents are paid from three sources. Say the man gets a basic 4000. Two thousand will come from a U S Congressional appropriation to the Extension Service. One thousand will come from a State appropriation to the State Extension Service. And a thousand comes from their honors, the County Commissioners, or the County Court, or whatever is the local governing body. Fair enough, and looks democratic, and a sharing of responsibility, and ninety-nine out of a hundred Americans would defend the deal. But assume an ambitious agent, with a wife and two kids. He needs five thousand. "Dear Mr. Eisenhower. I am an ambitious county agent. I get four thousand. Please pay me five." Reply. "Sorry, no can do!" Man writes to the Governor; same reply. Man tells his hard-luck story to the local county big-wigs, and they pay off. Five thousand, six thousand, seven thousand. Whose grapes does he prune first? Is he for the tenants and the laborers, or sympathetic with the woes of the landlords? Thus, the whole machinery, in plantation counties at least, is tied down like Gulliver. Point: we don't pay teachers that way. We spread as good a quality of education in the bum counties as in the good, and think we should. I say let's put the best agents in the poorest counties; they need the work the most. Takes a revolution in Extension, but from the Benson report a little thought has been going to this sort of thing. Slogan: "Equalization."

One reason why county agents fuss at FHA and SCS officials is because these men are 100% federal in pay. Which means these men can buck the local powers that be. Which few county agents think is decent.

Brannan plan. The newspapers and the Farm Bureau just said, "Ain't that awful." And they never told the public what it was. It was and is a scheme to pay a minimum wage to farmers. As introduced it was watered down a long, long way, but the germ of it is the idea of decent annual earning for working family farmers. Figure out what such a family should get, on an average ($4000?). Figure out what he can grow. And what he gets. And what he would have to get for what he grows, to net his four thousand. And pay him a price per unit of his stuff, that he raised himself, which price will come out at the desired figure. Say he ought to make ten bales. Pay him for his ten what will decently contribute toward his four thousand. Is that 80¢ a pound? Pay him eighty, for his ten. His No. 11 he takes to town and sells at the market, which may be 19¢. Fair enough. Farmer prospers, housewife gets cheap sheets, U.S. Cotton saves its foreign market. And the money has gone to the man who needs it; not to somebody who makes a thousand bales a year. Notice also this, in my example, out of all recognition, but a pressure that could and should be built into whatever modified Brannan plan comes into use. The big landlord, receiving a lot of rent cotton, would have to sell that rent cotton (as distinct from any cotton he raised with his own sweat) at the market. Second year Mr. Landlord would be around knowcking on the tenants' door. "Will, did you evertthink about buying the place offa me? With the way the Government does now, you'd get the price, and I would sell it to you reasonable." So putting the help on the ordinary guys would help them become owners.

It takes administrative money, for a teaching effort. But that can succeed.

Politically hard to manage, because these little guys don't vote. And they don't vote because they are tenants, and are in the hollow of the landlord's hand. Circle.

Further remedies. Help the little fellows to organize. Help the National Agricultural Workers Union, A.F. of L., to organize the Farm Laborers. Yes, retrain some farm people. Better rural housing. Better schools in the country places. Better roads. Make the experiment stations find out how to mechanize the medium and smaller places. Farm enlargment loans work well. Bring in some mills, near the plantation.

Not so that it takes a big place to succeed with mechanization. It does under Southern institutions about race and tenure; it needn't under a system with greater liberty, and greater security on the land.

So, I say: Find what will most help the fellow of medium to a bit under medium size. Get him security and faith and hope, and you'll get production, with a land-loving people out in the county.

Rambling. There's more that could be said. But this is the problem.

Sincerely,

STATE COUNCIL

CORRESPONDENCE

(Loescher's travel contact at Dillard Schedule)

Send to members list of State Officers & State Officials

Byrum

Box 3

Remind

Guy Wells
Invite

MEMO

FROM: GSM

TO: GSM

SUBJECT: IN REGARD TO FRANK LOESCHER'S TRIP

I should notify Jack Mayton that Loescher will attend Richmond board meeting Thursday, January 5. Does he know time 7/2:30

I should notify Robert Hughes that Loescher will attend Selma, Alabama meeting Saturday, January 7.

I should notify Bill Williams that Loescher will be at Daytona Beach Monday, January 9. As far as I know, no meeting is there scheduled.

I should notify Spearman and Jones that Loescher will be "spearing around" N.C. and S.C. January 11-13.

I should invite suitable persons to GSM's home for discussions January 14 and 15.

I should notify Guy Wells that Loescher will attend Macon meeting January 16 and he must arrange transportation to Macon for him. See Fred - will drive him down.

I should notify Mrs. Lyells that Loescher will be in Jackson daytime January 17 and Mrs. Lyells should arrange executive committee meeting that day.

I should notify Bob Hughes that Loescher intends to go to Mobile district meeting night of January 17.

I should notify Bob Hughes that Loescher will be at Montgomery local chapter meeting Thursday, January 19.

I should notify executive committee members or at least MAW that Loescher will be at New Orleans January 20 and 21 attending SRC meeting January 21.

I should notify Tom Sutherland that Loescher will be in Texas between January 22 and 24 prepared to attend any scheduled meeting. Loescher also hopes to see Porten in Houston that trip.

Fred Rocks will drive him to Macon

December 27, 1955

Rev. John H. Marion, Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations
100 E. Franklin Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Jack:

Frank Loescher will be in Richmond, Thursday, January 5, and plans to attend the Board meeting you have scheduled for that day.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef/f

December 27, 1955

Mrs. E.H. Spearman, Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1508 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Spearman:

Frank Loescher will be footloose in NC and SC January 11-13. If trails cross, be helpful to him.

If any meetings are being held at this time, he will plan to attend. Otherwise, he is planning to see Father Shean, Dabbs, Hinton, and look around Clarendon County by car.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef/f

December 27, 1955

Mr. Thomas S. Sutherland, Executive Director
Texas Commission on Race Relations
309 West 21st Street
Austin, Texas

Dear Tom:

Frank Loescher will be in Texas January 22-24. He is leaving his travel schedule in Texas flexible. If any meetings are scheduled, he plans to attend.

Among others, he hopes to see Jubal Parten in Houston sometime during his visit.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef/f

December 27, 1955

Mr. William K. Williams, Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
324 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Bill:

Frank Loescher is planning to be in Daytona Beach, Monday, January 9. Unfortunately, his travel schedule will not permit him to be there on a Saturday, as you suggested, nor will it permit to visit other Florida communities.

Nice if you could have a few of your local stalwarts, at least, to meet him. I expect he'll be in Daytona Beach for the nooning hours, anyway. He's at Selma, Alabama, the day before, and at Birmingham the day after.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef/f

December 27, 1955

Dr. Guy H. Wells, Executive Director
Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

Frank Loescher is planning to attend the meeting of the Georgia Interracial Committee in Macon on Monday, January 16.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef/f

Jl - Loescher - travel schedule

December 27, 1955

Mr. Harry S. Jones, Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 East Third Street, Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Harry:

We know this much about Loescher's travels in North Carolina: He will be in Durham Friday, January 6. He intends to hunt up Waldo Beach and Paul Guthrie and did want MacNeil Poteat.

January 11-12-13 Loescher is footloose in the two Carolinas. We don't know what he wants to do or who he wants to see, except various of the South Carolina ones - Dabbs, Hinton, etc.

We are notifying Loescher that you will be at the hotel in Durham January 6th. I feel sure that Frank Loescher will try to help, but the man is an independent empire.

We don't know where he will stop hotel-wise.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

December 27, 1955

Reverend Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Frank Loescher will be in Alabama the following days in January, planning to attend these three meetings:

January 7 - Selma meeting
January 17 - Mobile District meeting
January 19 - Montgomery Local Chapter meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef/f

January Travel Schedule

December 23, 1955

Mrs. M.J. Lyells, Executive Director
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
1104 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Lyells:

Loescher had scheduled himself to be in Jackson at some considerable inconvenience January 17. But as you have had to move your meeting away from that date, I have written him not to come that day. His schedule will not permit him to be there January 6th or 30th.

I am devoted to Mrs. Ratliff.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

December 23, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Marion:

Frank Loescher is planning to be in New Orleans January 20 and 21, and will be attending the SRC meeting there January 21.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

mef/

I did not invite Frank for the whole meeting, but only for some single session. I remember your view at the time of the Board meeting that the independence of the show would be called into question. But Frank is touring the South in January, will have been to many States, can give the Comm. helpful info, (and appraisal of how SRC stand with F of R) and is anxious to meet you, and for this occasion we have you on exhibit. So I hope he may come. I will be responsible for steering him away enough for the Committee to have privacy enough. GSM

Florida Council on Human Relations

324 S. BEACH ST. - DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

December 23, 1955

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

If we are to co-ordinate our Board meeting with Frank Loescher's visit - we must know immediately when he will be here. Has his itinerary been settled?

Wm K Williams Exec. Dir.

North Carolina Council on Human Relations

Room 209
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, N. C.

affiliated with the
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

An organization of forward-looking citizens for a fuller realization of our American ideals of democracy and freedom.

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W. L. GREENE
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CAMERON McRAE
BURNSVILLE

LORIMER MIDGETT
ELIZABETH CITY

LEON RUSSELL
ROCKY MOUNT

GERTRUDE WEIL
GOLDSBORO

Loescher not fed

December 23, 1955

RECEIVED DEC 27 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

You probably heard the sad news, but I want to make sure. Edwin McNeill Poteat died in Raleigh a few days ago--I believe it was Tuesday.

Am sorry that Loescher cannot attend our meeting. If you write him, please tell him that I expect to be in that area on Friday, the 6th, probably stopping at the Washington Duke Hotel in Durham. Will try to contact him.

Wishing you a very Merry Christmas.

Sincerely,

Harry

Harry S. Jones

Mr. Frank S. Loescher,
414 South 46th Street,
Philadelphia 43,
PENNSYLVANIA.

December 20th, 1955.

Dear Frank,

Re January trip.

Note that on Wednesday, January 11th, you are loose in the Carolinas. The S.C. Council on Human Relations has scheduled for Wednesday, January 11th, at 2 P.M. a quarterly Board meeting of that Honourable Council. They hope very much you can be there. I am notifying Mrs. Alice Spearman, at 1508 Lady Street, Columbia, that it is quite likely you will attend.

The Quarterly Board meeting will be at the Methodist Center, 1420 Lady Street, Columbia.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.
c.cs.
Mrs. Alice Spearman.
Fred Routh.

Mr. Harry S. Jones,
North Carolina Council on Human Relations,
Room 209,
121 East Third Street,
Charlotte, N. C.

December 20th, 1955.

Dear Harry,

Loescher's on his schedule booked for a meeting of the Board of the Virginia Council on January 5th, the day you will be meeting in Chapel Hill. But Loescher has written us that he intends to be in Durham, N.C. Friday, January 6th, mostly visiting friends at Duke, including Waldo Beach at Duke, MacNeill Poteat at Wake Forest, and Paul Guthrie at Chapel Hill.

So if in the aftermath of the Chapel Hill meeting you or others should be thereabouts, contact could be made with Loescher through these people.

Good of you to schedule meeting at Chapel Hill, and we wish Loescher could get to it, but he obviously can't.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.
c.cs.
Frank Loescher.
Fred Routh.

Weather Travel

North Carolina Council on Human Relations

Room 209
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, N. C.

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An organization of forward-looking citizens for a fuller realization of our American ideals of democracy and freedom.

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Executive Committee

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GERTRUDE WEIL
GOLDSBORO

December 19, 1955

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Our Executive Committee will meet in Chapel Hill at 1:30 PM on January 5. Our usual meeting place is Room 407 Alumni Building. We will meet there unless I notify you otherwise.

Please let me know as soon as possible whether or not we may expect Fred Loescher to this meeting. We would be happy also to have you or any other member of your Atlanta staff.

Sincerely,

Harry

Harry S. Jones
Executive Secretary

HSJ/s CSM

PS on letter to Frank?
FBR

Arkansas Council On Human Relations

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
211 IZARD ST.

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.

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November 30, 1955

DEC 2 1955

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred Routh:

We are pleased to hear that Frank Loescher will be in these parts in January. Our regular meeting of the Executive Committee will be January 9. Our tenative plan is to invite other members of the board for that meeting, which would make a good occasion for Frank Loescher to meet the Arkansas work-horses. If there is any change in this plan, we will notify you promptly after the December meeting of our Executive Committee on the 12th.

Fred Darragh, on an excursion to Denver, crossed paths and perhaps swords with one of Georgia's notables up there to speak for segregation on a radio program. Fred will have to tell you about it later.

Sincerely yours,

Nat Griswold

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

Florida Council on Human Relations

WM. K. WILLIAMS, *Director*
HOWARD ROBERTS, *Associate Director*

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

930 W. Park Ave.,
Tallahassee, Florida.
November 30, 1955.

Dear Fred,-

Re meetings with Mr. Frank Loescher:

At yesterday's meeting of the Executive Committee in Daytona Beach we arranged for a meeting of all the State Directors for some date in January. The exact date was left open so that the itinerary of Mr. Loescher could be conveniently arranged.

Some preference was expressed for a Saturday, but not January 3rd; some of the Directors are connected with schools, and Saturday meets their needs better than any other day.

I asked Bill Williams to make final arrangements with you and send out the call for the state meeting.

In case Loescher will be available also for meetings in various communities, I believe he would be a distinct help throughout Florida. Williams will act as intermediary for such meetings.

We had a fine meeting yesterday and things are in a healthy condition with us.

With good wishes -

Cordially,

Paul

Paul F. Finner

Frederick B. Routh,
Southern regional Council

Florida Council on Human Relations

DEDICATED TO MAKING THE AMERICAN WAY WORK EVERYWHERE, EVERYTIME, FOR EVERYBODY.

WM. K. WILLIAMS, *Executive Director*
HOWARD D. ROBERTS, *Associate Director*
E. CAROL KLOSE, *Office Secretary*

324 SO. BEACH STREET
DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA
Phone CL 3-7072

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RABBI MARSHALL TAXAY
Daytona Beach
REV. S. MARION WEEKS
Gainesville

November 29, 1955

DEC 1 1955

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
c/o Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Loescher:

The Executive Committee of the Florida Council on Human Relations would like to plan a general Board meeting at a time which could be included in your schedule.

The preferred time is some Saturday in January at 10:30 AM, here at this office.

Sincerely yours,

Wm K Williams

Wm. K. Williams, Exec. Dir.

WKW/ck

Virginia Council on Human Relations

100 EAST FRANKLIN STREET

RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

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WILLIAM M. COOPER
Assoc. Executive Director

November 29, 1955

NOV 30 1955

Mr. Fred B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

It is good to know that Dr. Frank Loescher will be traveling about the South in January and will be visiting the various state offices. We shall look forward with interest and pleasure to having him with us in Virginia.

Yesterday afternoon we had a meeting of our Executive Committee to talk about a statement which we plan to make at the Public Hearing in connection with a special session of our Legislature which convenes tomorrow. The Committee agreed that we should have another Board meeting early in January before the regular session of the Legislature. Thursday, January 5, has been set as the day for this meeting. We plan to begin with luncheon at 12:30 and continue the business into the afternoon. I don't know whether Dr. Loescher will be able to be in Richmond at that time but we should of course be delighted to have him if he can make it.

All good wishes.

~~Cordially~~ yours,

Jack Marion

John H. Marion

JHM:plr

P.S. We are now in the midst of shaping plans for Irene Osborne's visit. I'll have some definite information to pass on to her before long. J.

TEXAS COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS

Affiliated With

The Southern Regional Council

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Thomas S. Sutherland
309 West 21st St.
Austin 5, Texas
Telephone 7-8819

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2304 Herring Street
Waco, Texas

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Mr. J. D. McLeod
805 19½ Street
Huntsville, Texas

November 28, 1955

NOV 29 1955

Dr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

We have no meetings planned for January. Our annual meeting is held during the month of February.

We will of course arrange for Frank Loescher to meet with our local groups and the State Advisory Committee in Austin whenever he arrives in the State.

Just advise us of his schedule.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Tom/jms

Thomas Sutherland

L

NOV 30 1955

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1104 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi
November 28, 1955

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Associate Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

At this point we do not have anything scheduled for January. We have ambitions for a meeting of the new Board of Directors about December 20th. It is quite possible that after the election of officers and appointment of committees we can schedule a committee for January 17th.

That gives you something to work with and I will do my best to have a group for you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. R. S. Lyells/EW

Mrs. R. S. Lyells
Executive Director

RSL:epw

Signed in Mrs. Lyells absence by the Secretary.

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 2-0450

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

November 23, 1955

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

How do you like our new letterheads? You get the first sheet!

Jan 10

In response to your inquiry about meetings scheduled in Alabama during the month of January, I regret to inform you that we have no Executive Committee, Board or Annual Meetings scheduled. Our Annual Meeting falls on February 11th here in Montgomery if ~~you~~ Loesder could stay over for it. We have four District Meetings scheduled for January. They are: the West Black Belt (Selma) District scheduled for Saturday, January 7th; Birmingham District, second Tuesday evening; Mobile District, third Tuesday evening, and Montgomery Local Chapter, third Thursday evening. The latter three districts are scheduled for December as well.

Jan 7

I hope that he will be able to make at least one of our meetings and that if he is strictly limited to the month of January, he will be content with a District Meeting.

Sincerely

Bob

Jan 19

REH/mp

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

P.S. Warmest Thanksgiving Greetings.

R.E.H.

F R
Loescher
travel schedule

December 30, 1955

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pa.

Dear Mr. Loescher:

At the request of Dr. Mitchell, I am enclosing revised copies of itinerary for your Southern visit. We are also enclosing a directory of the affiliated State organizations.

Sincerely yours,

G.S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA:mef

Revised Itinerary as of December 30, 1955 for Mr. Frank S. Loescher's Southern Trip

Tuesday, January 3 - 11 a.m.	- Washington: Jacob Seidenberg, President's Committee on Government Contracts
afternoon	- Alexandria: Armistead Booth
Wednesday, January 4 -	Lynchburg, Virginia Profs. E. Wiggin and E. Brook RMWC Pres. W. Quillian Dunbar H.S. Prin. G. W. Seay
Thursday, January 5 - a.m.	Richmond, Virginia - The Rev. Theodore Adams, First Baptist Church
afternoon	- Richmond, Virginia Council on Human Relations Board Meeting - Rev. John H. Marion Marion's office telephone number 3-8538
Friday, January 6 -	Durham, North Carolina Harry Jones, Executive Director N. C. Council will be at Washington Duke Hotel-Durham, that day. Prof. Waldo Beach, Duke University
Saturday, January 7 - 10:30 a.m.	Selma, Alabama, Local group of Alabama Council on Human Relations meets at George W. Carver Community Center at 416 Sylvan Street. Rev. C. C. Brown is contact
Sunday, January 8 -	Open
Monday, January 9 - 10:30 a.m.	Daytona Beach, Florida - Wm. K. Williams, Executive Director, Florida Council on Human Relations, 324 South Beach Street. Telephone CLinton 3-7072
Tuesday, January 10 -	Enroute to South Carolina
Wednesday, January 11 - 2 p.m.	Columbia, S. C. - Quarterly Board Meeting of S. C. Council at 1508 Lady Street. Mrs. Alice Spearman Telephone No. is 6-8808
Thursday, Friday, January 12-13 -	South Carolina & North Carolina J. M. Dabbs, Mayesville, S. C. (or Mrs. Dabbs) Charlotte, N. C. Council on Human Relations Telephone No. is FRanklin 6-6833 Address (office) 121 E. 3rd Street
Saturday, Sunday, January 14-15 -	Atlanta G.S.M. - Stay 906 Lullwater Road, N.E. Telephone No. is DEarborn 5961
Monday, January 16 - 7:30 p.m.	Macon, Ga. - District Meeting of Ga. Interracial Committee (Will drive down with Dr. Wells leaving Atlanta about 3:30 p.m.)

Tuesday, January 17 - 7:30 p.m.	Mobile, Ala. - Meeting of Alabama Council on Human Relations Mc Gill Institute in downtown Mobile Contact Father Foley at Spring Hill College (near Mobile) Telephone No. is GArden 6-3561
Wednesday, January 18 -	Alabama Maybe visit farm of Alvin Smith, North of Uniontown near Newbern
Thursday, January 19 -	Montgomery, Ala. Meeting of local chapter at Dexter Ave. Baptist Church at foot of the Capitol. Note: This meeting possibly conflicts with a Negro group meeting in which case the chapter meeting will be moved to another day. Get latest from Hughes, staff director of Ala. Council on Human Relations, Montgomery Telephone No. 2-0450
Friday, January 20 -	Jackson, Miss. Meeting to be arranged of Mississippi Council by Mrs. M. J. Lyells, Executive Director, 1104 Lynch Street. Jackson, Mississippi Telephone No. 5-5673
Saturday, January 21 -	New Orleans, La. Meetings of Executive Committee of SRC & Louisiana Methodist Women
Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, January 22-23-24 -	Texas Dallas, Austin & Houston Note: You planned various visits in Dallas & Houston. Texas Commission on Race Relations is in Austin at 309 W. 21st Street. Telephone No. 6-3150. Chairman is Mrs. James S. Crate, 2410 Inwood Drive, Houston, Texas. Her telephone No. is KEystone 8986

January 3, 1956

Reverend Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Loescher is from schedule to be at Jackson, Mississippi, January 20.

But he is scheduled to be in or near Montgomery January 19, and I'm sure will look you up.

I've written Loescher about the boycott meeting.

I should think it quite unlikely that Loescher could get to Montgomery the night before the Selma meeting, January 6, but he is to be there the next day, as you know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

copy: Frank Loescher
c/o Rev. John H. Marion, Exec. Dir.
VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

G.S. Alexander

F for the R
Loescher -
travel schedule

PLEASE HOLD

January 3, 1956

Mr. Frank Loescher
c/o Rev. John H. Marion, Exec. Dir.
VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
100 E. Franklin St.,
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Frank:

Hughes writes about the on-going bus boycott in Montgomery. Biggest thing ever. 50,000 staying away. ~~Says~~ Says the boycott groups meeting occurs Thursday, January 19, 7:00 P.M., at a spot not yet announced. White persons welcome. Call Hughes for latest information. Also, he says that the Central Alabama Citizens Council will hold a mass meeting at the Montgomery Civic Auditorium, 8:00 night of Friday, January 6. You would have to pay $3.50 to join the White Citizens' Council, if you wanted to go, which I think unlikely.

I have written Hughes as enclosed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

copy: G.S. Alexander

January 3, 1956

Reverend Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

copy: Frank Loescher
c/o Rev. John E. Marion, Exec. Dir.
VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

G.S. Alexander

RECEIVED JAN 3 1956

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 2-0450

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DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Dec. 29, 1955

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

The date of the Montgomery local chapter has officially been changed from Thurs., Jan. 19th to Fri., Jan. 20th. All other items stand.

If Loesher is interested in getting a real look-see at the racial pulse of Alabama I can arrange it. The Montgomery bus boycott is probably (you be the judge) the strongest protest for Civil Rights Negroes have made since the Civil War in any local community. It involves some 50,000 Negroes here daily, although it is presently under a news blackout. One of their semi-weekly mass meetings will be held on the evening prior to the Montgomery local meeting. This date is Thurs., Jan. 19th, 7:00 P.M. at a yet unnamed site. Whites are welcome.

Secondly, the Central Alabama Citizens Council will hold a mass meeting at the City Auditorium here on Fri., Jan. 6th at 8:00 P.M. This is the evening prior to the Selma A.C.H.R.

district meeting. Loesher would have to join the W.C.C. ($3.50) if he's interested in attending as it's a closed affair. However, ~~so~~ he would have no trouble as many others will be attending for the first time + joining. (I'll even supply application blanks) I can't take him myself as my identity would be known + I'm no member or intend to be one!

These are just additional suggestions which might give him an inside glance which in turn would help him to understand our role here in Alabama.

Sincerely,

Bob Hughes

Copies (blind): GSA
FR

January 8, 1956

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman, Executive Director
SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1508 Lady St.,
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Spearman:

Many thanks for news about meeting January 11 being moved to January 15. I've sent word along the line to Loescher, ahead of time, telling him Board meeting's out, but he, Loescher, should stop by and see you and the others at 1508 Lady Street, and I hope and expect he will. Also, on urging from Dabbs, I have urged Loescher to go to Dabb's house, anyway, and talk with Mrs. Dabbs, whom I regard as a stateswoman in her own right.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

7 for R - Loescher - travel schedule

January 16, 1956

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

The hotel desk clerk called just now and said he had received confirmation of reservations for you Thursday night at the Jefferson Davis Hotel in Montgomery and Friday and Saturday nights at the St. Charles in New Orleans.

See you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

January 24, 1956

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

Sorry I had to be off in New Orleans on the Saturday you were here.

Much gratitude among the Mitchells for grapefruits and oranges, which we've had for breakfast since they came; and some left!

New Orleans trip all right; nothing eventful.

I am all admiration of the way you do your difficult job.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

January 26, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I think you will be interested in the enclosed memorandum from Hallock Hoffman and four suggestions from Lewis Jones of Tuskegee. I would like you to return these to me. Let me know if anything hits you hard.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

January 27, 1956

Mr. Frank Loescher
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Loescher:

As you may remember, the Executive Committee wanted you to have copies of the papers prepared by Fred and me on the bright and dark aspects of the Southern situation. We both draw some implications for SRC.

Both assessments were prepared in some haste and should be treated as rough and tentative, for use in the family. We are under instructions to revise, polish, and tighten for some early issue of New South.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

January 30, 1956

Mr. Fred B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thanks very much for the nugget about Dr. Wells which I shall circulate.

I liked Kenneth Holbert, the new associate director in Dallas. He's on the ball.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL/da

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

January 30, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Place NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of January 25 about the issue of the annals on "Segregation and Integration." I shall take this up with Ed Reed right away.

What does George think of A Manual of Intergroup Relations? I am inclined to give it a big push.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:wo

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

January 30, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of January 27 with your paper and Fred's on resistance and progress. Will try to get at soon.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL/da

February 6, 1956

Mr. Frank Loescher
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd St.,
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

After a couple of false starts I have got to reading carefully the items Lewis Jones sent Hallock Hoffman, returned to you herewith.

On the items:

(1) The Economics people at the University of Kentucky, at West Virginia University, at the University of Tennessee, and the University of Arkansas, or some consortium of them, could do a good job on analysis of the problem areas (where limited opportunity makes excess population). We do things about this in Puerto Rico and Afghanistan; why not in our own South?

(2) I think the small-town pattern not sufficiently consistent to be worth picture-making. The town will do what the cities do, though belatedly.

(3) Smart idea for anybody smart enough to work it.

(4) Good thinking, and we will try to get it into circulation, privately, with our people.

On Lewis Jones:

The priceless thing about Lewis Jones is that he played an active, and indeed a leading, part in a most careful review of what was the actual situation in about 1934 in six Southern counties, most of them deep plantation country. Done for the Rosenwald Fund, under direction of Charles Johnson, W.W. Alexander, and E.E. Embree. Lewis and other white and Negro persons like him went out to the plantations, one by one, and took down all the particulars. The find-

ings were done up in six mimeographed copies of a two-volume work, stowed away in the archives of the Rosenwald Fund, and now stowed at Fisk University. The two fat volumes were boiled into "The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy," which was fed into the stream of New Deal concern for agriculture, and resulted in the Farm Security Administration, of which Alexander was for some years the Administrator. So a picture is there of the plantation economy in 1934.

I say get Lewis to run a new study of those same counties, in 1956 or 1957. Nobody knows what has really happened to the plantation economy. Some say it's all cows. Some say it's all day-hands. Some say it's still around. There aren't any usable figures in the census (which I am convinced is carefully cooked to avoid giving any figures that will mean anything on this point!)

If Lewis would go and find out, we would know, and could plan for the future.

Argument against it is that the thing is still in transition - gallopingly; and what's here today won't be here tomorrow. Still, we need to know, and Lewis is one of the very few men that could find out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

MEMORANDUM # 4
TO: Mr. Hallock Hoffman
FROM: Lewis W. Jones
Re.— Manipulation of Community Resources: Education in the Practice of Democracy.

This notion probably belongs within the province of adult education but I don't have access to that organization to get a hearing on it. I am also a little leary of professionals who reject the unorthodox.

It is amazing how little Negroes and other low-income groups know about the manipulation of community resources. They may not even think of public and private agencies as "resources". Rather they get a little cynical about the democratic system and attribute the failure of their interests to be served to having no "pull" or to not "knowing the right people" rather than to the fact that they simply are ignorant of what to do and how to do it. This circumstance seems to foster the development of political machine control and in a measure may account for the influence of non-democratic organizations. The informed leadership of an organization can do for adherents what they cannot do for themselves because the leadership has the requisite knowledge and may find it to be to its advantage to restrict such knowledge to the hierarchy. Little research has been done on the "withholding" of knowledge and the importance to a system of social control of withholding knowledge. (A neat research project could be designed on this subject but from unstructured observation we know enough to propose a simple action program.)

A couple of incidents mayillustrate what I am getting at. In politics, Negroes are very happy to be able to vote but are not aware of the importance of the "Precinct Convention" which the political organization likes to control. The Eisenhower supporters in Texas, you may remember, caused quite a furore by appearing en masse to take over precinct conventions in 1952 to the consternation of the small "organization" groups that had previously controlled them. Negroes in Alabama periodically make appeals to the Governor and resort to the courts to secure the suffrage. They don't realize that the County Democratic Committee controls the Registrars who enroll or fail to enroll voters on the eligible lists. It is to the advantage of the county committee to keep their influence hidden when in their roles as merchants, professional people, and neighbors they might feel pressure and called into account for their actions in their roles as committeemen. Catholic pastors, labor union leaders, NAACP officials, et al, as sophisticates who know how to manipulate community resources, may find it desirable to "do" for their rank and file rather than informing them.

The poorly informed seeking action in their interest may appeal to a school superintendent, to a hospital administrator, to a FHA supervisor without realizing that these are administrative personnel rather than policy makers. Actually these administrators may influence policy but ultimately policy decisions rest with the "boards" to whom these administrators are responsible.

February 7, 1956

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Frank:

The draft of your unsent letter was excellent. The man who is planning the forthcoming "See It Now" program on the South called me from Nashville last night and is due in here any minute now. So I will have a good opportunity to get the ideas you outlined into the hopper.

I just came across your article in The Christian Century. Good job.

Regards,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

F L.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

February 7, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

Thanks for your note of February 1 and the newspaper items.

Sincerely,

Frank

FSL/blp

Frank S. Loescher

February 8, 1956

Mr. Frank Loescher
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

I talked by telephone with my friend Earl Mayhew, formerly Kentucky State Director of Farmers Home Administration and currently a professor in the Ag College of University of Kentucky. By good fortune he was about to take off for Atlanta for the Southern Agricultural Workers Association. They duly convened and he telephoned me this morning and I went out and chatted at length with him and with a certain Professor Harold Jensen of the Department of Agricultural Economics at the University of Kentucky (Lexington). I explained the desirability of some background studies in land tenure. Suggested that some study should be made for each major agricultural area, i.e., each biggish crop country. Cotton, tobacco, peanuts, rice. North Carolina, Mississippi, Arkansas - maybe one other. We got as far as seeing the possibility of setting up four or five fellowships coordinated by one guy at perhaps the University of Kentucky. A little man named Martin in Government who was there at Kentucky did so coordinate string of studies in State government problems in Kentucky, Tennessee and Alabama (hooked to TVA some way).

I made it clear I have no power to bind or loose.

Jensen and Mayhew were to use the remaining two days of Ag Workers Convention to explore further and Jensen is to write me if Jensen wants to proceed with the notion.

Mayhew is a Republican and I suspect almost anybody teaching Agriculture at the University of Kentucky has at least access to Republican channels.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

74-
77R

February 8, 1956

RECEIVED FEB 10 1956

Mr. R. M. Farber, Chairman
Legislative Research Committee
14634 Schoolcraft
Detroit 27, Michigan

Dear Mr. Farber:

Thank you for your letter of January 31 inquiring about the grant to the Southern Regional Council.

This was an outright grant for community education and is described in the enclosed copy of a press release of the Southern Regional Council. If you should have further questions, I suggest that you write to the Council.

Sincerely yours,

FSL/blp
enc.

Frank S. Loescher

George
for your information
Regards
Frank

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

RECEIVED FEB 16 1956

February 14, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks very much for your letter of February 6. I am sharing it with Hallock Hoffman, then to David Freeman.

I hope some good will come from this exchange.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher
TK

Frank S. Loescher

February 26, 1956

Mr. Frank Loescher
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

At the end of October I wrote Montgomery Bradley at the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and told him about our need for money for a program to teach our State people things to do. Previously I had told Montgomery Bradley that I will take some early opportunity to reach people in Arkansas who knew Winthrop Rockefeller. I was in Little Rock Monday, February 13. Went to see Mr. Rockefeller's lawyer whom I used to teach at Columbia. Young man undertook to lay the matter before Winthrop Rockefeller before the end of February.

Not the kind of information I care to write Montgomery Bradley but if you had an opportunity to tell him that I had indeed been to see my Little Rock friends, I would be grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

March 5, 1956

Mr. Fred B. Routh
Florida Council on Human Relations
324 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Fred:

Thanks for your note of February 24 and the Florida and Georgia items.

The very best.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

March 13, 1956

Mr. Frank Loescher
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street,
New York, New York

Dear Frank:

I am not asleep on the two agricultural projects.

My friend at the University of Kentucky is poking for a plan from that University toward the study of how to educate for long term leases.

I hear, as yet informally, that the University of North Carolina people like the idea of the statistics on the plantation belt. We have had a brains session on what to call it. Thus far the winner is "Liberty and Justice for How Many?"

I am expecting a telephone call from Chapel Hill that should push that one a good deal further along.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Mr. Frank S. Loescher,
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.,
60 East 42nd. Street,
New York 17, N. Y.

March 13th, 1956.

Dear Frank,

Thanks for your recent letters and especially for the kind words.

I am returning the application from Fisk, which George Mitchell and I have discussed. We both feel that there is no conflict between this proposal and our fact finding program. This aims at sociological investigation in the full sense of the word -- something which we have no intention of getting into.

As to the merits of the proposal otherwise, I should think it would be well if they spelled out the way in which their findings would be prepared, disseminated and influential. That's the proof of the pudding.

The situation here has been hectic, but I have the inventory of desegregation under way and am gradually assembling a pretty good stable of analysts for the longer range effort. More about that later; meanwhile,

Warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming.
Assistant Director.

HCF:rl.
Encls.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

March 5, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Will you or George tell me what you think of the enclosed proposal from Fisk to study the Montgomery and Orangeburg situations? Do these duplicate SRC fact-finding?

Incidentally, would any of the analysts be useful to your program?

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

fsl:wo

gap

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 18, LA.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

March 17, 1956

Mr. David E. Freeman
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

I am happy to tell you that the threatened "expose" of our relations with the Fund for the Republic, and the expected "smear" attack upon the Fund itself, have not yet taken place. I have not felt constrained to give any newspaper release concerning the grant. Up till now there has been only a passing mention of it (in an article in the campus newspapers) and that in reference to something else.

Our educational and information program has now been underway for about two months. We have been able to reach a fairly large number of people, especially the Catholic parents, teachers and priests, at whom the whole program is aimed. The work we have done breaks down into three general categories:

The first is the essay contest we ran and which ended on March 1st. This asked parents of children attending the Catholic schools to answer the question: "Why is an Integrated School better than a Segregated School?". Needless,to say, we received a few essays trying to demonstrate that it is not. But the prizes were attractive, amounting to $550.00, and they will be awarded at our monthly meeting next Sunday. The promotion on this contest, with large ads in the diocesan paper and smaller ads in the daily papers, cost about $200.00. The effect was widespread, and the contest has been the "talk of the town" for some time.

The second is the series of forums we have sponsored, bringing very competent speakers to New Orleans. This has cost us about $1,400.00 up till now. On January 22, we had Father James Hoflich, superintendent of Catholic elementary schools in St. Louis, who showed how integration took place up there. At the invitation of the Archbishop, he gave two separate talks to the clergy, reaching all of the priests of this area. He was the featured guest on a half-hour radio broadcast, and also appeared on TV.

On February 7, we had Dr. S. Ross Taggart, V. D. expert from Washington, D. C., who talked about his studies in social diseases, and their connection with the school integration of white and colored children. On February 26, we had the Honorable Hulan Jack, Borough President of Manhattan, to give a kind of inspirational talk and to represent the successful Negro in public life. This was our largest audience and was followed, as you know, by some loud and unpleasant repercussions. Our fourthspeaker, on March 11, was Dr. Benjamin Passamanick, psychiatrist of Ohio State University, who clearly repudiated from his own research the notion that differences in mental capacities are racial.

We had scheduled our next speaker for next Sunday, but the Archbishop thought that we ought to have peace on Palm Sunday. So we postponed this until April 6, when Professor Arthur Miller, or Emory University, will shed some light on the constitutional and legal provisions as they affect the integration of private schools. We have also scheduled a theologian and biblical expert, Father John McKenzie, on April 22, to talk about the peculiar fundamentalist prejudice about God, race and the Bible. We hope to hold two further forums in May.

At each of these public meetings we had a panel of five or six persons, "local experts" who questioned the main speaker. This panel participation has been a good thing, I think, because it has gotten quite a few of the local people, prominent in their fields, to express their opinions in public.

The third item, and the most expensive, on which we have spent about $3,000.00, has been the printing and mailing of information to a list of somewhat over four thousand persons. Up to the present time, we have had six mailings; January 18, 27, February 11, 20, March 3, 17. I am enclosing herewith copies of each of these mailings to show you the kind of material we are sending out.

We have been making tape recordings of the forums, main speaker and panel discussion. They run about an hour and a half, and I am toying with the idea of having them each cut down for a half-hour program for radio.

May I say again that we are deeply indebted to you and the members of the Board of the Fund for making this kind of program possible down here. I am sure that you know how desperately we have needed this sort of thing.

Cordially yours,

Jos. H. Fichter, S. J.

THE CHRISTIAN IMPACT

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS • CATHOLIC COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH • P.O. BOX 694 • NEW ORLEANS, LA.

VENEREAL DISEASE EXPERT EXPLODES THE MYTH OF THE HEALTH HAZARD!

Dr. Taggart says: "It is fantastic to suggest that racial integration of the school system would spread diseases."

On Sunday, February 5, 1956, the Commission on Human Rights of the Catholic Committee of the South, presented a public forum on "The Facts and Fictions of the Health Hazard." The principal speaker was Dr. S. Ross Taggart, of Washington, national authority in the field of communicable diseases.

The main facts which emerged from Dr. Taggart's lecture and from the panel discussion by local public health and medical experts, are the following:

1. In more than 80,000 investigated cases of venereal disease there has not been a single case of transmission by inanimate objects. Venereal disease is contracted by sexual intercourse and sex play, and not by toilet facilities, towels, eating utensils, swimming pools, and so forth.

2. In more than 10,000 examinations of school-age children, both white and colored, over the past four years, not a single case of infectious venereal disease has been discovered. It can be stated positively and emphatically that people who do not have pre-marital and extra-marital sex experiences do not contract venereal disease.

3. Washington's population has a higher proportion of Negroes than New Orleans has; and Washington has integrated all of its school facilities. Yet the incidence of venereal disease has decreased between 1946 (over 1500 cases of infectious syphilis) and 1955 (less than twenty cases.)

4. The peak year for syphilis in both races is age 22 yrs. for females and 24 yrs. for males. Since venereal disease is not an existing health problem among school children of either race, it cannot become a health hazard through school integration.

5. Cities which have integrated school systems have a lower incidence of venereal disease than cities with segregated school systems. This is because integrated cities save money on their schools, and spend more money for better public health control.

6. Reported statistics on racial differences in venereal disease are false and incomplete. Private physicians seldom report cases to the Public Health Department. The great majority of infected whites go to private physicians, while the great majority of infected Negroes go to public clinics which publish reports on venereal statistics.

7. Venereal disease is associated with economic, occupational and educational levels, and not with racial factors. Blood tests of the Washington population show the following percentages of infection:

Professional	0.5%	Craftsmen	6.0%
Managerial	1.5%	Operatives	12.0%
Clerical	2.0%	Service	13.0%
Sales persons	5.0%	Unskilled	19.0%

8. Many Negroes are domestic and service workers in hotels, restaurants, bars and homes. There is no single instance of their having transmitted venereal disease either to their own children or to the persons they serve in homes and public places.

9. Marvelous advances in diagnosis, treatment and control of venereal disease have brought about effective national decrease in rates. This has occurred even though the federal government has decreased its financial contribution from 14 million dollars in 1946 to less than two million dollars in 1955.

10. Syphilis did not originate in either Europe or Africa. There are two theories concerning its origin: (a) It became epidemic in Europe in the late 1400's primarily as a result of the Crusades; (b) Columbus' sailors contracted it from North American Indians and brought it back to Europe.

RACIAL SUPERIORITY IS A MYTH

IT HAS BEEN some years now since the myth of superior and inferior races received a death blow at the hands of science. Studies by anthropologists and biologists have completely exploded the old notion that intelligence, ability, and character are related to race. Rather, such average differences as exist between racial groups is explained in terms of differing economic, educational, and cultural opportunities.

Within recent months, however, the last-ditch defenders of segregation have sought to revive the discredited cult of the "master race." Leaflets solemnly setting forth "evidence" of the Negro's innate inferiority have been showered on legislators and others in leadership positions in the deep South. This brief summary of scientific findings on race and race differences is presented in the hope that it may serve as an antidote to the pseudo-science with which the white supremacists seek to poison the mind of the South. Several helpful books are listed in an adjoining column for those readers who would like to explore the subject in more detail.

Since both science and religion assure us that we spring from a common ancestor, how then did the different races come about? Moving from a basic definition of race, let us examine the scientific concepts of race, how races evolved, what race means today, and the differences apparent between the races.

J. B. S. Haldane, a geneticist, tells us that race is "a group which shares in common a certain set of innate physical characters and a geographical origin within a certain area." Other scientists, with knowledge gained from years of careful study, tell us that all men possess the same fundamental characteristics as their common ancestor, Early Man. Basically then, the structure of men of all races is the same. It is only certain physical features that differ. How came these differences? Considering the differences, is there a so-called pure race? Are there absolute and unchangeable race differences?

First, let us trace the history of how the differences came about.

The bodies of all human beings are composed of units called cells. A cell is the elementary unit of protoplasm, the essential substance of all living plants and animals. In the cell are chromosomes, elongated bodies visible only under a microscope. Arranged on the chromosomes are unchanging and unblending particles called genes. It is the genes which determine our hereditary fate. Each corresponding human cell, regardless of race, has the same number of chromosomes.

It was the scientist Mendel who first discovered that blood has nothing to

do with inherited characteristics. Mendel's experiments made possible our present knowledge of heredity and the potentiality of people, plants, and animals. Today, it is agreed that it is the gene which determines the potentiality, and the environment which determines what form these potentialities will take.

When the male and female sex cells combine to form a new cell and initiate the growth of a new human being, corresponding genes or combinations of genes are paired off to form physical characteristics. Contrary to early beliefs, however, these characteristics do not come from a blending of characteristics of the parents. Instead, the dominant genes of the new cell determine individual characteristics of the offspring. Consequently, the new baby may inherit physical characteristics of any of its ancestors, depending on the type of genes contained in the fertilizing sex cell of the male and the egg of the female.

Accepting the premise that we all come from a common ancestor, something has operated to effect physical changes. According to the scientists, these changes came over a period of many years and can best be described by the series of words—mutation, selection, adaptation, migration, isolation.

Initial Change

The gene is not only durable but usually self-perpetuating. Occasionally, however, when an old gene makes a new one, the new one is a little different and may produce a slightly different effect. This process is called mutation. No one has been able to explain this change or give sufficient reason why it occurs; but in every case, each such change brings about only slight difference from the ancestors of the new offspring.

Mutation operated first to change certain physical traits, and then selection followed to aid in developing races. Suppose Early Man was light-skinned and, through mutation, a darker-skinned child was born. Darker-skinned people can stand hotter climates; and if the people lived in a land where the climate was extremely hot, natural selection would favor the darker-skinned individuals. The lighter-skinned individuals would tend to migrate or die out. In a cold climate, of course, the process of selection would be the exact reverse.

Migration

Following selection or coupled with it, adaptation and migration further the process of race development. Suppose a few light-haired people, through mutation, appeared in a populace of predominantly dark-haired people. There is always the chance that no light-haired people would be included in a group that goes off to settle in a new place. If there were four people—a light-haired man and woman and a dark-haired man and woman—it might easily happen that the couples would pair off according to hair color. Then, through isolation, the original couples would become the ancestors of two different tribes, one of light-haired people and one of dark-haired people. These "racial" tribes would develop, not because there was any advantage in either hair color. but purely by accident.

Professor L. C. Dunn, professor of zoology at Columbia University, says "geographical isolation has undoubtedly been the great race-maker." Continued migration reinforced the initial biological changes which had begun to pro-

duce groups with distinctive traits; and as one cluster of dark-skinned people developed in Africa, a group of yellow-skinned people in northeast Asia, and white-skinned people in Europe, isolation became the prime factor in race development. As the distance between the migrating groups became greater and intermarriage between the groups less possible, the new genes duplicated themselves from one generation to another and, without influence from other gene pools, became more distinctive of the separate peoples. Thus were the major races formed.

Classifications

Most scientists classify the earth's people into three different races, Caucasoid, Negroid, and Mongoloid; but others prefer to think of five major groups of races. The latter classify the Bushmen and the Hottentots into one group, and the aboriginal Australians and the Veddas as another separate group. Each racial group is identified by a list of physical qualities supposedly peculiar to the group. But because there are border-line groups and border-line individuals, it is impossible to agree upon a completely objective list of races. Although distinctive traits appear more often among the member of the major groups in which they belong, in every major race there are some individuals and groups who share one or more traits with another race than their own. For example, although light-colored skin is a common characteristic for Europeans, slanting eyes for Mongolians, and wooly hair for Negroes, all these traits appear in other races.

The evidence should demonstrate that only communities whose extreme isolation has caused generations of inbreeding could constitute anything like a "pure race." And even in such a community, racial charactertistics are never completely uniform.

The way in which races develop is evidence in itself that there are no absolute and unchangeable racial differences. Isolation tends to lessen change; but even in such cases, gene mutation can change racial characteristics. One of the most striking examples of apparent gene mutation was recorded in Norway when wooly hair appeared in a populace which had long been composed entirely of straight-haired people. Then, too, with the coming of transportation and "modern-day migration," once isolated gene pools are now being re-distributed.

The myth of racial superiority is often based on so-called "blood lines." As previously indicated, blood has nothing to do with heredity. Scientists do tell us that there are four different types of human blood, but each of the four types exist in all racial groups. Indeed, the percentages of the blood types for Negro citizens of the United States are very close to the percentages for white citizens, and the percentages vary only slightly from those for Congo Negroes. Scientists now know that as long as the blood types are compatible, blood transfusion can take place across racial lines as easily as within a racial group.

Intelligence

What makes us intelligent? The argument concerning heredity and environment is an old and involved one, but generally it is conceded today that a combination of the two gives us our intelligence. Tests with both identical and fraternal twins support this theory. Fraternal twins result when two different

eggs, which happen to be present instead of one, are fertilized: and identical twins result when one egg after fertilization separates into two parts and each part becomes one of the twins. Fraternal twins are like any ordinary brothers and sisters, with the exception that they are born at the same time, but identical twins are the production of two copies of one person, and have exactly the same genes. Any differences between the identical twins, therefore, cannot be due to heredity.

Scores on intelligence tests given to identical twins usually are close, if not the same, while results of tests given to fraternal twins often vary greatly. However, when identical twins are separated at birth, results of intelligence tests usually vary. In cases where identical twins are separated and one is reared in a rural atmosphere and the other in urban surroundings, the twin living in the city consistently has made higher scores than the twin in rural surroundings. This does not indicate that the city twin is more intelligent, but that tests measure the kind of knowledge which is more accessible to a child in a city atmosphere than in a rural environment.

Racial Tests

A fair picture of how races compare in intelligence as measured by tests can only be obtained through working with groups in the same environment. In New York City, according to a pamphlet distributed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 500 gifted children were selected on the basis of intelligence tests given throughout the city. When the 500 were examined according to race and religious and national backgrounds, the distribution was approximately the same as that of the population of New York City as a whole. That is, about 10 per cent of the 500 were Negro children, corresponding to the 10 per cent Negro population at large.

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Other tests measuring purely racial differences have pointed to the fact that there is a wide range of intellectual ability within each racial, religious, and national group. In the U. S., the study reports, some groups of Negro recruits from the North were found to be more literate than some groups of whites. This simply means that when either group, Negro or white, is placed in a superior economic and educational environment, the average score on mental tests tends to rise; when either group lives in an inferior economic and educational environment, the scores tend to remain low. Differences in ability among individuals of the same race are greater than the difference between the averages of any two races.

"We Don't Take Negroes Here"

DESEGREGATION of the schools is the biggest social issue in the South. Even before the Supreme Court spoke in May, 1954, the problems and prospects of removing the color line had been a major topic of controversy. Twenty years have passed since the first Negro entered the University of Maryland School of Law by court order. We do *not* expect that the completion of the job of school integration will take another twenty years, even though some Southern educators and politicians assert that it will never happen.

Since we are the ones to be desegregated, we are much more concerned about this issue than the whites who are doing most of the talking. We want it now, and we want to say why. We are Southerners, Catholics, Negroes and college students, and that puts us in several minorities. As Southerners we are considered conservative, if not backward, by other parts of the nation. As Catholics we belong to a minority group of Americans and an even smaller minority of Southerners. As Negro Catholics we are a still smaller minority both in the Catholic Church and among the Negro people.

As college students we are interested in racial desegregation not only in the whole Catholic educational system from top to bottom, but in all aspects of Catholic life. Only recently have Catholics in general been assimilated into American society and raised themselves from immigrant status. Our Negro ancestors have been here in America longer than the ancestors of most of our white fellow students. We have an even bigger stake in this country and in the South than most whites have. But we are not interested in differences and separations; we are in favor of similarities and integration.

DOWN here many people are asking: where should educational integration start? This question is out of date because integration has already started. It has grown through various court cases, from Murray in Maryland, to Gaines in Missouri, Sweatt in Texas, Sipuel and Mc-

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This is a thought-provoking discussion on the inflammable subject of desegregation, presenting virtually unanswerable arguments in its favor. The group jointly authoring the article, as the result of many meetings on the matter, is made up of members of SERINCO, the Southeastern Regional Interracial Commission of the National Federation of Catholic College Students.

Laurin in Oklahoma, and in the five cases settled by the Supreme Court in 1954. Northern schools have generally abandoned the color line. In the South most of the white State universities have given up the struggle to prevent Negroes from attending. Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina are still holding out. Even Alabama recently announced that the law "allows" it, but the "majority opinion" is still against it.

The Southern Catholic educational system is not directly governed by state laws on segregation. Some voluntary integration has taken place on the college level, but as far as we know, little if any has occurred in Catholic high schools and grammar schools. When we first organized our Collegiate Interracial Commission in the spring of 1948 there was not a single Negro in the white Catholic colleges of the South. Now there are so many that we have lost count. But there are still many reluctant educators and many hold-outs, even though the general *principle* of equal admission is conceded on the Catholic college level.

SEVERAL areas still need to be cleaned up in higher education: (a) Nursing is one of the important careers for women, and Negro high school graduates find it extremely difficult to gain admission to Catholic schools of nursing in the South. (b) Some Catholic colleges allow Negroes into only one or two departments and appear to have a "quota" on us even where we are admitted. (c) Boarding facilities in Catholic colleges are still almost completely prohibited to Negro students. (d) Once we are in Catholic colleges we want to participate in all organizations, clubs, sports, academies and other activities. All of this means that we want integration *all the way,* and not just in some restricted areas of Catholic college life.

It seems late in the day to answer the question why Negroes want integration, but this has to be answered because there are still whites who claim that we Negroes are "more happy by ourselves." There are also some older Negroes who are satisfied with the *status quo,* who find adjustment difficult, who feel that we had "better not disturb things too much." These older heads advise caution mainly because they don't trust the promises of white people. They do not want to jeopardize hard-won positions.

THE fact is that no one, let alone the Negro, is happy in situations of forced segregation. We are told that patience is a virtue but this advice is always given by those who are impatient with our impatience. We are told that the good Christian must be long-suffering; but why should Negroes be expected to suffer longer than other Christians? Sorrows and tribulations on earth are the result of the sins of men, but whose sins brought about these sorrows and tribulations for Negroes? Are we suffering for our own sins? Or are we expected to pay the debt which is on the conscience of the whites?

Another fact is that integrated schools give better education. We have some excellent Negro schools, but by and large they are inferior to white schools. There is no such thing as "separate but equal" even among the Catholic schools. Let's face it: our Negro schools are overcrowded; the buildings and equip-

ment are often not up to date; the training of many of our teachers is inadequate. Even if the schools were physically equal, the Negroes are kept apart because they are considered inferior.

Another fact is that we are downright embarrassed when our non-Catholic brethren say: "Your Church keeps preaching that it's open to everybody. How come you separate the whites and the coloreds?" Only a person who has heard this innumerable times can realize how difficult it is to answer. Actually, at the present time, there is no plausible answer. The best reason for being integrated is because we are Catholics. We believe that as Catholics we have *no acceptable excuse* for segregating the races.

THE Mystical Body of Christ unites people of different cultures and different nationalities. It is currently the only genuine form of supranational solidarity in the world. We Catholics everywhere share the same faith and follow the same commandments. We can participate in the same sacrifice of the Mass anywhere in the world and realize that we belong to the one, holy Church. But in the United States we find ourselves in an incongruous position. We Negro Catholics share the same culture, the same nationality, the same religion with other Catholic Americans. When we have all these things in common, we see no reason for separation on a racial basis. We are Catholics first, and Negroes only second.

People who are opposed to racial integration make it sound very difficult, if not impossible, of achievement. They are also usually the same people who advise that "time will take care" of the problems involved in race relations. We do not think that desegregation will happen automatically; we do not take this process as a "matter of course." It is a thing that has to be worked on. The separation of Catholic Negroes and Catholic whites has been going on for almost sixty years. In a situation like this the ways of thinking and acting tend to "get set" on both sides of the color line, and it takes some effort to unset them.

FROM experience we can give a few examples of the way in which this bi-racial Catholicism has affected Negroes. We are affected by some degree of hesitancy and doubt. For too long we have had to be cautious in approaching whites, trying to figure out which are our friends and which are not. Stories are handed down in every Negro family of past offenses, of white brutality to Negroes. If we have not personally experienced violence and intimidation at the hands of whites, we have been conditioned from childhood to be wary in dealing with whites. We do not like to walk into situations where we are likely to be insulted, ignored or rejected.

What is needed here among Catholics is the removal of the uncertainty and the indefiniteness. We would like to know where we stand. As long as the school administrators give every step grudgingly, we always feel as though we are intruding. What we need is a clear, definite, Catholic policy announced by school officials without any racial qualifications. Some schools have decided to go all the way, but many have not let us know their decision. We cannot discover the policies made in the secrecy of school board

meetings or of college boards of directors.

We feel that we have to take more initiative too. We have to keep knocking at the doors of Catholic educational institutions. Often this is the only way we can find out what the policies on Negro admission are. Some of us get hurt doing this. One has to be an insensitive Catholic not to be hurt when a priest or nun says (in ever so polite and regretful tones) that "we don't take Negroes here." Even when the refusal is not put so honestly we recognize a brush-off when we experience one.

ARE we Negroes afraid of competition in integrated education? There may be something to this. When you go into a new situation for the first time you always wonder whether you are qualified, whether you can hold your own. You are never sure just what is going to happen. Those of us who have been active in race relations on the college level, know that it is not a particularly frightening experience. The innovators going into white schools have had to be a little better than anyone else. But that stage of experimentation has passed. Enough Negroes have proved themselves in educational competition with whites.

There are always the prophets of doom—in both races. What's going to happen to the Negro colleges if all of the Negroes go to white colleges? What's going to happen to the white colleges if the white students leave when the Negro students come in? These questions have already been partially answered. The college population is increasing and in a few years practically every college will be crowded to the doors. Right now if a Southern white student transfers to a State college, he is likely to find Negro students in the same classroom with him. So he might as well stay in his Catholic college. Some of the private colleges may have to close up for lack of funds, but they won't have to close for lack of students, or because Negro students are in attendance.

We believe that the actual desegregation of Catholic schools is much easier than that of the public schools. The latter are forced to do it by law. We have the tremendous appeal to Catholic morality and Catholic doctrine. In a state college, the administrators are responsible to the tax-payers and the alumni and the politicians; the college president has to look over his shoulder to see if there is anything or anybody menacing his job. The Catholic college is responsible to God and to the Church. If some of the alumni or some of the parents of the students object, surely we should not sacrifice our principles to their prejudices.

ONE result of educational integration in the South will be to bring more Catholic Negroes into Catholic colleges. Except for Xavier University of Louisiana, most Negro colleges in the South have been affiliated with various Protestant denominations. This means that most Catholic Negroes have had to go to them, unless they could afford to go North for their higher education. We do not know what the "danger to the faith" has been in this situation. The least we can say is that it is better for Catholics to attend Catholic colleges than either Protestant or State colleges.

It is better also for Catholic Negroes to attend integrated Catholic

elementary and secondary schools. The most recent Supreme Court decisions have focused on these rather than on colleges. We Negro college students know all about segregation on the lower school levels. We have been through these schools. We are glad that we had the advantage of Catholic teaching in them, but we feel that we would have had a broader education, a more Catholic education, if these schools had not been racially segregated.

In the South we have segregated schools in parishes because we have segregated parishes. If you want to remove the separate school the logical first step is to remove the separate parish. Maybe the Negro parish was necessary back around the turn of the century when the segregated system started. We should not judge our grandfathers too harshly on this matter. Perhaps in that generation whites and Negroes could not get along as they can now. But it is an insult to our grandparents to suppose that they would make the same decisions in our circumstances that they probably were forced to make in those days.

Segregation of Catholics at church services is gradually—too gradually—disappearing all over the South. The efforts of bishops and priests and leading laymen of both races have changed it considerably. There are still some nasty exceptions to progress in this regard, but a white usher is not so ready today as he was ten years ago to order a Negro to "sit where he belongs."

Removing the segregated parishes is the first obvious step—in fact, it is half the battle. We want to belong to a Catholic parish, not to a Catholic Negro parish. We want more than just the right to attend services in the parish church. We want to sing in the choir, join the Altar Society and the Holy Name Society, belong to the Sodalities and the CYO and whatever other organizations the parish sponsors. We want to get married, have our children baptized and confirmed in this desegregated parish. We want to send our children to the parish school.

We said our children, not our grandchildren. But still we would like to see our little brothers and sisters attend the integrated Catholic parochial and high schools. As products of segregated Catholic schools, we are completely in favor of sending these children to schools which are operated by priests, sisters and brothers. As a matter of fact, Negro Catholics could help fill the teacher shortage in these schools. A larger percentage of Southern Negroes than of Southern whites have attended graduate schools outside the South; and it appears that right now the teaching profession is more attractive to Negroes than to whites.

Everybody is asking: what is going to happen when the elementary schools are racially integrated. The answer lies in places like Nashville, Washington and Saint Louis, where the Catholic school system has removed segregation. But we ask, what is going to happen in those places where the public schools become integrated and the Catholic schools remain segregated? The removal of segregation is now the law for the public school system and all the devices of Southern politicians and educators cannot delay it much longer. Would the Church put Catholic Negro parents to the test of choosing between the integrated public school and the segregated Catholic school?

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NEW ORLEANS ITEM, Monday, Feb. 20, 1956

Segregation Sinful, Says Archbishop

Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel declared yesterday that racial segregation "is morally wrong and sinful."

He expressed his views in a letter which was read from all Catholic pulpits in the archdiocese.

The Archbishop said that he wished he could presently "render a decision that would serve as a guide for priests, teachers and parents." But he added "there are still many vital circumstances which require further study and consideration if our decision is to be based upon wisdom, prudence and the genuine spiritual welfare of all concerned."

He urged that the decision, when made, "be accepted in the spirit of Christian charity and justice . . ."

Text of the Archbishop's letter follows:

* * *

"**DIFFICULT INDEED** is the approach to a propitious solution according to Christian principles of justice and charity of the problem of racial intergration in our schools, especially in the Deep South where for more than a century and a half segregation has been accepted without serious question or challenge.

"For months we have prayed, studied and consulted about the problem with a sense of our responsibility for the welfare of all souls that constitute the spiritual family for which in virtue of our office as Archbishop we are responsible before God.

"With an appeal to the Holy Spirit we now submit for careful consideration the following results, especially regarding the moral difficulties which segregation presents.

* * *

"**1. RACIAL SEGREGATION** as such is morally wrong and sinful because it is a denial of the unity and solidarity of the human race as conceived by God in the creation of man in Adam and Eve. Male and female, He created them and breathed into them the spirit of life and commended them to increase and multiply and fill the earth.

"Throughout the pages of the Old Testament and the New there is constant recurrence of this truth, that all mankind has in Adam and Eve one common father and mother and one common destiny, namely to serve God in this world and find eternal happiness with Him in the world to come.

"In 1954 Pope Pius XII directed attention to the fact that Christ gave to all the Apostles the mandate to 'make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and behold, I am with you all days, even unto the consummation of the world.'

* * *

"**FROM THIS THE** Holy Father concludes that Bishops too share the teaching authority

of the Pope, the Successor of St. Peter, that all men, all truth, dogmatic, moral and social, fall within the purview of that teaching authority, and that when their teaching is in communion with that of the Holy See, they enjoy the pledge of His divine presence and guidance 'all days, even unto the consummation of the world.'

"The Holy Father in the same document indicates that Christ 'sent His Apostles, as He had been sent by the Father, to teach all nations everything they had heard from Him (cf. Matt. XXV III, 19-20). The Apostles are, therefore, by divine right the true doctors and teachers in the Church.'

"In the same allocution Pope Pius XII also states that under the guidance of the Holy Father and the Bishops religious teaching may be worked out by capable priests, who as specialists apply the principles of Canon Law and Moral Theology to such questions.

"When their conclusions are approved by higher authority, they are regarded as safe norms of conscience and conduct. This is precisely the procedure which we must apply to the problem of race segregation.

* * * *

"2. RACIAL SEGREGATION is morally wrong and sinful because it is a denial of the unity and universality of the Redemption. The Eternal Son of God, Christ Jesus our Lord, came into the world to redeem and save all men, to die for all men on the cross, to make the life of grace available through the Church and the Sacraments for all men, to embrace all men in His Mystical Body on earth and in the life of glory in heaven.

"Racial segregation would draw the color line across the inspiring plan of the Redemption and thus sin against the divine providence, the love and the mercy that conceived and carried out the wonderful Mystery.

"Speaking for the Old Testment on this unity of the human race we have the Prophet Malachy stating: 'Have we not all one father? Hath not one God created us? Why then doth every one of us despise his brother, violating the covenant of our fathers?'

* * *

AND ST. PAUL has these pregnant words to offer for the New Testament in his letter to the Corinthians: 'For in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Gentiles, whether bond or free; and in one Spirit we have all been made to drink.'

"And our present Holy Father Pope Pius XII refers in a recent allocution to '. . . that law of human solidarity and charity which is dictated and imposed by our common origin and by the equality of rational nature in all men, to whatever people they belong.'

"'A marvelous vision,' the Holy Father calls it, 'which makes us see the human race in the unity of one common origin in God, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all and in us all; in the unity of nature which in every man is equally composed of material body and spiritual, immortal soul; in the unity of dwelling place, the earth, of whose resources all men can by natural

right avail themselves, to sustain and develop life; in the unity of the supernatural end, God Himself, to Whom all should tend, in the unity of means to secure that end.'

* * *

"3. **RACIAL SEGREGATION** is morally wrong and sinful because it is basically a violation of the dictates of justice and the mandate of love, which in obedience to God's will must regulate the relations between all men.

"To deny to members of a certain race, just because they are members of that race, certain rights and opportunities, civic or economic, educational or religious, recreational or social, imposes upon them definite hardship and humiliations, frustrations and impediments to progress which condemn them to perpetual degradation which is only a step removed from slavery.

"Such indignities are grievous violations of Christian justice and charity, which cannot be justified in this modern age of enlightenment and loudly proclaimed democracy. Of violations of charity St. Thomas Aquinas says in his work about the Two Precepts of Charity: That men having the same nature are morally bound to love one another. It is Thomas' teaching that '. . . every animal loves its like (Eccles. XIII, 19), wherefore since all men are alike in nature, they ought to love one another. Therefore to hate one's neighbor is contrary to, not only the divine law, but also the law of nature.'

* * *

"4. **BECAUSE THE** emancipation during the War between the States involved certain physical and economic hardships, racial segregation was regarded with toleration but never justifiable as a permanent racial adjustment.

"Even the Catholic Church considered it wise and necessary to give separate church and school facilities to Negroes to afford them the opportunity to practice their faith more freely and educate their children more fully than was often possible in mixed congregations, but this arrangement was never intended to be permanent.

"This is attested by Most Reverend Archbishop Francis Janssens, D. D., who initiated the program with the remark that he did so very reluctantly and in the hope that it would be possible after a brief period to have all Catholics worship under the same roof.

* * *

"**WE COME NOW** to the reasons for segregation at least in the school. These reasons are for the most part unwarranted generalizations in which it is aimed to give the impression that all member of the Negro race and especially all Negro children are tainted with virtually all the alleged defects.

"The amazing fact is that 'as a race' they are not still more generally lacking in mental ability, culture, moral self-control, immunity from social diseases, criminal propensities, etc., when you consider the neglect and barriers to which they have been exposed in education, general culture, economic opportunities, respectable housing facilities, contact with stable social institutions and the more dignified ways of life.

"Although living and moving in the maelstrom of city or rural life, the laws and customs built up around the mystic term 'segregation' have practically relegated Negroes to an island-like existence. They emerge to work, toil and serve even in the intimacy of the white home and family, but 'segregation' cuts off the free avenues to progress in the better things of life that are synonymous with Christian civilization. This condition in itself is an indictment against continuing segregation 'indefinitely' as its advocates envision.

* * *

"**THIS STATEMENT WOULD** become unbearably long were we to analyze even briefly the alleged mental defects, moral and criminal propensities, economic shortcomings and social disabilities and dangers which form the general basis for continuing segration.

"We are having these allegations examined objectively by competent judges and may announce the result in due time. For the present we can only state that there are differences between the races on these points, but there is also much generalization and much emotionalism.

"We wish to assure the clergy, the religious and the laity of the Archdiocese that we are giving to this important problem our most serious thought, study and consulation not to speak of the many prayers which we offer daily for Divine light and guidance, because we realize the importance of the issue which is involved.

"Nothing would please us more than to be able at the present moment to render a decision that would serve as a guide for priests, teachers and parents. However, there are still many vital circumstances which require further study and consideration if our decision is to be based upon wisdom, prudence and the genuine spiritual welfare of all concerned.

* * *

"**HENCE, WE PLEAD** with all of you for preserverance in prayer in order that the final decision may be in conformity with the will of Christ and the highest interest of souls according to the mind of Holy Mother Church. May we likewise unite in prayer that the decision, when made, will be accepted in the spirit of Christian charity and justice and in that unity of mind, heart and will which must always characterize the family of God.

"This is a problem which should be worked out not in an atmosphere of wrangling or contention or discord or hatred but in a spirit of conciliation and with a desire to achieve peace through justice and charity.

"Prayer and calmness of spirit are much needed in all our hearts, and for these we plead in the name of the Divine Prince of Peace: 'Peace I leave with you, my peace I give to you; not as the world gives do I give to you.'

"May this peace be shared by all of us now and during the time of deliberation, and may it endure in our midst for all time! Such is the prayer of Your Shepherd in Christ,

"JOSEPH FRANCIS RUMMEL,
"Archbishop of New Orleans."

A pastoral letter on the theme: "Blessed are the Peacemakers" was issued by the Most Rev. Joseph F. Rummel, Archbishop of New Orleans, this week, to be read in all churches Sunday, March 15.

All of us certainly have the obligation of being peacemakers by cultivating relations of genuine charity and good will with the members of our own household and family to the exclusion of anger, quarreling, abusive words and actions and all hardness of heart. "This is the haven of peace" may well be inscribed as a motto over the door or every home, especially the home that is dedicated to the Catholic way of life.

We can and should likewise function as peacemakers by living up to and promoting the principles of justice and charity in the office, in the shop, in the store, in the factory, in meeting places, and wherever we come in contact with our fellowmen. Kindness, courtesy, and a helping hand contribute much towards social peace, mutual understanding, and happiness.

And now we call upon all the members of our beloved flock to exercise the role of peacemakers in our intercourse with those who may differ from us by characteristics of race, nationality, color of the skin, habits, or creed. In all we must respect the common bond that stems from the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. We are all created to the image and likeness of God, endowed with a spiritual nature, and called to participate in the eternal happiness of heaven. All were envisioned in the mysteries of the Incarnation and the Redemption; all are invited to participate in the merits of Christ's death upon the Cross and in the graces which that sacrifice made available. The obligations of justice and of Christ's mandate of charity: "Love thy neighbor as thyself" provide for no exceptions on the lines indicated; nor does His mission to the Apostles: "Go, make disciples of all nations" suggest any discrimination.

In particular we are here concerned about our attitude towards our brethren of the Colored race. Much is today being spoken and written about the so-called problem of segregation as reflected in certain laws, agreements, and customs. Undoubtedly the federal and state courts, supported by wholesome public opinion, will in due time define where such laws and customs are in conflict with the American Constitution and way of life, but we can help hasten the day of complete peaceful adjustment by an ever increasing spirit, in word and action, of good will, respect, and sympathy towards the Colored people. Public laws, customs of long standing, regulations, and agreements of institutions and

between business interests are obstacles not easy to overcome, but we can do much to aid this cause of justice and charity by making segregation disappear in our Catholic church life. We have already made notable progress by the removal of offensive signs that limited the use of certain pews and by the aggregation of Colored units with the Metropolitan, Deanery and Diocesan Unions of the Holy Name society, the sodality and the Councils of Catholic Men and Women. But there still persists in some churches the practice of expecting the Colored to occupy a certain section of pews and to wait at the end of the line for Holy Communion. There may be other practices that cause humiliation and embarrassment, which should be foreign to our religious life and considered unworthy of a true spiritual understanding of our Catholic faith.

Ever mindful, therefore, of the basic truth that our Colored Catholic brethren share with us the same spiritual life and destiny, the same membership in the Mystical Body of Christ, the same dependence upon the Word of God, the participation in the Sacraments, especially the Most Holy Eucharist, the same need of moral and social encouragement, let there be no further discrimination or segregation in the pews, at the Communion rail, at the confessional and in parish meetings, just as there will be no segregation in the kingdom of heaven. Our Colored Catholics are encouraged and urged to retain their loyalty and membership in their special congregations, but they should not be harassed when they attend services in any parish church or mission, or when they apply for membership in parish organizations. These observances will contribute much to the edification of all who are genuinely interested in our holy Catholic faith and guarantee to all of us a greater participation in the promise of Christ when He proclaimed from the Mountain of the Beatitudes: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called children of God."

As for peace on the worldwide basis between the nations, we can only contribute the benefit of our united prayers in union with the never ending efforts of the Vicar of Christ, Pope Pius XII, whom we commend very especially to your prayerful remembrances as he enters upon the 15th year of his pontificate. May our Divine Savior spare him to the Church and the world for years to come and may all of us merit the blessedness of peacemakers and children of God.

Faithfully yours in the Prince of Peace,

✠ JOSEPH F. RUMMEL,
Archbishop of New Orleans.

Complete Text Of 'Touches Of Color'

"The Archbishop of New Orleans, Most Reverend Joseph Francis Rummel, has suspended religious functions at St. Cecilia's mission in Jesuit Bend because the congregation there prevented a Negro priest from celebrating Mass in the mission chapel. This, he said, 'is a clear violation of the obligation of respect and devotion which Catholics owe to all priests, whatever their race, color or nationality.'

"**THE PRELATE** also reduced religious services at one church in Belle Chasse and at another in Myrtle Grove, where 'only one Mass will be celebrated until such time as the members of the congregation declare themselves ready to accept whatever priest is available for religious functions in these churches.'"

This news cannot but strike all Catholics with sad astonishment, although they feel Christian pride in their hearts for the prompt, admirable, pastoral, and Catholic intervention of Archbishop Rummel.

We say Catholic because the Church is universal, has no territorial limits, and excludes no creature from believing and saving himself or from suffering, fighting and praying with her.

Racial exclusiveness is a sin against the nature of Catholicism. It is a negation of it and a blasphemy against it. It is a sacrilege to show racial animosity against a priest by preventing him from ascending the altar to say the words of consecration taught and commanded by Christ for all His people of every race and nation at all times, provided they are marked as Christians with that water and chrism—the blood upon the cross—which makes them forever sons of a single eternal country and a single race.

To prevent a priest from repeating that sacrifice, the inalienable gift of the Savior to all men

throughout the centuries and throughout the world, is a sacrilege concerning which we can only pray with the prayer of the crucified Christ for His crucifiers, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do."

The only reason for consolation is the recollection that the condemnation and castigation of the Archbishop of New Orleans concern only a few foolish people, while the Hierachy and the Catholics of the United States are setting a most noble example.

IT IS ENOUGH to recall the energetic and effective effort of Cardinal Gibbons, who contributed to the failure of two bills in the Maryland Legislature, which, had they been passed, would have seriously harmed the situation of Negro citizens.

The first proposed the segregation of Whites and Negroes in streetcars. The second tried to deprive Negroes of their right to vote.

This is an example of an activity and line of conduct that is coherent and fruitful.

There exists in the United States the Catholic Interracial council, founded and directed by Father La Farge, S.J., which safeguards and defends Negroes against all racial discrimination.

On April 10, 1954, our own newspaper reported that conversions among Negroes are increasing, thanks to the charitable zeal of the special committee set up for just this purpose by the Bishops' Conference of the United States. On June 20 of last year it was learned from the N. C. W. C. News Service that "although public schools continue to follow discriminatory practices even after the decision of the (United States) Supreme Court of May 17, 1954, Catholic schools receive Negroes."

Our thoughts go back to our Ethiopian college in the shadow of St. Peter's, whose origin dates back to the ancient traditions at the height of the Middle Ages when a community was organized in 1525.

THEN—ACCORDING to a solemn declaration of Paul III against the racial murmuring of the times, in which he recalled and confirmed the

Catholic truth that all peoples are called to the faith, to grace and to the priesthood—the college was canonically instituted in 1555, exactly four centuries ago.

Therefore the memory of its founding under such circumstances emerges today providentially and gloriously as an admonition.

Our thoughts also go back to Benedict XV, who reorganized and protected it, restoring it to its original site next to the Church of St. Stephen, which bears the name of the Abyssinians.

We think of Pius XI, who erected the present building on the old foundations and who when at the time of the establishment of the state of Vatican City provided a new home for the Roman Minor seminary, whose old home had been in St. Martha's Square, did not permit the departure of the Ethiopians.

"It is the touch of color in the Vatican panorama," he used to say.

We think of Pius XII, who on each of the college's memorable occasions, particularly on the 25th anniversary of its foundation as a Pontifical institute, has shown in such a memorable way how much the ancient sympathy of the Popes continues to flourish generously.

WE THINK of the Romans who reflect the solicitude of the Popes, who daily see the "Moors" pass through the streets and among the lines of students at the College of the Propagation of the Faith.

These "Moors," along with the Asians, arouse in everyone a great feeling for the worldwide motherhood of the Eternal City.

We think of the Negro priests who frequently celebrate Mass in St. Peter's, attended with the usual devotion by crowds of the faithful of all nations.

We think of the solemn consecration in 1939 at the Confessional of the Prince of the Apostles of Bishop Joseph Kiwanuka (of Masaka, Ugunda) and other natives of many different countries.

It is easy to think that, although in America the problem may be a question of whether the White or Colored people have a higher civilization, the Romans must be given credit for a civilization which has a single racial standard and is second to none, because of its antiquities, its monuments and its customs.

"All are made in the likeness of God; all are children of a single redemption," sings the Poet of the Sacred Hymns, though inserting this thought into a secular poem, for civilization is either Christian or it is not.

IF WE WERE to believe that likeness to God were not in every human creature, it would follow that redemption was not for everyone. Worse, there would be a reasonable doubt that one's own likeness might not be to God.

These absurdities mortify the mind and heart of democracy and also the right to social and political equality.

In the United States the struggle against such inhuman and barbarous prejudice, which unfortunately includes so many crimes—one was recently committed against an adolescent victim and has remained unpunished—must be aided by all citizens who wish to remove from the world reputation of the kind and generous civilization of that great nation—and from fact—this "touch of color," which acquires here a very different meaning, a color which more than black is so often that of blood.

Catholics are obliged by their religion and patriotism to aid and cooperate in this struggle by all available means.

The sad exception of Jesuit Bend has already been repaired by the representative of Christ and the Church in such a way that it is equal to a new and most solemn document in the noble efforts of the Catholic Hierarchy for the triumph of this Christian and civil movement.

THE CHRISTIAN IMPACT

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS • CATHOLIC COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH • P.O. BOX 694 • NEW ORLEANS, LA.

WHAT IS THE CATHOLIC COMMITTEE
OF THE SOUTH TRYING TO DO?

WHAT KIND OF PEOPLE ARE MEMBERS OF
THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS?

We are embarrassed Catholics who believe in the one, holy, universal and apostolic Church which Christ established. We are embarrassed because the unity of the Church is somewhat frayed by segregation and discrimination.

We are fundamentalist Catholics who believe literally the words of Christ: "This is My Body; This is My Blood;" and just as literally Christ wants "One Flock, One Shepherd."

We are optimistic Catholics who believe that divine grace and human good will can combine to change the world. We are convinced that the great majority of Catholics are motivated by charity and are not deliberately prejudiced.

We are confirmed Catholics who believe that the sacrament of confirmation has given us special graces to pursue Catholic lay action. We know that the laity is an active and integral part of the Mystical Body of Christ.

We are confident Catholics who believe that our Archbishop is successor to the Apostles, inspired by the Holy Spirit, united to the Holy Father, and that our obedience and allegiance to him constitute a solemn obligation.

The Bishops of the Southern dioceses established in 1939 the Catholic Committee of the South with a Department of Race Relations. In 1949 the department reorganized and changed its name to the COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

The CHR enjoys the blessings, encouragement and approval of His Excellency, Archbishop Rummel, who provides moral leadership for the whole community, as well as for Catholics.

The CHR is a temporary committee working for its own dissolution. We look forward to the day when racial discrimination and segregation are completely removed from Catholic life in New Orleans. Then we can go out of business.

The membership of CHR is about two-thirds white and one-third colored. All are active parishioners and practical Catholics. Most members are, or have been, officers in various Catholic societies in their parishes.

The CHR has a monthly Mass, Communion breakfast and meeting for its members and guests. Literature is distributed and public forums and discussions present the truth of Catholic teachings on race relations and integration.

The CHR is not a mass organization or a pressure group. We do not go from house to house to solicit membership. We are not interested in building a movement or an innovation.

The Catholic Church itself is our organization and our movement. Every Catholic belongs to it and is by that fact already committed to racial integration in parishes, hospitals, schools, and Catholic societies of all kinds.

WHY IS AN INTEGRATED SCHOOL BETTER THAN A SEGREGATED SCHOOL?

FOUR WINNING ESSAYS

FIRST PLACE. To send our children to Church where they are told to love their fellowmen; to send our children to school where they are taught that the United States Constitution says that "all men are created equal," and then to slam the doors of Christianity and democracy in their faces – that is the harm being inflicted on our children by the sanctioning of school segregation.

No well-meaning and loving parent would refuse his child the privilege of developing his mind and soul to their fullest extent; of knowing the glory of growing to manhood with mind uncluttered by prejudice and hatred. Nor would he teach his child that charity is limited to a select few, judged by race, color, or creed, thus marring his chance of knowing any true happiness in this world. And yet, by allowing segregation to continue in our schools, he is doing all these things and more.

Segregation in our schools dwarfs the mind and the spirit and breeds devils born of ignorance. All our attempts at education are in vain so long as we contradict our efforts to allow our children to open their minds to the brotherhood of men. – Mrs. Francis X. Waguespack

SECOND PLACE. We send our children to school so that they may learn to live as intelligent members of the human community. We expect them to learn to understand the physical world in which they must operate, the social community in which they must cooperate, the natural law by which they must regulate their behavior.

In short, we ask that they come to know the truth about God, Man, and nature. To this end we struggle against the forces of ignorance in every form and we pursue truth with all our strength. The weighing of evidence so that we may act intelligently, the elecation of reason over passion and impulse, the rational control of our whole human nature – these are the widely acknowledged aims of education.

In such a context the segregated school is a living lie. For segregation is based upon prejudice – a pre-judging without reference to any real set of values. Aside from all questions of morality or social justice, prejudice is simply unintelligent. It certainly has no place in the schools. – Dr. Gerald J. Eberle

ESSAY CONTEST, ENDED MARCH 1, 1956
COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
CATHOLIC COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH

THIRD PLACE. To teach our children love and respect for one another, we must instill in them the truth that each is a child of God and is entitled to all that this implies. An integrated school is the first example of this teaching and it exemplifies the true spirit of brotherly love. The importance of the education of a child cannot be overstressed if he is to grow into a mature, broad-minded, God-loving individual.

Segregation is undesirable in our schools because it teaches racial intolerance and is a barrier to understanding the equality and freedom for which America is known. Imagine the thoughts of a school child under these circumstances, hearing the Constitution for the first time. How can he be instructed in the true meaning of democracy when its very existence is denied before him.

To teach one thing and practice another is utterly confusing and unwise. Integrated schools will be an example of democracy in action and also follow more closely the Gospel of love and Christian charity. Our children deserve a life free of hatred and prejudice and if we are to infuse in them the devotion to a democratic way of life, then integrated schools are a must. – Mrs. C. D. Olivier

FOURTH PLACE. Why is an integrated school better than a segregated one? That's the kind of school Jesus kept when He was on earth. The Lord gave His Apostles some very important teacher-training advice. He said: Go forth and teach all nations. He didn't say separately. St. Paul, one of the greatest teachers to follow Him, integrated the Gentiles into what was fast becoming a segregated Jewish organization – against the wishes of the superior Jews of those days.

In His own educational system He made no differences. He said, "Suffer the little children to come unto Me." He didn't say the "little Jewish children" – that would have been the equivalent of the "little white children," in our time. His heart was too big with love to shut anyone out. He said He came to save everyone. Remember, He was criticized for mingling with those "low, dirty, thieving, murderous, diseased Samaritans." Sounds familiar?

His doctrine of love: Love thy neighbor as thyself – and here again He used the lowly Samaritan, the excluded, as an example of a neighbor – is inclusive not exclusive. How can one love his neighbor and want to be separated from him on some flimsy charges that are more imaginative than real? How can one want to be so hateful as to hurt little children – the ones whom Christ loved most – to satisfy his foolish vanity. Remember what He said about those who hurt His little ones? – Mr. Oscar A. Bouise

THE CHRISTIAN IMPACT

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS • CATHOLIC COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH • P.O. BOX 694 • NEW ORLEANS, LA.

NOTED PSYCHIATRIC EXPERT RIDICULES ARGUMENT THAT RACE IS THE CAUSE OF MENTAL INFERIORITY OR SUPERIORITY!

Dr. Pasamanick says: "Scientific research proves conclusively that intelligence is not affiliated with race. White and colored babies are born with equal potentials."

On Sunday, March 11, 1956, the Commission on Human Rights presented Dr. Benjamin Pasamanick on the "Racial Aspects of Human Intelligence." Some of his findings are:

1. Income, nutrition and schooling, are the principal factors which account for intelligence differences. About 10,000 American psychologists have discarded the racial theory of inherited mental differences.

2. There is a high association between intelligence scores and the economic status of the persons tested. Low-income families have children with low scores.

3. Poor nutrition of mother and child is associated with low scores. Better-fed white and colored mothers have children who score higher in the intelligence tests.

4. The poorer the quality of schooling, the lower the scores which individuals make in these tests. Quality of teachers and schools is more important than amount of schooling.

5. In the old Army Tests when some Northern Negroes scored higher than some Southern whites; this was due mainly to the difference in quality of schooling which both had.

6. Poverty, poor nutrition, and the segregated school system, have been a vicious circle of cumulative factors producing the lower scores of Negro children. No competent scientist now holds that race is a factor of intelligence.

NEW ORLEANS ITEM.

Dr. Benjamin Pasamanick

Says Negroes Are Equal If Given Chance

Psychologists believe that Negroes have the equal intellectual potential of whites, a professor of psychiatry said here yesterday.

Speaking at a panel discussion of the "Racial Aspects of Human Intelligence" at St. Mary's Dominican college, Dr. Benjamin Pasamanick, New York city, chairman of the committee on research of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, added:

"Among the great body of psychologists the issue is closed. The feeling is if anyone feels differently he'd better produce data—and no one has."

Proper nutrition was also brought out as a contributing factor in developing any child's full capacity and that where Negro and white babies have the same nutritional advantages they develop the same mental aptitude.

He also claimed that in tests taken during World War I, Northern Negroes did better than Southern whites. Poor schooling at that time in the South was the cause of this, he said.

Panel members were Dr. Munro S. Edmonson, lecturer in anthropology, Tulane university; Dr. Irving Fosberg, chief clinical psychologist at Veterans Administration hospital; Dr. Robert Lancaster, instructor of psychiatry, Tulane university medical school; Dr. Harold Leif, associate professor of psychiatry, Tulane university medical school, and Dr. Joseph T. Taylor, chairman of the division of social science studies, Dillard university.

NO INTELLECTUAL RACE BARS, VIEW

Inferiority Idea, Exploiting Linked, Says Expert

A professor of psychiatry said here Sunday that studies have proven conclusively Negroes have the same intellectual capacities as whites.

Dr. Benjamin Pasamanick, chairman of the committee on research of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, added that the concept of Negroes as inferior beings grew hand in hand with exploitation of colored peoples.

"You can't mistreat people, shoot them in cold blood, unless you believe they're little above an animal in the first place," he said. "You can enslave, and steal from people only when you feel they don't deserve anything better."

Dr. Pasamanick, who is also a professor of psychiatry at Ohio university, was principal speaker at a panel discussion on the "Racial Aspects of Human Intelligence" at St. Mary's Dominican college.

Dr. Pasamanick said an overwhelming majority of psychologists felt the evidence indicated Negroes were fully the equal of whites in intellectual potential.

"Among the great body of psychologists the issue is closed," he said. "The feeling is if anyone feels differently, he'd better produce data—and no one has."

Environmental Factors

The speaker contended Negroes, as shown in studies, have the same innate abilities, but said, environmental and economic factors often hampered them from expressing their full potential.

"Intelligence tests" often have indicated Negroes haven't reached the same levels as their white counterparts, he said. However, he said such tests in reality tested the individual's past experience rather than his innate intelligence.

Dr. Pasamanick stressed the role of proper nutrition in bringing the individual child's capacities to full fruition.

He said studies proved Negro babies often were smaller in weight and height than white babies. But added where the babies apparently had received the same nutritional advantages, were of similar weight and height, they had very much the same mental apptitude.

He added that a "sense of inferiority" was often a deterrent to full fruition of the Negroes' potential.

Cites War I Test Results

He said an indication of the importance of environment was the fact that northern Negroes, in tests taken during World War I, did better than southern whites. He said poor schooling in the South at that time was responsible for this.

Others participating in the panel discussion were Dr. Munro S. Edmonson, lecturer in anthropology, Tulane university; Dr. Irving Fosberg, chief clinical psychologist at Veterans Administration hospital; Dr. Robert Lancaster, instructor of psychiatry at Tulane university; Dr. Harold Leif, associate professor of psychiatry, Tulane university medical school, and Dr. Joseph T. Taylor, chairman of the division of social science studies, Dillard university.

Chairman was Dr. William L. Kolb, professor of sociology, Tulane university. The Rev. Henry Montecino, SJ, professor of philosophy, Loyola university, gave the invocation and benediction.

Quote From 1891

To the Editor:

Regarding segregation, I would like to submit the following excerpts from a talk by Archbishop John Ireland, of St. Paul, Minn., delivered on Jan. 1, 1891.

"We are victims of foolish prejudice, and the sooner we free ourselves from it, the sooner shall we grow into true manhood. . . .

"The Negro problem is upon us, and there is no other solution to it, peaceful and permanent, than to grant to our colored citizens practical and effective equality with white citizens. . . .

"I would break down all barriers. Let the Negro be our equal before the law. In many states the law forbids marriage between white and black—in this manner fomenting immorality and putting injury no less upon the white it pretends to elevate as upon the black for whose degradation it has no care. . . .

"I would open to the Negro all professional and industrial avenues—the test for his advance being his ability but never his color. I would in all public gatherings, and in all public resorts, in halls and hotels, treat the black man as I treat the white. I might shun the vulgar man, whatever his color, but the gentleman, whatever his color, I would not dare push away from me.

"Shall the homes of the whites be opened to the blacks, shall all meet in the parlor in perfect social equality? My answer is, that one's home is one's castle, the privileged place where each one follows out his own likes and his own tastes, and no one, white or black, rich or poor, can pass the door without an invitation from the owner, and no one can pass censure upon the owner's act.

"I claim the right I grant to others—and my door is opened to men of all colors, and no one should blame me. Social equality is a matter of taste; and the granting of it largely depends on our elevation above prejudice, and the identification of minds and hearts with the precepts and the counsels of the Gospel."

REV. JOSEPH LE FROIS,
Our Lady of Grace Church.
Reserve, La.

February, 1956 SECOND SUNDAY IN LENT! Vol. VIII, No. 8

THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE

Catholic College Students - Regional Interracial Commission - P. O. Box 694 - New Orleans, La.

THE MAN FROM MANHATTAN

SERINCO is proud to announce that the featured speaker at the eighth annual Catholic Interracial Sunday will be the Honorable Hulan Jack, President of the Borough of Manhattan, New York City.

Mr. Jack, a devout Catholic, holds one of the highest elective offices ever won by a Negro in America. He has the chief political office in the world's richest and most densely populated island – fabulous Manhattan. He coasted to victory on an 80,000 vote majority over two candidates.

On the second Sunday of Lent, February 26, he will visit New Orleans for the first time on the special invitation of SERINCO. He will talk on the meeting's theme: "Catholic School Integration," a subject of burning interest to students, teachers and parents.

The Catholic magazine, Sign, for January, carries an excellent article on this outstanding man from Manhattan, entitled "The Borough Jack Runs." It describes the kind of man he is and the kind of problems he has.

CONGREGATION

Nowadays we hear so much about the integration and segregation that we overlook the meaning of congregation. This is a term used by every church group to indicate that it is a body of people coming together for the worship and service of God.

Segregation separates people: congregation unites people. They are contradictory concepts. You can't have both at the same time. You either segregate or you congregate. If you congregate some and segregate others you destroy the important characteristic of unity in the true Church of Christ.

Segregation is a thing of the past. It had lots of excuses and explanations and a great deal of historical interest. The present is the time of Christian congregation. We have seen the sins and sorrows that accompanied the ragged residues of segregation and we look forward to a Catholic society in which all are one in Christ.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL SUNDAY

When SERINCO planned the first annual Interracial Sunday eight years ago, many heads shook in sympathy and in sorrow. "It won't work," they said, "this kind of thing is premature; the time is not ripe; nobody will attend the program; wait a while."

Thank God, the Catholic college students of that day did not listen to that kind and well-meant advice. The first Interracial Sunday was an outstanding success, and each year since then the attendance has been larger and more enthusiastic.

The Loyola University campus is the site of the 1956 program. His Excellency, Archbishop Rummel, has given his blessing and approval, and will himself preside at the second section of the meeting. Dominican College, Sacred Heart College, Spring Hill College, Loyola University and Xavier University are sponsoring the day through the National Federation of Catholic Students.

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

High school students are invited and encouraged to submit posters for the eighth annual Catholic Interracial Sunday on the theme: "Catholic School Integration." Art experts will judge these posters and award the contest prize to the student who best expresses the theme.

Many of the college students now active in SERINCO first became acquainted with the organization at the earlier Interracial Sundays. Some of us weren't even in high school when the first Interracial Sundays were held. We learned about them from teachers in high school and from college students who addressed us on the racial apostolate.

Future Catholic leaders and parents are now in the high schools, academies and colleges of this region. They are learning to face the inevitable progress toward integration and better relations between the races. Knowledge on this subject is always necessary. SERINCO provides that knowledge with its speakers and its program at the eighth annual Interracial Sunday.

THE FEAST OF THE EPIPHANY commemorated the coming of the Magi representing all races. In Corpus Christi, Texas, a pro-segregation group protested against the presence of the Negro Wise Man at the Crib.

CHURCH UNITY OCTAVE was celebrated in the third week of January and reminds us that unity within the Church is important as well as the unity of all Christians with the one true Church.

CATHOLICS, JEWS AND NEGROES are the minorities which have been most discriminated against in our country. But sometimes we find Catholics who are anti-Semitic, Jews who are anti-Negro, and Negroes who are anti-Catholic.

THE EDUCATION ISSUE of America, for January 7, carries a quarter-page ad for Xavier University of Louisiana. It also repeats the policy of Xavier: "Open to all, regardless of race, creed or color."

THE VATICAN NEWSPAPER says that "racial exclusiveness is a sin against the nature of Catholicism. It is a negation of it and a blasphemy against it.... The Church is universal, has no territorial limits, and excludes no creature from believing and saving himself or from suffering, fighting and praying with her."

DR. PHILIP LAVIZZO, prominent New Orleans physician, has been named as president of the Flint-Goodridge Hospital. He and his wife, Dr. Blanche Lavizzo, are active and dedicated Catholics who have addressed the Commission on Human Rights.

THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS has been in the forefront of the movement for improved race relations. Although it adopted its present name only in 1949, it is a continuation of the Race Relations Department of the Catholic Committee of the South, founded in 1939.

ST. JOAN OF ARC PARISH in New Orleans holds nocturnal adoration from six on Friday to six on Saturday every week, praying to God for "quick and peaceful integration of Catholics." Love and sacrifice and prayer are potent weapons in overcoming discrimination.

THE GALLUP POLL, ordered by the Pentagon in December, revealed that "an overwhelming majority of 80 percent of teen-age servicemen approve desegregation in the armed services, while 13 percent disapprove, and 7 percent express no opinion."

JESUIT HIGH SCHOOL, New Orleans, made news in Time magazine when its Principal, Fr. Stallworth, condemned a proposed resolution of the Parents' Club approving segregation. He said the resolution represents a "movement which is as un-American, un-Catholic and un-Christian as Nazism, Fascism, Ku Klux Klanism or Communism."

EARL K. LONG'S ELECTION as Governor of Louisiana in the first primary came as a surprise to many people. In his campaign he had said that he is "a million percent for segregation" but he missed no opportunity to praise the "fine colored people of Louisiana" and promised immediate equality of all facilities. Let us pray for the new Governor.

BOB GRIER, Pitt's Negro football player, made a lot of friends by his fine performance in the Sugar Bowl against Georgia Tech. Pitt completely outplayed Tech but lost the game, 7-0. But it scored a victory by introducing New Orleans to "interracial football."

After Jesuit Bend

Stephen P. Ryan

LOUISIANA ALONE among the States of the deep South can boast a sizable concentration of Catholics within its borders—a legacy from the days when the present State formed part of the vast colonial empire of France. Cajuns in the bayou country, Creoles in New Orleans and the present-day descendants of Negro slaves cling zealously to the faith of their forefathers, as do the sons and daughters of later immigrants from Italy, Dalmatia, Germany and Ireland. Today, indeed, within the boundaries of the Archdiocese of New Orleans and its suffragan Diocese of Lafayette there are more Catholics than the combined total to be found in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Tennessee.

The South today, and especially the deep South, is in violent ferment over the question of racial segregation in public schools. The U. S. Supreme Court on May 17, 1954 declared that laws imposing such segregation were unconstitutional. Since then there has been an upsurge of racist demonstrations, and white-supremacy, pro-segregationist organizations have come into being in various States. One naturally asks oneself what has been the role of the Catholics of Louisiana in this crisis, which ultimately involves principles of the natural law and Christian morality.

Within the so-called "border" areas of the South there had been moves towards racial integration in parochial school systems well in advance of the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court. Total and successful integration had been accomplished in the Archdioceses of Washington, St. Louis and San Antonio. Because of the high concentration of Catholics in Louisiana, it was felt by many that this deep South State would show the way in an area where racial tensions are strongest and where regional prejudices are most deeply rooted. Recent events, however, have proved how difficult the task will be; and, while the situation is, in no sense of the word, hopeless, proponents of racial integration in Louisiana's parochial schools are realizing, many of them for the first time, the complexities of the problem.

Mr. Ryan, chairman of the English Department of Xavier University, New Orleans, is a member of the Commission on Human Rights of the Catholic Committee of the South.

In the early summer of 1955, Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel of New Orleans, in response to questions as to the possibility of integrating the schools under his jurisdiction, replied to the effect that there would be no integration "this fall," that is, in the fall of 1955. The difficulties confronting His Excellency after the statement may well be imagined. Assumptions of a completely unwarranted nature were made by both sides. The white-supremacy forces immediately scented an implication that no integration "this fall" meant integration "next fall." The pro-integrationists were visibly unhappy that no immediate action was taken.

It most certainly is not my part to pronounce judgment as to the rightness or wrongness of Archbishop Rummel's stand. His opposition to racial segregation is well known and has been emphasized time and again in his pastoral letters and public pronouncements. What has taken place within the past six months, however, shows that the initiative now lies with the forces favoring continued segregation. They have pushed a vigorous campaign which virtually amounts to defiance of their spiritual leader, and which betrays a pathetic lack of knowledge of the teachings of the Church relating to the race question.

JESUIT BEND AND ERATH

The unhappy incident at Jesuit Bend, a small mission station a few miles from New Orleans, has no direct link with the matter of school integration; but it does indicate with cruel clarity the lengths to which some misguided Catholics will go to preserve an outmoded and thoroughly discredited social pattern. Some white members of the Jesuit Bend mission refused on October 2 to permit a Negro priest to offer the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass in the chapel. Their refusal was met firmly and responnsibly by the archbishop, who closed the chapel until such time as the Catholics in the area would make it quite clear that they would be willing to accept the services of any priest he might send them. The after-results have been anything but heartening. Not only has there been no submission, but a large number of Catholics passed a resolution, highly insulting in both tenor and content, which reiterated their unwill-

ingness to allow a Negro priest to minister to them. An attempt by the archbishop to present his views at a meeting in the parish hall was abandoned when only five people appeared at the scheduled hour.

Another instance of open defiance of the Church occurred in the small town of Erath in the diocese of Lafayette. Here in mid-November a lady who had been teaching catechism to integrated classes for many years without any trouble was set upon and severely beaten by two women. Bishop Jules B. Jeanmard of Lafayette acted promptly and excommunicated the assailants. The excommunication was later lifted after both had made reparation.

There are gleams of hope in this picture. The Commission on Human Rights (the New Orleans Catholic Interracial Council) has made efforts to publicize the correct position and to make the Church's official views known to the community by press releases and public forums. The same type of work has been carried on by the college students' interracial commission, SERINCO. Some alert pastors, by prompt action during meetings, have been able to head off the passage of anti-integration resolutions by their parochial parents' groups. In some parishes where invitations were extended to informed clerics and laymen to address parish societies on the subject of race relations there has been in evidence a willingness to learn the Catholic position. Many diocesan organizations are integrated: for instance, the Holy Name Societies, the Legion of Mary, high-school sodalities, the Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women.

Many Catholic laymen prominent in business and professional life have made their positions clear in both talks and articles advocating an end of segregated patterns within the framework of the Church. Priests in ever increasing numbers are making known the social doctrine of the Church from the pulpit and in the classroom. All Catholic diocesan papers in the State have taken a strong anti-segregation position; and the editor of one of them, Millard F. Evans of New Orleans, editor of *Catholic Action of the South,* won this year's James J. Hoey Award for interracial justice.

It may reasonably be assumed, I believe, that genuinely partisan adherents of positions opposing or favoring segregation form but a slim minority among Louisiana Catholics. It is the great majority—the mass in the middle who have not as yet taken any positive stand—who must be reached; and I am afraid that the wrong side *is* reaching them. As I said above, the present initiative is with the segregationists. There are many factors strengthening their appeals at this time: fear, human respect, the traditions of the region, the well-known conservatism of the South.

Above all else, there is the average Catholic's ignorance of the Church's true position on the race question. With reference to this last point, we enter, of course, upon a strange game of "passing the buck," with charges and counter-charges flying about wildly. Many laymen, for example, insist that they "never heard these things before," and imply that all this business about the morality of integration is some new-fangled doctrine recently discovered by opponents of segregation.

There is nothing easier than judging the past in the light of today's happenings; but it does seem clear that one of the sad mistakes of the past was the setting up of separate parishes for whites and Negroes. Unhappily, the result has been a freezing of the segregation pattern within the framework of the Church in the South. It is bearing its fruit today. The separate parish is bitterly resented by many Negroes within the Church. It certainly acts as a deterrent to many outside the fold, who point to its existence as evidence of bad faith on the part of the Church and who therefore find it a genuine stumbling block in the path of conversion.

One must conclude that the sanguine hopes of those who believed that it was "all over but the shouting" must be modified in the light of present conditions. But the truth will prevail. The enemy is fighting a last-ditch battle for survival, a battle which is doomed to go against him. The side of right and righteousness cannot rest, however; we must fight propaganda with propaganda, words with words and action with action. The bishops and priests of the Southland need our prayers in the difficult days ahead, the days of decision. But they are on the side of truth and justice; and that "new South" of which so much has been said and written *will* become a reality—perhaps much sooner than we think.

> The major obstacle to the conversion of the American Negro is the attitude of white Catholics themselves. As the Negroes have become more educated, they have grown aware of the extreme discrepancy which exists between such an attitude and the real spirit of the Catholic Church. They read of the great pronouncements of the Holy Father, the Head of Christendom, and contrast his words of friendship and affection with the unfriendly attitude of the people next door. They are particularly sensitive when they find Catholics practising such discrimination in the church itself . . .
>
> *The Work of the Catholic Church Among the Negroes in the United States.*
>
> Report issued March 1950 by Fides Documentation Service, Rome, an agency of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

April, 1956 THE RISEN LORD BRINGS HOPE! Vol. VIII, No. 10

THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE

Catholic College Students - Regional Interracial Commission - P. O. Box 694 - New Orleans, La.

OUTSIDE BADGERS

People don't like to be badgered by outsiders "meddling in their affairs." But it looks as though much of the local resentment against outside interference is a sticky salve for the conscience of prejudiced people. If we are Americans, democracy is not something unsouthern; if we are Catholics, charity is not something unsouthern.

This vast country has only a few southeastern States – Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina – which are attempting to hold the line fully against racial integration. These are the outsiders to the total Christian and American social trend.

Recriminations against the "North" become silly when we realize that the handful of holdouts among the Southeastern States are arguing against the whole country. It is America, not the North, which is badgering the die-hard Southeasterners to join the rest of the country in promoting good race relations.

THE MODERATE ARCHBISHOP

Frenetic defenders of compulsory racial segregation are a strange contrast to the quiet, peaceful, charitable program of Archbishop Rummel. His pastoral message of March, 1953, "Blessed are the Peacemakers," and his letter of February, 1956, should be read carefully by thinking Catholics.

The individuals who prevented a priest from celebrating Mass at Jesuit Bend could have been excommunicated. Instead, the Archbishop put the much lighter penalty of interdict on the mission church. He could place severe censures on those few Catholics who openly or secretly, oppose his teaching. Instead, he treats them gently and charitably.

In the whole local controversy over enforced racial segregation, the Archbishop stands for charity and justice, for kindliness and forebearance. In contrast to him, his critics shrink to the small-size men they are.

INSIDE AGITATORS

This is the ninety-fourth consecutive month of the appearance of the CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE. This means that for almost eight years the members of SERINCO have been quietly discussing various aspects of educational, religious and racial relations which pertain to them as Catholic college students. Even before the appearance of the CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE the students' interracial commission was successfully functioning.

Over this period of time race relations among Catholic college students, and among Southern Catholics in general, were gradually improving. Decency, understanding and respect toward one another, were growing across the racial barrier. In fact, some of the discriminatory aspects of the racial barrier itself were being removed within the Church.

Now along come a few inside agitators who are trying to slow down, and even to disrupt this progress. In the last few months the doctrines and practices of the Mystical Body have been questioned and even attacked. Some of the attacks have come from outside the Church – this we expect. Some have come from within the Church – this we do not expect.

The inside agitators are not people from the West, the Mid-West, or the Northeast. They are old-fashioned local people who have not kept up with the times. They are out of step with the gradual, persistent, inevitable rhythm of the Church's march toward better race relations and improved community life.

We believe that men like Leander Perez, Emile Wagner, and Alvin Cobb, are above reproach in their sincere efforts for the welfare of the community. We may be occasionally puzzled by the way in which these efforts are expended, but we would never question their moral integrity. We have the impression that they are good, old-fashioned people who are a little bewildered by the tempo of big-city life and by the Church's up-to-the-minute moral concern with social progress.

MARK YOUR CALENDAR for April 8 and 22. The Commission on Human Rights will present an outstanding constitutional lawyer, Dr. William Hepburn, Dean of Emory University, Georgia, on "The Constitution and Private School Segregation." Lenes Hall, 3:00 P.M., April 8. Two weeks later a biblical expert will speak on "God, Race and Segregation."

NO CATHOLIC NURSING SCHOOL is integrated in Louisiana up till now. A State College, Southwestern Institute of Lafayette, is proposing to train both white and colored girls in its nursing program beginning this September.

THE RINGLEADER of the mob action against Autherine Lucy has been permanently expelled from the University of Alabama. Four other student mobsters have been suspended, and twenty-five more have been visited with disciplinary action. The University Board of Trustees could not prevent the riot, but has taken this action against the rioters.

ON TUESDAY, MARCH 20, New Orleans citizens were treated to an interesting contrast: a frenzied, abusive, orgiastic mob at the White Citizens' Council rally at the Municipal Auditorium, and a quiet, intelligent discussion of the Citizens' Pro-Integration Forum at the Rabouin School. Decent citizens prefer thoughtful meetings.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, like all sound and sensible leaders, calls for "intelligence, patience and understanding" in the inevitable national trend towards equal civil rights for Negroes. We are with him a hundred per cent in deploring the hysterical extremists.

THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, at its monthly meeting in March, awarded nine prizes, totalling $550.00 to the winners of essay contest, answering the question: "Why is an Integrated School better than a Segregated School?" We hope that the best essays will be printed and widely distributed to Catholic parents.

THE LITTLEFIELD, TEXAS, Board of Education has decided to integrate 200 Negro students on the high school level next Fall. All of the Negro high school teachers will be retained so that the faculty also will be integrated. Is Texas ahead of Louisiana?

DECENT PEOPLE all over the Southeast were shocked that the murderers of Emmet Till went unpunished in Mississippi. An even greater shock comes to decent citizens at the release of Elmer Kimbell, who murdered in cold blood Clinton Melton, before three witnesses. Justice is both blind and dead in Mississippi.

FLORIDA IS THE LATEST of the long list of Southern States admitting Negroes to the State University. After seven years of knocking at the door, a Negro has been ordered admitted to the Law School of the University of Florida by the Supreme Court. The only hold-out states in the Southeast now are Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina.

ARCHBISHOP RUMMEL, because he has "made possible a higher conception of democratic principles, and for upholding the highest traditions of the American way of life," has been named for the Russwurm Award, by the National Negro Press.

COMMUNISTS attack the Supreme Court, subvert the Constitution, and try to overturn the democratic form of government. White Citizens' Councils attack the Supreme Court, subvert the Constitution, and try to overturn the democratic form of government. But the WCC also attack the Communists. Is there a rift in the ranks of subversion?

ISN'T IT TIME that the former Southern Democrats who voted the Dixiecrat ticket in 1948 and the Eisenhower ticket in 1952 stop calling themselves Democrats. Many of these people are now working to subvert the U. S. Constitution and the Supreme Court. Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans want them. Why not start a third party and call it the Unconstitutional Party?

COMPULSORY SEGREGATION never was a solution to the problem of race relations. And there will be no solution until the compulsion is removed. The Negro wants nothing more than equality of treatment. Stop compulsion and you solve the problem.

COR UNUM ET ANIMA UNA

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

RECEIVED MAR 22 1956

March 20, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks for your note of March 13 about possible interest at the University of Kentucky and the University of North Carolina.

Take it easy. I have no green light at the Fund. I would like to know, however, if you located Arthur Roper.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:hw

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

March 20, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks very much for your letter of March 13 with your comments on the Fisk proposal.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:hw

CONFIDENTIAL

COPY

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Times Square New York 36 N Y

LAckawanna 4-1000

March 25, 1956

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, President
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Hutchins:

Thanks very much for your nice letter on the Southern talk, and it was a pleasure to meet with you and your folks.

I didn't want to take time to rehash some of the basic points I wrote out to expedite things earlier, but maybe it might be of some help if I re-typed the outline. This is obviously not any idea of The Times, and maybe it's too superficial. But at least it went like this:

I. The first consideration is that any solutions have got to come from a community itself.

II. The communities in Alabama and Florida have had lots of propaganda for segregation, little if any for desegregation. They might use some basic compilation on that side, perhaps including:

A. Moral base for integration--as in sermon by Bishop Louttit of South Florida Protestant Episcopal Church.

B. Legal base--Supreme Court texts.

C. Practical base:

1. Labor--Keeping one element down tends to keep all parts of population down, cheap Negro labor is threat to wage standards, boycott law in Alabama was aimed at unions and used on Negroes.

2. Economic--extra costs of building separate schools or long-distance transportation, high cost of out-of-state tuition for Negroes in higher institutions, potential effect of turmoil on South's uplift industrialization efforts and tourism.

3. Peace--Negro rise has been a revolution, and revolutions in past have tended to be violent and hurt the innocent; problem to preserve peace for all.

4. Educational--arguments over benefits from wider contacts.

5. Warnings from history of anti-Negro movements turning into anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish movements.

6. Examples of integration and effects, such as "Schools in Transition" showing different settings and efforts.

7. Historic--U. S. tradition has been to promote opportunity, effect overseas.

--more

III. The need is for some positive efforts at understanding and mediation - - understanding of the Negro desire to attain both equality and dignity, understanding of the real recent Southern educational efforts, moves that will try to save face for both sides as is a necessity in something like the Montgomery bus boycott now.

A. The Alabama and Florida Councils on Human Relations, affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, and other community groups, including the National Urban League branches, offer a starting point.

B. Such groups might be equipped with handbooks of data as above.

C. The most effective tactic might be some community education effort such as in the Puerto Rico Department of Education, where individual workers go out into the countryside and towns to spend weeks and months just chatting until they get people themselves to start self-help efforts. In New York, a similar tactic is tried in street-gang work by the Youth Board. This is very long-term.

I was glad to come over to talk about something constructive, instead of the recent critical encounters. I was glad also today to run into your newly-announced financing of the local bar groups' panel of counsel for security cases.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Peter Kihss

March 26, 1956

Mr. Frank Loescher
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Frank:

Would love to see the Wollheims. I will have a British MP hereabouts some of that time and they may well fit in together.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

March 30, 1956

Mr. Frank Loescher,
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

I was to get you Arthur Raper's address.

Twenty-five cents ordinary postage will reach him, care of American Embassy, USOM to Iran, Tehran, Iran.

He is Regional Advisor on Community Development for the Near East and South Asia and Africa.

But for six cents air mail you get to him more quickly and more surely, care of American Embassy, USOM, APO 205, New York, New York.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Dictated by Dr. Mitchell. Signed by mef in his absence.

March 30, 1956

Mr. Frank Loescher
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

Yes, six copies of the film "For Fair Play" we can get to good use.

Would appreciate.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Dictated by Dr. Mitchell. Signed by mef in his absence.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

March 26, 1956

RECEIVED MAR 29 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

We think we are in the clear about ordering copies of the film "For Fair Play." Some time ago you wrote that you could put six copies to good use. Is this still correct?

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:hw

The Fund for the Republic INC.

MEMORANDUM

To Frank Loescher

Date. April 3, 1956

From Joseph P. Lyford

Subject International Harvester

The attached Wall Street Journal piece ought to be made available to Fleming for discreet use.

I think you should talk to Vice President Willis of International Harvester and get details on its experience in expanding its integration policy. Such a report could be useful to other plants. Perhaps the Fund could bring such a report to the attention of other industries which are having trouble.

On another subject, the Southern Regional Council letter to Chambers of Commerce was so good that it ought to be followed up. I think Fleming should send other letters to the Chambers of Commerce on the same subject but using new angles. He has endless examples of how to back up his point that segregation hurts business.

I wish we could have a study made of how race tensions in the South have affected the plans of established industries to move to that area or of new industries to start up in the South.

cc: Harold Fleming

April 6, 1956

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

You and your wife were as kind as could be to me Wednesday and I am very grateful. And the chicken and biscuits were awful good. And I enjoyed the cousin.

I had some twinges about not going home with you after the meeting. But the planes were late and 'tis a good thing I got that two hours nap.

Hope to see you early next week.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

April 10, 1956

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street,
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Frank:

Here are copies of miscellaneous items which you might want to incorporate in your files on SRC.

The Guy Wells incident has simmered down, and I think on the whole will be a gain in terms of public understanding of the threat to freedom of speech. If I were the state authorities, I would proceed very cautiously in any further attempts to silence or penalize Dr. Wells.

I am glad that you were able to see Ben Price. He is a good guy and a first rate reporter. I should think the chances of his doing something useful with assistance from the Fund are very good.

I hope I will be seeing you again soon so that we can catch up on recent developments. Meanwhile, if there is anything I need to add to the quarterly report on our information effort, let me know.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:o
encs.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

March 26, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of March 19 with more clippings on Dr. Wells. I do not think I have a low boiling point, but this has made me plenty sore.

I must write Wells.

Is there any "Committee for Dr. Wells" that might get this story around Georgia, especially to educators and Rotary people? Has this possibilities for "Sugar Bowl" repercussions?

I am glad you liked Joe Lyford's memorandum on the Times.

The very best.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

P.S. Ben Price came in to see me and I gave him some names. Then we had 3 drinks! Nice guy. Should we think of him for a job in the South?

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

April 16, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed are clippings from Wall Street Journal on International Harvester. Do you get this paper?

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:hw
Enclosure

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

April 17, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of April 10 and all the clippings.

There are some real good ones.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

April 17, 1956

Mr. Fred B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thanks for the copy of the letter from Morocco to Dr. Wells.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

RECEIVED APR 20 1956

April 17, 1956

1. HCF ✓
2. FR ✓
✓ CHP + JHII.
gsm.
✓

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I think you may find interesting the enclosed materials from the Commission on Human Rights in New Orleans.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:hw
Enclosure

April 18, 1956

Corrected copy sent
air mail to F.L. 4/19/56

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South Forty-Sixth Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

When I was in New York on about April 10th, I went to see one of the lawyers for the Christopher Reynolds Foundation. You will remember that I had asked them for $5,000 to make us ~~hold~~ whole on behalf of the foreign visitors.

Nice man I talked to said that he would pretty soon be conferring with you in re. Uphold us I beg!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

RECEIVED APR 20 1956

April 18, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter with Arthur Raper's address. Chances are that the Fund won't do anything about this area until this fall or later.

But keep educating us.

I think I told you how much we liked your progress report.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

April 20, 1956

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Frank:

I think you will find this issue of New South, summarizing the treatment to the South's economy, of special interest. We are urging our State groups to give special program emphasis to the points which it raises. We are also sending it as a follow-up to our Chamber of Commerce letter.

I am calling this to Joe Lyford's attention too.

I recall that when you were here we talked about the need for more interpretation of what is actually called for by the Supreme Court's School Decision. I thought you would want to see the pamphlet, copy enclosed, which we prepared to help the State groups in this respect.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o
encs.

April 24, 1956

Dear Frank:

Here are two gratifying mentions of SRC - one an editorial of the Christian Science Monitor and one in the current issue of Time. This is the kind of recognition we like to get. We will try to contrive some effective follow-up to the Monitor's proposal. Best regards.

Sincerely,

CC: Mr. Joseph Lyford
with enclosures

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

April 24, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of April 20. I look forward to reading "What the Supreme Court Said" and the May issue of New South on economics.

Nice going.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

RECEIVED APR 27 1956

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

GSM - we have clips on this
HCF

April 25, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Ex. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Pl., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

What are your impressions of the Southern Assembly, the regional follow-up to the American Assembly (Arden House)?

Should there be more of these?

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FILE COPY

April 27, 1956

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

Thanks for sending me the correspondence concerning Robert Du Four Barnes. He seems to have had quite a raw deal, and if we had any appropriate openings, I would be glad to open negotiations with him. As of now, however, we have a full complement (salary wise!) in the information and public relations work.

I will pass the correspondence on to George Mitchell and Fred Routh for any suggestions that they may be able to turn up.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

April 18, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is some correspondence about Robert Du Four Barnes. Would he be useful to the SRC?

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

April 6, 1956

Mr. James Dombrowski
Southern Conference Educational
Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Dear Jim:

I haven't any ideas at all for Bob Barnes. The corridors are crowded with people of good heart these days, for reasons that you and I understand too well.

We do have a fellowship and grants-in-aid program, and if anything occurs to us that might be of interest to Barnes and to us under this program I would surely get in touch with you.

I continue to be amazed at your optimism. Please plan on spending a couple of hours with me on your next trip here and tell me whence the fund hope and good cheer.

Yours ever,

W. H. Ferry

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

April 3, 1956

RECEIVED
APR 4 1956
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Mr. W. H. Ferry
Executive Vice-president
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ping:

Do you know of any openings for a really top flight public relations man?

As you will see from the enclosed sheet, Bob Barnes has an impressive background for a person of his age. He has an engaging personality.

A few days ago without warning he was fired from his job as Director of Public Relations for the Chamber of Commerce because of his support for integration.

I would give anything if we had the money to take him on as a full-time person at the SCEF. Truly the fields are ripe for harvest, and the workers are few.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Robert DuFour Barnes

P.O. Box 6

New Orleans 6, La.

EXPERIENCE: Marshfield (Wis.) News-Herald (1944-46)

Reporter ... city editor ... wire editor ... acting managing editor

New Orleans Times-Picayune (1947-51)

News editor ... rewrites ... features ... book reviews

Voice of America (1951-53)

News ... commentaries ... chief, counter propaganda section ... Korean correspondent

Chamber of Commerce of the New Orleans Area (1953-56)

Editor of weekly news magazine ... director of public relations

EDUCATION: University of Wisconsin (1941-42)

Tulane University (1946-47)

New School for Social Research (1951-52)

PERSONAL: Born -- Marshfield, Wisconsin, June 14, 1925

World War II -- Merchant Marine (bos'n) ... wounded on D-Day, decorated, discharged

Married ... one child

ADDENDA: Inland Press Award (1945)

Edited prize-winning college newspaper (1946)

Won special Peabody Award for propaganda (1952)

Given formal Secretariat commendation for UN broadcasts (1953)

Freedoms Foundation citation (1954)

American Association of Commerce Publications Award (1955)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

April 30, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for copies of stories in Time and the Christian Science Monitor. They are real great.

I also appreciate your note about R. D. Barnes.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

AIRMAIL

May 10, 1956

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

I have exchanged telegrams with David Loth and all is set for a get together next Thursday with you and Dave Freeman if he is available. I will show up at the Fund's office at about 9:30 A.M. for any discussion with Ferry, Kelly, or others that may seem indicated. Loth is to meet me at 10:30, and we will spend a couple of hours together before lunch time.

If you and I can get together over some dinner Wednesday night, that will be wonderful. I am due at the Newark airport at 4:05 and should be registering at the Biltmore an hour or so later. If you are free give me a call there.

I have your letter forwarding Peter Kihss's suggestion and will ponder it in the meantime. I am sending a copy of this both to New York and to Philadelphia to make sure you will get it well ahead of time.

I am looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o

May 15, 1956

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
414 South Forty-Sixth Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

I have been siting on your letter of April 25th about the Southern Assembly. Sitting because I hoped I could establish communication with John Popham who went to their two meetings on the Gulf Coast, and could and would have told me their flavor. But Popham seems to be irretrievably popping around Kefauver.

I went some years ago to one session of the American Assembly at Arden House. Thought it pleasant and an effective way to get a body of people consulted. Opined that it was really CED academically be-gowned.

I would say that the litmus paper for the Southern one would be whether it includes courageous Negro persons. If she turns blue on that one, take her. If she won't turn, go easy.

Which is not to say that there is not a sphere of usefulness for considerations limited to white persons, but rather specifically and narowly limited -- if thus confined.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

May 15, 1956

Mr. Frank Loescher
44 South Forty-Sixth Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

Mr. Guy Wells, in reporting for April, recounted the matter of the lifting of his title and the attack on his person. He had a neat paragraph, which I quote:

> I will not ask the Regents to restore my title of President-Emeritus because, first, I do not think they would, and secondly, if there was any honor attached to the title it had already been conferred, and finally, the scars they meant to inflict are more valuable than the title they might restore.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

May 17, 1956

Received
5/21/56

Mr. Fred B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thanks for the Kentucky material. I hope you can keep us posted on what happens to Negro teachers. Southern School News has stories this month on Oklahoma and Missouri.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

May 17, 1956

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South Forty-Sixth Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

About sending New South out to foundations. Excellent and we will.

Ben Segal gives me some indication that the New World Foundation will pick up some part of what Montgomery Bradley couldn't.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

May 17, 1956

Mr. Frank Loescher
414 South Forty-Sixth Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

News in your note of April 27th about Philip Hyatt at Vanderbilt, and the study undertaken for the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, I had heard nothing of.

I am only four pages into Calhoun's manuscript. It is still pedestrian.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

George

MEMORANDUM

4/27/56

Dr. Philip Hyatt

of Vanderbilt University was asked to do "study setting forth the Biblical basis for integration with special ref. to New Testament" by Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, says a statement of the F of S.C.

Know anything about this?

What do you think of M. Calhoun's manuscript?

FSL

FRANK S. LOESCHER

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

RECEIVED MAR 21 1956

March 19, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Can you give me by April 16 a progress report for the Fund's Board Meeting in May?

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

fsl:wo

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

RECEIVED MAY 24 1956

May 22, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Enclosed is a proposal from an Edward S. Overman, Visiting Professor of Political Science at the University of Tennessee. We would appreciate your looking this over at your convenience and telling us what you know of Overman and what you think of the proposal as such or a fellowship.

Since I am leaving for Africa in the next few weeks, you might return this with your comments to David Freeman.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

AIRMAIL

May 22, 1956

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York, New York

Dear Frank:

Many thanks for the hospitality and pleasant conversation when I was in New York. I have read with much interest the material you lent me and I'm returning separately, first class, those items which you wanted back.

I spent about two hours Friday with Vinton Ziegler discussing his proposed project. While the general underlying notion - that of bringing to bear national prestige figures in a spirit of reconciliation - is appealing, I have some very grave doubts about the details of the proposal. The problem as I see it is Ziegler's lack of understanding of what is happening in the South, and a big push along the lines he is considering might well lead to disillusionment or worse. I learned from George Mitchell that his reaction was much the same. I won't undertake a detailed analysis of the proposal here, but I would welcome a chance to discuss it with you further if the occasion arises, before you leave for Africa.

As you may know by now, Marion Wright is in New York at the Taft Hotel. If he can make himself useful in any way, I know he would like to. Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

May 22, 1956

Mr. Mitchell

This material should have been enclosed with Mr. Loescher's letter to you today.

DF

What does Cushman think?
What does Mitchell think?
I am not for the big plan: but a 5-1-a might be just right.

RF

May 24, 1956

(Dictated May 23)

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
414 South Forty-Sixth Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

I think the air mail should-have-been enclosures on the Overman proposal for studying the role of churches in desegregation reached me ahead of a letter aimed by you at me May 22nd. - attached

Not having your letter I am somewhat in the dark, but I can see from your memo of May 8th what sort of thing is proposed.

Practically all the churches have said the right thing.

From here on out it is an internal church matter for each denomination to cause its centrally spoken doctrines to come to life in local churches. I can't see that studies do much for that.

Conferences help, and travel by denominational people helps, but about the most that would happen from studies would be that a few studious parsons would preach brightly on the subject. And blessed few parsons have the courage to preach on the subject at all. And not many would be emboldened by the results of the study.

Also I am a little repelled by the idea of a two-year study. Two years is a long time in this movement. If when I get your letter I have cause to differ from this reply, I will then differ. Meanwhile, as I am to be out for a few days I hasten to get off this script.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

P. S. Calhoun came by yesterday and got his manuscript. Says he has had favorable nibbles from Harpers. I conclude that the virtue of Calhoun's manuscript is that as a studious and exhaustive examination it will be relied upon resource for people to mine for quickies. That's helpful. But generally speaking I am on the side of quickies.

The Fund for the Republic INC.

MEMORANDUM

Rec'd 5/23

To ~~DFF, RMH~~

Date May 8, 1956

From FSL

Subject Overman Proposal for Study of Role of Churches in Desegregation

This is a thoughtful proposal.

I do not know Overman. He gives Professor Gooch at University of Virginia as one reference. Gooch is a good man.

He suggests a two year study by a team of moderate southerners of (1) church pronouncements (2) impact of church groups (e.g. ministerial associations in Virginia Referendum) (3) doctrinal bases of church policies.

A better approach, I believe, would be a national commission of clergymen and laymen, including scholars and business leaders. This is a national problem; problems in all geographic regions need study. A southern approach would rightly be resisted. (Incidentally, Dudley Ward might be the right person to direct a national study.)

However, assuming that the Fund would be receptive to a proposal from a group of leading churchmen for a national study, I can see many months necessary to setting up the project properly. (For example, how can the Southern Baptists be involved?)

In the meantime, it might be desirable to see if Overman would be interested in making the kind of study he has outlined in one state on a Fund fellowship.

RMH - I'm not for this.

DFF

May 8, 1956

Mr. Edward S. Overman
704 17th Street
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Overman:

Mr. Hutchins has shared with me your letter of April 25. We are glad to know of your interest in a study of the role of the churches in relation to desegregation problems in the South.

As soon as I have consulted with the Officers, I shall be in touch with you.

Sincerely yours,

Frank S. Loescher

bcc: DFF
RMH

May 23, 1956

To: Mr. Frank S. Loescher

Subject: South Carolina teachers

The Rights of Conscience people are probably aware of this situation. It might be something they can help on. McCain has sent us copies of the official questionnaire and other information bearing on this segregation loyalty program.

If you have time you might let me know whether the teachers who elect to fight their dismissal legally can properly appeal to the Rights of Conscience group for assistance.

HCF:mbo
Encs.

BALK AT QUESTIONAIRES 5-17-56

21 Negro Teachers to Leave Training School at Elloree

ELLOREE, May 16 (AP)—At least 21 Negro teachers at the Elloree Training School will not resume their duties here this fall when the Negro school begins its September term. The announcement was made today by the board of trustees.

What apparently prompted the trustees' decision was the reported refusal of some teachers to express their personal views concerning integrated schools and NAACP membership. This was partly substantiated by the trustees.

"We're going to run our schools for the best interests of the community," declared W. B. Bookhardt, chairman of the Elloree board of trustees.

Last Friday, trustees said, application blanks were distributed to teachers. Anyone desiring to return this fall was requested to complete the application and return it Monday to School Supt. M. G. Austin. Only seven were returned on the specified day.

"When Mr. Austin went around on Monday to pick up the applications," Bookhardt continued, "he got only those seven. Some of the others said they were not NAACP members but refused to sign or fill in the blanks. Others declined to say if they were, or were not, members of the NAACP.

"On Tuesday, and acting on the instructions of the board of trustees," Bookhardt said. "Mr. Austin went back around to see about the applications. Teachers were asked to either submit the applications or resign. Eighteen resigned, and three others refused to sign the applications or resign."

The application contains routine questions concerning the teacher's background and professional abilities. It also has the following-listed questions:

Do you favor integration of races in schools? Are you satisfied with your work and the schools as they are now maintained? Do you feel that you would be happy in an integrated school system, knowing that parents and students alike do not favor this system?

Do you feel that an integrated school system would better fit the Negro race for their life's work? Do you think you are qualified to teach an integrated class in a satisfactory manner?

Do you believe in the aims of the NAACP? If you should join the NAACP while employed in this school will you please notify the superintendent and chairman of the board of trustees?

HCF

May 17,1956

Dear Fred:

Enclosed you will find article from the State newspaper, a questionnaire and a letter which Miss Rutha Mae Ingram received from the Superintendent. Miss Ingram refused to fill out the questionnaire or resign, so she was fired. Things are really beginning to pop.

Yours truly,

Jim

ELLOREE PUBLIC SCHOOLS
office of the Superintendent
ELLOREE, S. C.
May 17,1956

Rutha Mae Ingram:

The Board of Trustees did not consider you for re-election for the 1956-57 term because you refused to fill out a Teacher's Application.

M.G. Austin
Supt.

TEACHER APPLICATION

NAME
HOME ADDRESS
DATE OF BIRTH _____ AGE _____ RACE _____ SEX _____
MARITAL STATUS _____ NO OF CHILDREN _____ LIVING WITH HUSBAND OR WIFE?
CERTIFICATE INFORMATION

GROUP _____ CLASS _____ GRADE _____ DATE OF EXPIRATION _____
HELMS EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO JULY 1, 1955. _____ YEARS IN PRESENT POSITION _____
SUBJECTS OR FIELDS IN WHICH CERTIFIED TO TEACH _____

HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDED _____ LIST COLLEGES ATTENDED _____
SUMMER SCHOOLS ATTENDED (LAST FIVE YEARS), EXTENSION COURSES (LAST FIVE YEARS,) GIVING DATES AND DEGREES _____

RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE _____ ARE YOU A MEMBER? _____ IS SO, STATE CHURCH OF WHICH YOU ARE A MEMBER _____
LIST ANY CLUBS, ORGANIZATIONS, OR FRATERNITIES TO WHICH YOU BELONG _____

DO YOU BELONG TO THE NAACP? _____ DOES ANY MEMBER OF YOUR IMMEDIATE FAMILY BELONG TO THE NAACP? _____ DO YOU SUPPORT THE NAACP IN ANY WAY (MONEY OR ATTENDANCE AT MEETINGS)? _____
DO YOU FAVOR INTEGRATION OF RACES IN SCHOOLS? _____ ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH YOUR WORK AND THE SCHOOLS AS THEY ARE NOW MAINTAINED? YES _____ NO _____ IF YES, COMMENT ON BACK.
DO YOU FEEL THAT YOU WOULD BE HAPPY IN AN INTEGRATED SCHOOL SYSTEM, KNOWING THAT PARENTS AND STUDENTS DO NOT FAVOR THIS SYSTEM? YES _____ NO _____ (CHECK ONE AND GIVE REASON FOR YOUR ANSWER) _____

DO YOU FEEL THAT AN INTEGRATED SCHOOL SYSTEM WOULD BETTER FIT THE COLORED RACE FOR THEIR LIFE'S WORK. YES _____ NO _____ (CHECK ONE AND GIVE REASON FOR YOUR ANSWER)

DO YOU THINK THAT YOU ARE QUALIFIED TO TEACH AN INTEGRATED CLASS IN A SATISFACTORY MANNER? YES _____ NO _____ (CHECK ONE AND GIVE REASON FOR YOUR ANSWER) _____

DO YOU FEEL THAT THE PARENTS OF YOUR SCHOOL KNOW THAT NO PUBLIC SCHOOLS WILL BE OPERATED IF THEY ARE INTEGRATED? YES _____ NO _____

DO YOU BELIEVE IN THE AIMS OF THE NAACP? _____

IF YOU SHOULD JOIN THE NAACP WHILE EMPLOYED IN THIS SCHOOL, PLEASE NOTIFY THE SUPERINTENDENT AND CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES. YES _____ NO _____

DO YOU DESIRE A POSITION IN THE ELLOREE TRAINING SCHOOL FOR THE 1956-57 SESSION?

The State of South Carolina
County of Orangeburg

Personally comes before me the undersigned, who on oath says that the above statements are true.

Sworn to me before this _____ day of _____ 1956.

_____ SIGNED _____
NOTARY PUBLIC OF SOUTH CAROLINA

May 25, 1956

To: Frank S. Loescher

Here are a couple of newspaper clippings which demonstrate a certain amount of "impact".

I hope you have seen the editorial in the current issue of Life which uses a lengthy portion of George Mitchell's article in the Fund's Bulletin. This is evidence of impact of the Fund's publication which should be pleasing to all concerned.

HCF:mbo
Encs.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

May 29, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of May 22 about Ziegler's scheme, your memorandum on the Southern Industrial Study and the clippings.

Not enclosed

Enclosed is a Philadelphia FEPC 1951 Report. On pages 10 and 11 you will see pictures of some of the types of display racks and materials I spoke of over the phone.

Best regards

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

May 29, 1956

Mr. Fred Fuges
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Fred Fuges:

Enclosed is a memorandum from Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council about the Elloree, S.C. Negro teachers. Will you let Harold Fleming know if this situation falls within your program?

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

fsl:wo

cc: Mr. Harold Fleming, SRC

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

RECEIVED JUN 7 1956

June 5, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

David Freeman and I are as impressed as you are by Irene Osborne's report.

We return it to you herewith.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

RECEIVED JUN 7 1956

June 5, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Enclosed is a memorandum from Hallock Hoffman and a letter from James Peck who has spent several months in Mississippi on a Fund fellowship.

I doubt that the Fund would be interested in the study or, tax-wise, could be interested in the written contracts scheme, but I know Hallock would like to have your comments.

It was nice seeing Harold yesterday.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

cc: Mr. H. Hoffman

returned 1/14/57

P.S. Please return Peck's letter to Hallock Hoffman

June 7, 1956

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Penna.

Dear Frank:

I am still wrestling with the introductory material for the desegregation report; but in view of your imminent departure, I am sending you this draft of the findings, so that you can see what our survey achieved. I am going to add a brief general introduction, as well as a few introductory paragraphs for each section which will sketch in the background in each area. Incidentally, this draft has not even been proofed, so please overlook any typos. As soon as I have completed the draft, I will send a couple of copies to Dave Freeman, one to Loth etc.

It was pleasant as always to be with you in New York Monday. Thanks to your sympathetic efforts, I did get to Schwartz' and I did get the pistol and Gary was tickled pink beneath his measles. I told him about your role in the business and he commanded me to convey his thanks.

While I'm jumping about among the sublime and ridiculous, I might mention that Paul Pfuetze came over yesterday and we had a good chat. I think we have a good idea working, but will hold it until Pfuetze has had a chance to discuss it with Gotesky.

If we don't communicate again before the 15th, the best of travels to you and Mrs. Loescher.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

Langham Hotel
Johannesburg
July 11, 1956

Dear Harold,

Here I go being a "do-gooder". The African Ministers Association has called a conference this coming fall on Apartheid and all of the restrictive legislation passed since 1948. Mr. William B. NGAKANE, an African on the SA Inst. of RR staff, (P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg) is providing secretarial assistance, advice and guidance. I told Ngakane of the outstanding leadership of Negro ministers in the South, and I am hoping you might be able to send Ngakane some reprints, that he could share with key leaders, on the role of Negro ministers in interracial progress. Is there anything easily available on Montgomery or Lower South Carolina, for instance? If you can send such material by surface mail, it will be put to good use.

This is the first time that African ministers have shown much initiative. I believe the clergy can have quite a bit of influence on white ministers, the white public and even

the government. Most of the leadership has been given by Communists, fellow-travelers and "secularists". If we could only transplant Martin Luther King!

The situation is harder to figure out than we expected. The government is

PAR AVION — AIR MAIL — LUGPOS

AEROGRAM AIR LETTER LUGBRIEF

SOUTH AFRICA POSTAGE 6d. SUID-AFRIKA POSGELD

RECEIVED JUL 16 1958

Mr Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave NE
Atlanta 3 Georgia
USA

FIRST FOLD—EERSTE VOU

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED, THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

AS ENIGSTE INGESLUIT WORD, SAL HIERDIE BRIEF PER GEWONE POS GESTUUR WORD

SENDER'S NAME AND ADDRESS
NAAM EN ADRES VAN AFSENDER

F S Joachim
414 South 46 St.
Phila. 43, Penna.
USA

SECOND FOLD—TWEEDE VOU

hampering political organization by its legislation and bribing some natural leaders by promotions to better paying jobs under the system of segregation. Africans are much better dressed; more housing is being erected; they are getting more pay.

I hope you and your family have a good summer.

Best regards
Frank

July 3

POST CARD · POSKAART

For Correspondence only
Slegs vir Korrespondensie

Address only to be w
Net die Adres word hie

Dear Harold

Hope all is quiet on the SRC front.

We have been here 10 days and find much that is depressing. In fact, there is very little on the hopeful side.

The South gets good coverage!

All the best
Frank L

"RICKSHA-MAN", DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA.
Co and naturally reinforces stereotypes

RECEIVED AUG 2 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave NE
Atlanta 3 Georgia
USA

From an oil painting by W. Stanley Phillips.
H & G (DBN)

July 3

Dear George,

Spent 3 days at the Sabta - British Reformed church Conference on the Tomlinson Report and 2 days at the Southern Africa Friends Yearly Meeting. Just had tea with Gordon Allport who is teaching at Univ. of Natal.

Quintin Whyte was asking for you.

Best regards
Frank L

Staff

RECEIVED AUG 2 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia
USA

August 5

Printed in England

POST CARD

Copyright: Published by Jack Hall & Co. P.O. Box 1886 Salisbury, S. Rhodesia.

Dear George,

We saw a good deal of Rufus Green, Anglican Bulawayo minister. He recalled the time he spent with you.

The question is how long can this set up last!

Regards
Frank L

The Add
wri

SALISBURY
-6AUG56-400PM

Dr George S Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia
USA

RECEIVED SEP 1 1956

430—Grey Street, Durban, with Moslem mosque

435. NATIVE VILLAGE SCENE, RHODESIA.

Orig. Mailed to FSL 9-6-56

THE

Dinkler Plaza

POST OFFICE BOX 1701

ATLANTA 1, ... GEORGIA

A. JOE CROCY
VICE PRESIDENT

GEORGE FOWLER
RESIDENT MANAGER

CARLING DINKLER, PRESIDENT • CARLING DINKLER, JR., EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

THE ST. CHARLES, NEW ORLEANS, LA. • THE DINKLER-TUTWILER, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
THE DINKLER JEFFERSON DAVIS, MONTGOMERY, ALA. • THE DINKLER ANDREW JACKSON, NASHVILLE, TENN.
THE DINKLER PLAZA, ATLANTA, GA.

September 5 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia.

RESERVATION IN NAME OF

Mr. Frank Loescher

We are happy to confirm your reservation, as indicated at right. We are looking forward to having you as our guest.

Hospitably yours,

small suite

September 10

mlc

"ALL RESERVATIONS ARE MADE SUBJECT TO MOTELS FAILURE OF GUESTS TO VACATE OR CAUSES OR CONDITIONS BEYOND OUR CONTROL"

The Dinkler Plaza offers ATLANTA'S FOUR-MOST RESTAURANTS

Town & Country

Most luscious steak you've ever tasted 1 lb. Sirloin Char-Broiled over the op hearth and served with baked Idaho, the salad you can eat and coffee candlelight. It's the greatest dining tr in Atlanta.

Petite Lounge

Most attractive setting for pleas relaxation. Your favorite beverag sipped to a background of mood mu

knife & fork

Most any time of day you'll enjoy snack or meal in this quick service r taurant. Moderate prices. Open all d

the Stirrup

Most picturesque spot for tasty seaf delicacies in this oyster bar d delicatessen.

AIRMAIL

September 18, 1956

Mr. Frank Loescher
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Frank:

The enclosed AP story was front paged by the Atlanta Journal last night and second paged by the Atlanta Constitution this morning. As you will see it is based on a copyrighted article in the current U. S. News and World Report.

This is very bad stuff, which further contributes to the deterioration of the national climate of opinion on desegregation.

I called Martin Deutsch, one of the prime movers in SPSSI, whom I met at the APA convention in Chicago. Deutsch said he would undertake to pull in some top people in the field and develop an authoritative statement of the evidence refuting McGurk. I am to meet with Deutsch and others next week in New York to work out the best press handling for their statement.

Would it be possible for you to alert the public relations specialists at the Fund to give me any advice they will next Tuesday. I am thinking in terms of both an AP treatment and possibly a more thoughtful magazine treatment in the New York Times magazine or some other publication.

There may be some spot reactions to McGurk's article. Even so, however, I think it is extremely important to bring up the big guns on this issue and to do a full scale job of interpreting constructive findings on Negro capacity through the national media.

I will appreciate any help you can give me on this and will look forward to seeing you Monday night. Your secretary got me a reservation at the Commodore and I am planning to arrive on a 4:10 P.M. flight.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

September 27, 1956

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
414 South Forty-Sixth Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

I am partially out of luck on the Fred van Wyks, because I have promised to be variously at Washington or Williamsburg for the period November 13-17. But I will be back in Atlanta the 18th, and the Van Wyks and I will maybe agree for the 18th, the 19th, the 20th, and some part of the 22nd.

I remember so well the Quentin Whytes, and we both enjoyed the visit.

I do hope the van Wyks will save some time in the last several days of their stay so that Alice and I can get to know them.

I will call you when I get to New York Tuesday morning, October 2nd.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

September 27, 1956

Dr. Mitchell:

Following dates in ~~October~~ November filled:

11/13 - Washington, D. C. (YWCA)
11/14 - Williamsburg, Va. (Bd.
11/15 - "
11/16 - 17 - Washington, D. C.
(N.C. Negro Women)

RECEIVED SEP 27 1956

414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Penna.
September 26, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Fred van Wyk, assistant director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, is coming to America next week on a Carnegie grant to study American race relations. He plans to spend October in the East and November in the South. Would you like to meet Fred and his wife Noelline?

I cannot give you exact dates now, but here is his tentative schedule in the South:

November	1- 7:	North Carolina (Durham, Chapel Hill, Greensboro)
	8-10:	TVA
	11-15:	Nashville
	16-22:	Atlanta → see note
	23-30:	Alabama and Mississippi

Attached is Fred's biographical sketch. I met him in 1953 when I was consultant to his organization. I think you will like Fred and Noelline and I am sure you and your Negro and white friends will get many new insights from their intimate knowledge of South Africa. Noelline's father, incidentally, is a Dutch Reform clergyman and chairman of the Institute's General Purposes Committee.

Fred is eager to meet people who can help him understand our racial situation and our methods of working toward equal opportunity. He is especially interested in youth work and the programs of religious organizations.

Could you let me know if the van Wyks' southern itinerary brings them to your town at a time when you would be able to see them?

Many thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

P.S. Give me a ring when you get to New York next week. I plan to be around Monday and Tuesday.

Suspend - Nov 8

October 5, 1956

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Frank:

This is in reply to your letter about the impending visit to Atlanta of Fred van Wyk. Naturally we are looking forward eagerly to meeting him and comparing notes on his operation and ours. I have learned from Dean Brazeal at Morehouse that he too has been alerted. If you will let me know what other Atlanta persons have been written, we will work out with them some coordinated plan for Mr. van Wyk's visit here.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

RECEIVED SEP 27 1956

414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia 43, Penna.
September 26, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Fred van Wyk, assistant director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, is coming to America next week on a Carnegie grant to study American race relations. He plans to spend October in the East and November in the South. Would you like to meet Fred and his wife Noelline?

I cannot give you exact dates now, but here is his tentative schedule in the South:

November	1- 7:	North Carolina (Durham, Chapel Hill, Greensboro)
	8-10:	TVA
	11-15:	Nashville
	16-22:	Atlanta
	23-30:	Alabama and Mississippi

Attached is Fred's biographical sketch. I met him in 1953 when I was consultant to his organization. I think you will like Fred and Noelline and I am sure you and your Negro and white friends will get many new insights from their intimate knowledge of South Africa. Noelline's father, incidentally, is a Dutch Reform clergyman and chairman of the Institute's General Purposes Committee.

Fred is eager to meet people who can help him understand our racial situation and our methods of working toward equal opportunity. He is especially interested in youth work and the programs of religious organizations.

Could you let me know if the van Wyks' southern itinerary brings them to your town at a time when you would be able to see them?

Many thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

NAME:	Frederick Johannes van Wyk.*
DATE OF BIRTH:	4th October, 1916.
STUDIES:	Matriculation (1st Class): 1932. B.A. (Dutch and German): 1936. (Rhodes University, Grahamstown).
STUDENT INTERESTS:	Bantu Studies Society. National Union of South African Students.
SPORTS:	Long-distance running and rugby football.
SUBSEQUENT WORK:	Union Department of Native Affairs: Transkei 1936-1939. After war, Department of Native Affair's Head Office, 1946-1948. Last year, 1948, personal secretary to Secretary for Native Affairs which included parliamentary work.
WAR SERVICE:	Volunteered for military service when war broke out in 1939. Served - commissioned rank - with 7/23 Medium Regiment, South African Artillery in 6th S. A. Armoured Division. Active service in North Africa and Italy.
MARRIAGE:	November 1949, Noelline Reyneke, daughter of Ds. Johannes Reyneke and Mrs. Reyneke. Two daughters, February 1954 and August 1955.
GENERAL:	Have read widely on race relations. Numerous articles written on race relations in Afrikaans and English.

------oOo------

* Pronounced fan Vaik. F.S.L.

October 8, 1956

Mr. Frank Loescher
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Frank:

Ed Reed got hold of the film of Carmichael's television appearance while I was in New York. I was as impressed as you by the man's wisdom and effectiveness in interpreting the Louisville experience, and I very much hope that the Fund will be able to secure copies for distribution.

I thought you would like to see the enclosed clipping which shows that our Charlottesville group was alert to Carmichael's usefulness there.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

October 8, 1956

Mr. Frank Loescher
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Frank:

I find that I never wrote you about the film "Commencement". Did the Fund buy copies for distribution?

We have screened the film and think it is useful particularly for showing to employers and others who are in position to influence employment policies. In lieu of copies of the film, I would be inclined to emphasize to our state groups that the film is available on loan basis from CGCC. I'll appreciate your letting me know where the matter stands.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

September 20, 1956

(Dictated September 19)

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

A long long time ago you suggested that I apply to the Christopher Reynolds Foundation. I did and they sat on it. I poked them a couple of times and this morning they came through with a check for $5,000!

That puts us well over the top on raising our $55,000 this year; and it is the sweetest kind of money because it waters our stem, and that is what needed watering.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: to 414 South 46th St.
Phila. 4, Pa.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

September 20, 1956

Discussed 9-25-56

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

If possible, please read on the plane this memorandum by North on Negro-white intelligence that the Fund commissioned last spring. We want to discuss it with you next week.

Thanks for your letter of September 18, the AP story on McGurk, and also your speech to SPSSI.

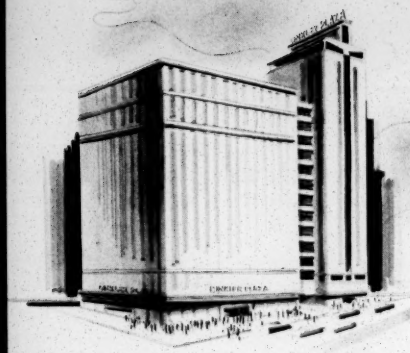
Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

P.S.: Phone me at the Fund when you arrive Monday afternoon.



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GEORGE FOWLER
RESIDENT MANAGER

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THE DINKLER PLAZA, ATLANTA, GA.

October 12 1956

Mr. Hal Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue
Room 423
Atlanta, Georgia.

RESERVATION IN NAME OF

Mr. Frank Loescher

We are happy to confirm your reservation, as indicated at right. We are looking forward to having you as our guest.

Date of Arrival: October 23

Type Room: Single

Time of Arrival: midnight

Hospitably yours,

George Fowler

mlc

"ALL RESERVATIONS ARE MADE SUBJECT TO STRIKES, FAILURE OF GUESTS TO VACATE, OR CAUSES OR CONDITIONS BEYOND OUR CONTROL."

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The Dinkler Plaza offers ATLANTA'S FOUR-MOST RESTAURANTS

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Most luscious steak you've ever tasted—1 lb. Sirloin Char-Broiled over the open hearth and served with baked Idaho, all the salad you can eat and coffee by candlelight. It's the greatest dining treat in Atlanta.

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knife & fork

Most any time of day you'll enjoy a snack or meal in this quick service restaurant. Moderate prices. Open all day.

the Stirrup

Most picturesque spot for tasty seafood delicacies is this oyster bar and delicatessen.

JC -
F.Y.I.

File

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

October 16, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The Fund gave up the idea of distributing "Commencement". I think your best bet is to deal directly with CGCC.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

MEMORANDUM

10/17/56

Harold

Peng Ferry in his note to Frank Kelly and Joe Lyford says "some stuff here you and Joe could get lots of mileage out of, no?"

You might write Joe and give him a rough time-table so he can be thinking ahead in case you want help

Regards

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL what's the [illegible] on this? JPL

The Fund for the Republic INC.

MEMORANDUM

~~FKK~~

~~JL~~

To ~~WHF~~ DFF

From FSL FSL

Date September 14, 1956

Subject SRC Fact-Finding Program

You will be glad to know that four studies are far advanced. (Fleming had to shift gears when the Loth project came along and that set back the other studies).

1. Voting. This is approaching a conclusion. Results from several states are in. This is the first county-by-county study. (V. O. Keys' study was not as broad.)

2. Plant location. Cards are being analyzed. Study should be ready about October 1. Fleming is sending in a summary of preliminary findings next week. It appears that the big urban areas are getting modern industries. The South is not being industrialized. The old plantation areas are not getting the new industries.

3. Labor. Muravchik and Elder (under Segal and Fleming) are both working on the labor movement.

4. Resistance Movement. Paul Anthony has about completed the field work on the White Citizens Councils and other groups. Study should be of great value to Urban League(branches supported by Community Chests are being attacked) and Jewish agencies.

Some stuff here you & Joe could get lots of mileage out of, no?

BF

October 23, 1956

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
414 South Forty-Sixth Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

Matter to consider about Van Wyck.

Evidently he is around at the time SRC Board meets in Williamsburg. May not be heading in the right direction, but is around.

If you think it well to steer him to Williamsburg, by all means get him to come. Most welcome and that a gathering of the top leaders.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

October 30, 1956

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
414 South Forty-Sixth Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

When you see the Van Wycks, please tell them that Alice and I greatly hope that when they come to Atlanta they will stay at the Mitchells' house. Address is 906 Lullwater Road, N. E. (and the telephone number is unlisted, so make them scribble it down -- DEarborn 5961). They can have the whole upstairs where normally Mitchell gals now off to college reside.

I expect to be in the city November 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, but in the afternoon of the 12th Alice and I light out for Williamsburg and Washington, and do not get back until about the 18th. But our absence at the end of the Van Wycks' stay ought make less than no difference, because the Mitchells like for somebody to be living in their house when the Mitchells are gone. They can cook and pile up the dishes!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Mr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

AIRMAIL

October 31, 1956

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Frank:

All is arranged: I have a seat on an Eastern flight arriving at 9:42 A.M. Wednesday. This should put me in the city shortly before 11:00, and I will call you as soon as I have checked in the hotel.

I'm glad we will have some time together at the Fund.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
CC: Philadelphia office

FRANK S. LOESCHER
414 SOUTH 46TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 43, PA.

November 21, 1956

Dear George,

Thank you so very much for all you did for Fred and Noelline. They went into raptures over your hospitality.

Yesterday I had a chance to see Ray Wilkins when Harold, Dave and I were at the Conference. It seems that Jan. 23-24 is best for all. (Ray said he moved clear

his calendar and phone Dave today so that Dave coned give Harold the message.

Atlanta or Washington or Williamsburg seem best places to meet, not Alabama because Roy is afraid of being thrown in jail!

The very best to you and Alice. Please share my gratitude for the tender, loving care of the van Wyks with her.

Sincerely

Frank

December 6, 1956

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
414 South Forty-Sixth Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

My New York run is queer. I arrive at the International Airport ten something in the morning of the 11th and have to teach for Jack Sessions at ILG, 1700 Broadway (around Fifty-fifth) at 1:00 p.m. on the 11th.

Nothing I would like better than to have lunch with you on the 11th, but if we are to succeed in getting any food into us we would have to start digging into it as early as 11:50. Do you think you could?

I will show at the Fund for the Republic office at 11:30 the morning of Tuesday, December 11. I can always flirt with the young ladies if you are not to be seen until 11:46.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: mailed to Mr. Loescher
Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second St.
New York 17, New York

RECEIVED DEC 6 1956

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

December 4, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I expect to be in New York for most of the 11th. How about lunch?

January 23-24 for the next conference of organizations in Atlanta is fine. *

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

* P.S. If I can have a private room to myself, I will appreciate it.

File

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

December 11, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Have you seen Scientific American, December, 1956, "Attitudes toward Desegregation"? Worth studying. Fund may distribute reprints.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

P.S. Enclosed are two copies of the Fund's new apprenticeship program. As I told George today, we can't get it going until 2 or 3 foundations join us. Can you help?
Frank

December 12, 1956

Mr. Frank C. Loescher
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Frank:

I don't think I sent you a copy of the enclosed memo on economic pressure and reprisals. We compiled this mainly for the information of Fred Fuges and Bem Price, but it has auxiliary uses as a general picture of the situation.

Also enclosed is a copy of the piece that Bem Price did on the social scientists - release date not yet known, though it will probably be soon. As you will see, the language is informal and highly charged and will probably mettle the daylights out of a lot of people, but maybe that is good. Please keep this advance copy close to your chest until the story appears.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbc
Encs.(3)

Harvard

11/26

Adam Yarmolinsky

thinks it would pose for SRC to make arrangements with, say, Norfolk Journal and Guide, to have a number of opinion leaders in the South receive a Negro paper. (Presumably Fund would give money to SRC for this purpose.)

Like it?

Did I show this to you last week? I guess not for I don't remember your answer!

TSL

December 14, 1956

Mr. Frank Loescher
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Frank:

We are taking steps to get hold of the Scientific American.

I was also glad to get the description of the proposed apprenticeship program. We will be thinking hard about possible sources for matching funds.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

December 26, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for the summary on economic pressure and reprisals and also for the piece Bem Price did.

I now plan to fly down Wednesday morning, January 23 and stay over Thursday night after the conference ends, that is, if this will be a convenient time for us to get caught up.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

December 27, 1956

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

Thanks for your letter. It would suit me fine for you to stay over Thursday, night, January 24th. We have a lot of catching up to do.

Happy New Year!

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

P.S. Your call just came in, but I am sending the letter for the record anyway.

December 29, 1956

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

We were delighted to learn that our special report on pro-segregation groups is to be distributed to the Fund's Board. Thirty-five copies have been mailed to Frank Kelly. So far, we have only distributed a thousand or so, but it is a popular document and we will undoubtedly make it more widely available.

As you know, we think very highly of Vann Woodward's book. Except for the limited number which we have distributed, however, I don't know what distribution you gave it on the first go-round. If it's not too much trouble to let me know, I would be better able to suggest possible further uses.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

December 26, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

No. 1. Please send Frank Kelly 35 copies of the SRC Special Report (November 19, 1956) on "Pro-Segregation Groups In The South". We want to distribute it to the Board of the Fund.

Ed Reed hopes you are distributing it widely.

No. 2. The Strange Career of Jim Crow is being revised and brought up-to-date for publication on February 14 by Galazy Books (Oxford) at $1.50. Do you think we should do more with this? Any specific suggestions?

Sincerely yours,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

4/17/57

Dear Harold,

I won't be coming South. Dave said in view of developments there is no need.

If you can conveniently come up a day ~~daily~~ early for your Rutgers Conference, we could have lunch on Thursday (and possibly be joined by Dave and also Roswell Barnes and Alex Miller.) Dave has made no arrangements yet for any session, however.

over

I gather that

$200 000 rather than $225 000

is the figure Dave will

be shooting for re SRC.

Regards

Frank

File

MEMORANDUM

4/1/57

Dear Harold

Just had lunch with Hahn. He did not ask me my views of SRC. I brought up subject; I spoke of George leaving; your taking over and how highly you are thought of. I then asked, "How do you feel about Fleming?" He said, "I don't know him very well."

Then he spoke of his wish that SRC could get support in South. I spoke of how difficult situation is today. Before Sup Ct decision people gave more freely, etc. I mentioned AFSC experience — most criticism from contributors is about AFSC race relations work; that

FRANK S. LOESCHER

without Foundations, AFSC would be in a bad way.

He asked me about my situation at Fund. I said future program was uncertain. Dave Freeman hoped we would have two more years in same relations, but we would know more in a month or so. He said this was good as he couldn't do anything now but thought something might be worked out later on between us.

That's about it. Obvious advice – don't refrain from letting Max Halen getting to know you better.

Regards

Frank

P.S. Subject to Hutchins' OK, Dave suggests I save April 26 to May 3 for trip South. (April 15-19 is out) +

File

RECEIVED APR 1 1957.

FRANK S. LOESCHER
414 SOUTH 46TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 43, PA.

March 29, 1957

Dear Harold,

Dave spoke of my making a trip South, but there's nothing definite until he speaks to Hutchins. Looking at my calendar, April 15 to 19 is clear; so is April 26 to May 4. I might make two loops.

Without doing a lot of research, would these dates be good in terms of sitting in on a state meeting or an SRC Board meeting or observing a KKK rally?!

Drop me a note to Phila. with your ideas, including suggestions of where you think I might go.

Incidentally, Lewis Deer thinks the Lilly Foundation is going to give the Disciples one or <u>two</u> fellowships! You may find Lilly worth cultivating too.*

All the best

Sincerely.

Frank

P.S. Lilly has given to A & BC. I suggested to Lewis that he approach them in Indianapolis.

MEMORANDUM

Jan. 9/57

Dear Harold,

Just after I talked to you I asked Dave Freeman about a fellowship for Nichols. Dave said Nichols is highly regarded and if an acceptable research project were submitted, he believed Hutchins' reorganization plans would not stand in its way.

FSL

FRANK S. LOESCHER

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

January 3, 1957

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Enclosed is the Cowart material and his picture. Dave and I do not see this for the Fund. We wonder if Dudley Ward would be interested. If he is, he could pass it on to the Abingdon Press.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

P.S. I liked your Quarterly Report.

January 29, 1957

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

It was a real pleasure to be with you and the others at the conference of church leaders at the Fund's offices. I believe that much good will come out of this meeting. This is an important step toward the activation of the Protestant clergy in the battle for human rights.

I have briefly told Harold about the meeting and the participant's expectations of SRC. He was impressed that the group had decided to key in with SRC in part of its program and to seek cooperation with CCD for another part.

Enclosed is an account of my expenses for this trip. I hope they are sufficiently "modest."

Best regards to you and Dave.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm
enclosure

February 13, 1957

A I R M A I L

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
414 South Forty-Sixth Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

Here are a couple of copies of a letter which Lee Nichols wrote to me outlining his ideas for a grant-in aid period.

I hope, amid all the current activity, you will get a chance to explore the possibilities. I hope to get an opportunity to talk further with Nichols when I am in Washington next week. My own feeling is that he is hitting in the target area with this letter.

You will recall that Joe Lyford is also interested in Nichols' potentialities.

Hope to see you next week. Meanwhile, all the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

Feb. 13, 1957

Mr. Frank Kelly, V.Pres.
Fund For the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd. Street
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Kelly:

At the request of Frank Loescher, I am sending you 25 copies of "Toward a Fair and Balanced View" for distribution to the Fund's Board.

This discussion guide was prepared by the Atlanta "local" of our Georgia affiliate for fairly wide distribution.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/s

cc: Frank Loescher
Encl.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

February 11, 1957

Dr. Fred B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

"Toward a Fair and Balanced View" is a first rate job. Can you send 25 copies to Frank Kelly for distribution to the Fund's Board?

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

File

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

February 25, 1957

Mr. George Brown
William Green Memorial Fund
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Brown:

I am glad I had the opportunity to talk to you over the phone last week and give you some of the background of the apprenticeship program in race relations.

To help meet the need for personnel in race relations agencies a number of foundations and organizations have indicated that they are considering making fellowship grants to agencies in their communities. The MacGregor Foundation in Detroit and the New World Foundation in Chicago have already acted favorably. We also expect the Columbia Foundation in San Francisco to participate.

As soon as a half a dozen fellowship grants of $5,000 each are made by other foundations, the Fund for the Republic will make an equal number of grants. The Fund will also make a $20,000 a year grant for two years to the National Association of Intergroup Relations officials to set up an annual two week seminar for all the apprentices and to serve as a liason between the apprentices and the agencies.

Enclosed are two copies of a memorancum describing the apprenticeships in intergroup relations. I hope the William Green Memorial Fund will consider giving an apprenticeship to a race relations agency. You may find it possible to make a fellowship grant to one or more agencies on the basis of your previous experience with their operations.

Mr. George Brown February 25, 1957

I would be glad to come down to Washington to discuss the program with you. Benjamin Segal, trade union consultant to the Fund, who has an office in Washington at 1820 Jefferson Place, N. W., is familiar with the apprenticeship program and you may want to give him a call if there are aspects of the program that you would like to have clarified.

Sincerely yours,

Frank S. Loescher

bcc:
Ben Segal
Harold Fleming

March 19, 1957

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
~~411 South Forty-Sixth Street~~
~~Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania~~ FFR.
N.Y.C.

Dear Frank:

I thought you might be interested in seeing a copy of our progress report on the foreign visitor program as forwarded to the Christopher Reynolds Foundation.

I am not sure that I have told you of my very pleasant conversation with Jack Clareman while I was in New York. He suggested that the Foundation would be receptive to a request for a further grant this year in continued assistance of our work with foreign visitors.

Clareman spoke very highly of you, and we are very sensitive to the fact that it was you who paved the way for this grant in the first instance.

With appreciation and best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

March 19, 1957

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
414 South Forty-Sixth Street
Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

I am to be in New York next week following an Arden House conference on Monday. I should be in New York City by or before nonn Tuesday and plan to be there most or all of the remainder of the week.

I hope we can have some time together. I have already written Dave to let him know that I will be there.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

March 21, 1957

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
c/o The Fund for the Republic
Sixty East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

Here is the result of a fine piece of work by the Florida Council. Despite the ludicrous headline, I think you will agree that Bill Williams and his group have made a distinct contribution through this survey.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl. "Negro Unhappiness Only Natural"

April 10, 1957

Dear Frank:

Thanks for letting me see the enclosed. I found both items very interesting. I can't say I agree with the single-minded interpretation offered by Buford Boone and the Southern persons quoted by Ben Epstein. Their analysis is too simple and would lead logically to the conclusion that if the South is simply allowed to stew in its own juice everything will ultimately work out all right. Of course, there is such a thing as ill-advised outside pressure and interference, but the answer is not to be found in a simple "leave the South alone" formula.

I am sure you see the situation much as I do, but I thought you might want to have this much comment.

All the best.

Encl. ltr. dtd. 2/6/57 from Ben Epstein to "the commissioner"

Note on H of F's calendar File

April 4, 1957

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
c/o The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York, New York

Dear Frank:

A thousand thanks for your recent note and the helpful information it contained. I don't have to tell you that this assists me considerably.

I very much hope that your projected trip South materializes. We have already made note of the possible time, and will look forward hopefully to word from you that it is definite.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

April 4, 1957

FBR
JC
PA
DT
RHA
FBI
EFV

memo to Hef - so can note on his Calendar

Frank Loescher has written that he may be making a trip South between the dates of April 26th and May 3rd. He will let us know definitely soon.

Meanwhile, let's be thinking of events in the South that Frank might want to look in on during this week. If the trip is confirmed, he will be looking for suggestions from us as to his itinerary. Of course, he will spend some time with us here in the Atlanta office.

eab/

Foundation = Loescher

Blind Copy: Father L. J. Twomey, S.J.

April 17, 1957

Mr. Frank Loescher
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

I have recently been out to New Orleans on Council business and while there talked with my old friend Father L. J. Twomey, S.J. He informed me that on a recent trip to New York he had talked with Dave about the possibilities of a grant from the Fund to the Institute of Industrial Relations of Loyola University of the South and that Dave had said this was somewhat outside the scope of the Fund.

Actually, a great deal of the Institute is concerned with the problems of race relations as they affect the Southern labor movement and as they affect the development of healthy personalities in Southern communities.

If this is not within the scope of Fund interest, could you please suggest other sources of possible assistance to the Industrial Institute? While I was in New Orleans I talked with a Negro organizer of the United Packinghouse Workers and he told me that Father Twomey had done more for good race relations than almost anyone he knew. We here have had long friendship with Father Twomey and believe he is doing a really significant job. Any suggestions you can give or any help you can offer in finding financial assistance for this project will be greatly appreciated. The amount is small, the objective great. $15,000 a year for a three year period - with the hope of educating and activating the vast power and resources of organized labor in the South.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Harold - comments appreciated Frank 6/21/57

File - Loescher

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

The Problem

RECEIVED JUN 24 1957

There is an urgent need to strengthen the lines of intellectual communication between the Union of South Africa and the United States. Few Americans comprehend the complexity of the South African situation and the differences between South African and American race relations. Even the diversity of South Africa's population is not fully appreciated -- 3,000,000 whites divided by language (Afrikaans and English); 9,000,000 Africans of different tribal groups, languages and stages of civilization; 1,000,000 Coloured people and 400,000 Indians.

On the other hand, more South Africans need to understand the climate of world opinion in which they are working to establish a form of government that is satisfactory to those living under it.

Authorities are gloomy about the prospects of harmonious group relations in South Africa, given a continuation of the present forces at work there and throughout the world. The Afrikaans-speaking people are politically the dominant and dynamic force. Nationalism is growing among the Africans. A clash could be full of violence and ruthlessness with worldwide repercussions.

It is difficult for outsiders to have a direct and constructive influence on the way of life of another country. Even within one country, as Americans have learned from the relationship between the North and the South, established patterns of a group are resistant to efforts of outsiders to produce change.

Many authorities, however, believe there is still a chance of a peaceful adjustment and that an accelerated exchange program involving private agencies is the best possible way open for outsiders to express their concern constructively for all the people of South Africa.

The Concern of American Voluntary Organizations

During the past two years a number of voluntary organizations concerned with world race relations, world peace and cultural exchanges have been studying how the process of peaceful change in the Union of South Africa could be assisted through the exchange of persons.

Haverford Conference

In May 1955, the American Friends Service Committee called a conference at Haverford College (1) to examine the value of two way exchanges between the Union and the United States; (2) to determine the most effective types of exchanges; and (3) to explore the organizational and financial resources for carrying out such exchange programs. Eighteen representatives of eleven religious, philanthropic, educational and cultural exchange organizations agreed to the validity of this proposition: the most important thing Americans can do to assist peaceful change in South African intergroup relations is to encourage the development of exchange programs between Americans and South Africans who are leaders or potential leaders in their countries.

The Haverford Conference group appointed an Interim Committee to conduct a survey of the degree and kind of exchanges between the two countries and to make recommendations for action at another conference.

Lewis M. Hoskins, executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee is chairman of the Interim Committee; Allen J. White of the Foreign Service Section of the American Friends Service Committee is secretary. The other members are George H. Bennett of the Institute of International Education, William O. Brown of Boston University, George W. Carpenter of the International Missionary Council, Frank S. Loescher of the Africa Committee of the American Friends Service Committee, Rayford Logan of Howard University, and Leslie Paffrath of the Carnegie Endowment.

Robinson Report

The Interim Committee was able to obtain a small grant for the survey and the research services of Virginia Robinson, formerly of the Africa Division of the U.S. State Department. Virginia Robinson's report makes it clear that there is very little data available in the field of exchange programs between the United States and South Africa. Exchange programs are very limited, the program of the Carnegie Corporation being the only one of any size. In the post-war period (1946-1956) Virginia Robinson found that only 8 American leaders went to South Africa and approximately 15 South Africans came to the United States under leadership exchange programs.

The following leader exchange figures for 1955 from the American Council on Education which supervises a large number of United States government-sponsored grants shows how South Africa compares with other areas and countries:

Germany	140	
Europe (remainder of) . .	76	
Near East	19	
Middle East	12	
Far East	58	
Latin America	40	
Africa	6	(Union of S.Africa .. 1)

While the size of the sample and the various interpretations placed upon the word "leader" make evaluation difficult, the report cites specific examples in concluding that exchange with South Africa has been effective.

Miss Robinson recommends that organizations interested in this problem should be encouraged to increase their present programs, or, where no program exists, undertake new programs.

Second Conference

In May, 1957, the Interim Committee called a second meeting of the organizations that had attended the Haverford Conference two years ago to

consider Virginia Robinson's findings and to decide if an administrative unit could be established to stimulate more exchanges between South Africa and the United States.

The Conference group again stressed the desirability and urgency of more cultural exchanges and authorized the Interim Committee to take the following steps: (1) to seek funds to finance an executive secretary whose responsibilities will include stimulating and assisting non-governmental organizations to accelerate the exchange of persons, especially of the leader type, between the United States and the Union of South Africa; (2) to explore the possibilities of having the executive secretary work under the "umbrella" of an appropriate existing organization.

The Proposal

The Interim Committee is now seeking funds to underwrite an exploratory program for three years. The Interim Committee would become an Advisory Group to the executive secretary, with the program to be administered by an appropriate tax-exempt organization.

The Advisory Group needs a staff to stimulate voluntary agencies to accelerate exchanges between South Africa and the United States and to seek out funds that would make it easier for institutions in both countries to participate. Because most non-governmental organizations in both countries will require financial assistance, especially for intercontinental travel, one of the major activities of the staff will be finding potential donors among American foundations, industrial organizations and concerned individuals, as well as gifts-in-kind from airlines and steamship companies. Financial support will also be sought from South African organizations. South African and American non-governmental organizations participating in exchange programs would apply to those potential donors who had indicated

to the staff their willingness to consider applications for grants-in-aid of exchanges.

Thus the funds necessary to launch the project might well turn out to be the seed money for a program in which many American and South African foundations, businesses, individuals and transportation companies shared financially both during the exploratory phase, and, should the project be successful, during the succeeding period of exchanges.

Values of Two-way Exchanges

A two-way program is recommended in order that (1) Americans can see at first hand the realities of the situation in South Africa and thus gain better understanding of the difficulties facing the peoples of South Africa, the efforts being made by South Africans to meet these difficulties, and insight into the differences between race relations in South Africa and the United States; (2) South Africans, few of whom have been outside of South Africa, may see how Americans are trying to reduce intergroup tensions, so that they may gain perspective on their own situation and face it with the knowledge gained by experience in another society.

There are areas of American knowledge in industry, agriculture and transportation from which South Africans might borrow in seeking solutions of their own problems, for whatever course South Africa follows, the economy of South Africa must be able to support it.

The more Americans who acquire a first-hand knowledge of South Africa and the more South Africans who acquire a perspective on their home situation through an experience in the U.S.A., the more possibilities will exist of new creative approaches to South Africa's baffling problems.

Philip Mason in An Essay on Racial Tension says that Asia in its willingness to cooperate with the West will be more influenced by the pattern of relationships in Africa than by anything else. South Africa is a key to the future of much of Africa. South Africa would be in a strong position of leadership if it could find the way toward equality of opportunity and treatment for all its people. Peaceful change in Africa is important to Americans.

Illustrations of Practical Values:

1. Librarians. An American library that had a South African on its staff for a year would have expert advice on building a more complete collection of books and materials not only on South Africa but on all of Africa. Conversely, an American working in a South African library could help in the selection of representative American works.

2. Journalists. A South African newspaperman would give American editors and associates and readers a more realistic knowledge of his country

and continent. South Africans would benefit in like fashion from an American newspaperman serving on a South African paper.

3. Medical Specialists, Internes and Nurses. Interpretation would take place here too, but there would also be distinct benefits to hospitals in need of personnel with special abilities and to the practitioners seeking an opportunity for specialization.

4. Social Workers. Group workers would share the folklore, songs and games of their respective countries.

5. Clergymen. Ministers of religion in both countries are very sensitive to the problems of intergroup relations. American and South African church people would gain new insight from associating with religious leaders from another nation facing comparable problems.

6. University Professors, High School and Elementary School Teachers. In these established fields of exchange of persons the values have been demonstrated many times.

Types of Leader-Exchanges

The Haverford Conference was clear on the desirability of leader exchanges. To quote Virginia Robinson, "... the most immediately effective educational technique within the financial reach of private organizations is leader-exchange. That is, opportunity is presented to men and women of maturity and ability to acquaint themselves with new truths. It is the mature thinker who is best able to recognize what is new and applicable to an already known situation. The leader is in the best position to create and practice new techniques and give voice to new philosophies which grow out of his observations and studies."

A variety of types of leader-exchange programs will be offered to voluntary organizations in the United States and South Africa: one year exchanges of families, "functional" team programs, "focused" short term study or research projects, and opportunities for participation in special purpose conferences.

In all exchange programs an effort will be made to provide safeguards against mere junkets of sightseeing. An American who visits South Africa for a few months without a definite focus and definite job to do will probably end up by seeing the horror spots and return merely deploring conditions. Exchanges will be encouraged in both directions by people who have approved projects with definite sponsorship (or at least with assured cooperation) in the host country.

A. One Year Exchanges of Families

Exchanges of secondary school teachers, journalists, clergymen, social workers, university professors, et al. with their families are highly desirable. The aim should not be primarily to assist people to further their academic qualifications. People should go for a year and spend most of the

time working at their chosen occupation, but with opportunity for some travel. In order to have a real impact, there should be at least 50 people per year. A dozen representatives from each of the four provinces should have the experience, so that they can share their experiences when they return. Funds should be available to a committee in South Africa to hold regional and national conferences of exchangees each year. An American representative of the program should visit these reunions and evaluate the program periodically.

Many American organizations might be interested in exchanging personnel with South Africa for one year -- YMCA's, YWCA's and other youth serving agencies, churches and church organizations, libraries, hospitals, social settlements, newspapers, business and industry, government agencies, schools and colleges.

Responsibility for hospitality, job placement, finding a home, schooling for children and travel arrangements should be borne by the employing organization.

B. Individual Short Term Focused Study or Research Projects

These projects might include paying the expenses of an Afrikaans journalist to become affiliated as Associated Nieman Fellow at Harvard for a year; or to allow an American psychologist to do perceptual research in Zululand for a few months; or to enable a gifted Bantu artist to work in some museum school in this country.

C. A "Functional" Team Program

Six to ten leaders might be invited each year over the next few years, selected on account of some particular problem facing the Union in which the United States has knowledge and experience. In connection with the Tomlinson Report (dealing with the socio-economic development of the Native Reserves) it might be useful to have top-level people concerned with agricultural and industrial development come to the U.S. to discuss and see the T.V.A. or other rural community projects and developments, the electrification of rural areas, the system of small family farm units, etc. in the South. Such visits would be relevant to the implementation of the Tomlinson Report.

Other examples of this nature might be educational experience in rural areas North and South, literacy and adult education, industrial organization, soil conservation, mass immunization schemes, etc.

A group of 6 to 10 which could discuss things among themselves while on tour would mean a better use of new ideas presented, and a hitting of mind and mind.

D. Other Types of Exchanges and Visits

Participation in religious, educational, social welfare, youth conferences and projects should be encouraged. Persons would be invited to the United States for a short period, perhaps three months, to participate in a conference but with opportunity for travel.

The secretariat will also explore the possibilities of providing counseling services to South Africans who come to the United States or to Americans who go to South Africa for business purposes or study who are not affiliated with agencies participating in this exchange program. It is believed that many such persons would avail themselves of opportunities to obtain a deeper knowledge of the peoples and cultures of the respective countries if these visitors knew that agencies of competence were willing to be of service to foreign visitors.

Evaluation by Experts

In addition to the participants in the two conferences, many of whom are specialists in world race relations with intimate knowledge of race relations in South Africa and the United States, a number of other students of South African race relations have been consulted for their evaluation of the proposal. In the United States, Gordon W. Allport of Harvard University Department of Social Relations, Vernon McKay of Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, Edwin S. Munger of the University of Chicago Geography Department and Henry P. Van Dusen of Union Theological Seminary endorse this effort to promote more exchanges.

Liaison with South Africa

In June 1955 Emory Ross and Frank Loescher met with South Africa's then Ambassador Holloway in Washington to report on the discussions of the Haverford Conference and found his attitude favorable. Emory Ross and Leslie Paffrath shortly thereafter saw Minister of External Affairs Eric H. Louw, when he was in New York. Mr. Louw was not as sympathetic as the Ambassador, but he did not discourage the idea. In May 1957 Frank Loescher saw South African Ambassador DuPlessis in Washington and told him about this project. The Ambassador was very encouraging and asked to be kept informed of progress. He hopes it may be possible for South African organizations to bear at least a part of the financial costs.

In the summer of 1956 Frank Loescher was in South Africa and discussed the exchange scheme with Ds. C. B. Brink, then Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Transvaal, Dr. H. J. van Eck, director of the South African Industrial Development Corporation, Professors N. J. J. Olivier and J. L. Sadie of Stellenbosch University (both leaders in the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs), Leo Marquard, author and president of the South African Institute of Race Relations, and Quintin Whyte, executive director of the Institute. All of these persons were enthusiastic and eager to see the number of exchanges between South Africa and the United States greatly accelerated.

Frederick J. van Wyk, the assistant director of the Institute of Race Relations who recently completed a six-month study of American and Canadian intergroup relations, is extremely anxious to see more exchanges. On his return to South Africa this spring he reopened the discussion of exchanges which Frank Loescher had held with Ds. Brink. Ds. Brink believes he can obtain the cooperation of the Dutch Reformed Churches. Ds. Brink is also prepared to serve on a South African Advisory Committee that would include persons of all racial backgrounds. Mr. van Wyk is willing to serve as convener of such an Advisory Committee in South Africa.

Liaison with United States State Department

Officials of the State Department in the United States and South Africa have been kept informed of this concern for more exchanges. (The State Department brought 25 South African leaders to the United States between 1950 and 1956 and hopes to bring 15 leaders over in 1957 and 23 in 1958.) The State Department which has been represented by an observer at both conferences is sympathetic to the aims of this proposal.

Conclusion

South Africa is now in the grip of a situation that will soon confront both Europe and America in their relations with the world at large. This country reveals in microcosm the world-wide problem of how a minority of white-skinned peoples are to live at peace with a majority of dark-skinned peoples.

Leader exchange programs between the United States and South Africa are of value to both countries. South Africans can benefit by first hand experience with America's pluralistic society. A better knowledge of South Africa's multi-racial society will help Americans both domestically and internationally.

Time is running out. In the interests of the peoples of South Africa, of America's stake in Africa, and of world peace itself, there is an urgent need to promote a greatly expanded program of exchanges between the Union of South Africa and the United States.

A Religious Approach to Discrimination

FRANK S. LOESCHER

THERE are many approaches to the reduction and elimination of discrimination. A variety of approaches is necessary and desirable.

As Simpson and Yinger point out in *Our Racial and Cultural Minorities,* we can try to change the prejudiced person. We may use exhortation, as in sermons or speeches, or propaganda as in pamphlets, car cards, radio programs, films; the contact approach, by bringing Negro and white people together in conferences; education, as in school intercultural programs or labor education; community self-surveys, workcamps, workshops; or personal therapy, as in counselling and psychoanalysis or group therapy.

On the other hand, we can try to change the situation by action programs and community organization; education in the schools and adult education; cultural and recreational activities; work through the courts, research, and legislation.

But there is also a distinctively religious approach. By religion I mean the personal practice of our beliefs about God and man.

If I believe that all people are children of one God, if I believe that I should do unto others what I would have others do unto me, if I believe that discrimination is wrong, then I should try not to be a party to discrimination.

Concretely, I should not take a job in a firm or join a union which discriminates.

I should not become a member of a church which discriminates.

I should not join a club which discriminates.

I should not patronize a business which discriminates.

I should not buy or rent a home in a neighborhood from which Negroes are barred.

I believe that only by trying not to be a party to discrimination in any area of life can I be true to myself.

This is so important that I must try to behave this way, whether it is effective or not. But I think it is effective.

Ten years ago in Philadelphia many restaurants discriminated against Negroes. A small group of concerned Negro and white people tested the downtown restaurants and found out which ones served Negroes and which ones discriminated. They told the management why they were concerned. They told other people who wanted to put their beliefs into action. More and more people asked managements about their practices. More and more people commended managements that served Negroes. A number of people refused to eat in restaurants where Negroes could not eat.

Much the same thing happened with the Philadelphia department stores.

I believe these conscientious objectors to discrimination had considerable influence in reducing discrimination in restaurants and department stores.

Today the greatest block to integration in Philadelphia (and in every other Northern city) is residential segregation. Suppose we had a few white people who were conscientiously opposed to living in a neighborhood from which Negroes are barred. Suppose they resolved not to move into any such neighborhood. Suppose when they were looking for a home or apartment, they always asked about the racial policy. Suppose, when they were told that only whites could buy or rent, that they said, "I cannot live in such a community," and told the owners why.

If a hundred white families felt such a concern about residential segregation and acted on it, I believe they would have a great effect on segregation in housing. And if a thousand families were committed to this religious approach to discrimination, in five years we would see the end of residential segregation in Philadelphia.

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Geo. Hardin

1

Dear Frank and Dear Mr. Hoffman,

Frank Loescher said I should write the two of you with views on what to do about Southern agriculture.

I'm a partial witness. I like the little guys. And they have been unimportant, except to do the work, in Southern agriculture. They are voiceless, completely unorganized, and weakened by yearsof poverty and the slow squeezes that move them out and off.

Ends

Benson put out a pamphlet recently (copies herewith) that reviewed the plight of the little fellows all over the country. Startling figures on low incomes. And fierce concentration of the bad conditionsin the South. See where the red places are on the colored map - all of them Southern except someIndian country in New Mexico. ~~Rexxxxx~~ I read Benson's pamphlet with care. IT says help the best of the little guys to stay in and get bigger, and let the others out as easily as you can. Recruit 'em to industrial jobs, retrain 'em for non-farm work, and so on. It's the old~~xRexx~~ Hoover theory that if you suqeez off or rub off the submarginal farmers (who are posited as ~~xxxx~~ distressfully spoiling the market for the bigger and better farmers) you will restore a situation in whichthe honest-to-Goodness farmers (as distinct from the poor little guys) can ask prices that will be rewarding.

The tangible basis of this line of argument is ~~xxxxx~~ the fact (I have no figures to dispute it) ~~xx~~ that some tiny upper percentage of all the farmersin the country make some huge proportion of the marketed crops. IN other words, the little guys don'm really count; it's the big farmers that grow the stuff, and they're the boys to look after.

I'm still for the little guys.

The North and the West grew up with the family farm. I is the backbone of their democracy. I believe in distributed ownership of property. IT is one kind of conservatism I'm for. The South never went for the fanily farm, except in the mountain counrty and in the Piedmont Country. The whole great coastal plain fell into the plantation pattern. There are some family farms in it (some of them hot-house grown in the last few years) but mostly the habit is f~~xxxxxxx~~ several hundred up to several thousand acres, and tenants or croppers or day-laborers. Out of that pattern comes most of the misery of Southern attitudes and Southern politics and Southern racialism. We don'm reallly get over what's wrong with the South until we get good big gobs of basically equal land-tenure into the old plantation areas. Extra impornatnt because by a queer history these old plantation areas, which have been losing people for forty-five years, never lose seats in State legislatures; hence they have a political hammer-lock on a South turning to towns and to factory jobs. ~~Thexxxx~~ People play a new game; politics plays the old one, learned in slavery-times.

Years ago a farmer in Notth Carolina took me out behind his barn. "Mitchell", he said, "my daddy was a blacksmith. He taught me that nothing won't weld on the first heat. Hot it up one time, and cool it off. Hot it up the second time, hammer it together, and it'll stick".

The first heat was the New Deal Farm Security Administration and its poor battered successor, the Farmers Home Administration. By a succession of accidents the country hit on a trick that worked. All of a sudden in the depths of the 1932 depression there were two million farm people on relief. This country had never had anything of the kind before. We had only one technique for relief: shoo out some city-type social workers, with grocery-orders, and feed the poor guys. FERAx The old Federal Emergency Relief Admins tration began doing it. Them some landowning farmer, mostly inthe South, seeing the social-worker-types tooling down the country road in autos at so much a mile paid for by the Government, said "Looahere. If them fellows hkeep on passing out grocery baskers the tenants ain't goingx to make no crop. Why should they? And yet they've got land, and time, and country knowledge. They could grow their sumphn t'eat. But that city guy can't teach 'em nothing. Now, here's my boy Will, He's back from the Ag College where I sent him, and he can't get no job. Why don't the Government hire Will to ride in that auto, and Will, instead of giving out groceries, will give out seeds, and ploughs, and fence-wire, and he can stay behind those folks, and teach 'em how to grow stuff, and do all right, and gx git offa the Government's hands." FERA hired Will. Then they hired Willela, his sister, fresh back from the Home Economics place. Then Will and Willela, after some experience, said, "Usually we don't really need to give these poeple these things. We could lend them the money, and they would learn enough prtty soon about using the new trip to pay back the loan". They did that too. And that was the trick. That married credit to teaching. Government gave the trick a long name - calledit "rural rehabiltation". They fixed up at least a million farm families with that device.

Point is that if a smart Government agent goes to a really poor man and says, "Brother, there's a new way to farm, and it will cost fifty dollars to try it. Why don't you try it?", the poor man will answer to himself, "I'm bumping bottom the way I'm doing. If I put fifty dollars on that thing two of my chiildren will starve". So he is polite but he doesn't "learn". He has the conservatism of the very poor. Go at him with this other scheme, and he behave differently. Offer him to lend him fifty for the new way, saying he's to pay it back if the thing works out, and the Government will come and pick of the rusty junk if it doesn't. He'll try. And cnahces are, if you work wi h him steadily, he'll climb out.

Catch is you have to pay off prety heavily for the teaching.

And then a banker comes and says to a Congressman. "These FSA loans - what's the percent of administrative overhead?" Well, it's a devastatign per cent. But it teaches the very poor how to come through. And it is richly wrth it.

The banker and his friends years ago got the Congress to stop talking about rural rehabilitation and supervised credit. Congress just says opering loans. But each family that gets a loan

makes a farm plan, worked out with the GOvernment people. And the Government lends him money because ~~xxxxxx~~ he and the Government both beliveve that if he follows the plan he can pay the loan.

Now you've got that machinery in operation. Dampened down, spread too thin, deprived of the home economists who put courage into the farm wives. But there, and capable of ~~xxxxx~~ having life breathed back into it.

THat machinery sprouted a branch of itself that learned how to make owners out of tenants. Never mind how; they know, and it pays out - or rather the tenants do, handsomely.

Next problem: farm land leases. I enclose a memo to save typing. Thing to notice is that such a plan costs next to nothing. IT jus means stirring the Extension Service to do its decent duty. Far fetched, but draw a parallel between the man Vinoba Bhave in India and some saintly Exetension guy who would shove through a real campaign on it in US. And - we wouldn't be giving the land away, only renting it out on reasonable terms.

Mrs. L. IN the files is a Methodist memo I di, a year or so agao. gsm

Turn to ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ Extension. Here's a bit of carefully concealed info, which is what makes the wheels go around. In most Southern ~~States, as far as I know~~ in all, county agents are paid from three sources. Say the man gets a basic 4000. Two thousand will come from a U S Congressional appropriation to the Extension Service. One thousand will come from a State appropriation to the State Exetnsion Service. And a thousand comes from their honors, the County Commissioners, or the County Court, or whatever is the local governing body. Fair enough, and looks democratic, and a sharing of responsibility, and ninety-nine out of a hundred Americans would defend the deal. But assume an ambitious agent, with a wife and two kids. He needs five thousand. "Dear Mr. Eisenhower. I am an ambitious county agent. I get four thousand. Please pay me five". Reply. "Sorry, no can do!" Man writes to the Governor; same reply. Man tells his hard-luck story to the local county big-wigs, and they pay off. ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Five thousna,d six thousand, seven thousand. Whose grapes does he prune first? Is he for the tenants and the laborers, or sympathetic with the woes of the landlords? Thus the whole machinery, in plantation counties at least, is tied down like Gulliver. Point: we don't pay teachers that way. We spred as good a quality of education in the bum counties as in the good, and think we should. I say let's ~~xxx~~ put the best agents in the poorest counties; they need the work the most. Takes a revolution in Exension, but from the Benson report a littlethought has been going to this sort of thing. Slogan; "~~xxxxxxxx~~ equalization".

One reason why county agents fuss at FHA and SCS officials is because these men are 100% fed ral in pay. Which means these men can buck the local powers that be. Which few county agents think is decent.

Brannan plan. The newspapers and the Farm Bureau just said "ain'T that awful". And they never told thepublic what it was. IT was and is a scheme to pay a minimum wage to farmers. ~~xxix~~ As introduced it was watered down a long, long way, but the germ of it is the idea of decent annual earning for working family farmers. Figure out what such a family should get, on an average (($4000?). Figure out what he can grow. And what he gets. And what he would have to get for what he grows, to net his four thousand. And pay him a price per unit of his stuff, that he raised himself, which price will come out

at the ~~xxxxxx~~ desired figure. Say he ought to make ten bales. Pay him for his ten what will decently contribute toward his four thousand. Is that 80 ¢ a pound? Pay him eighty, for his ten. His No. 11 he takes to town and ~~xxxxxxxx~~ sells at the market, which may be 19¢. Fair enough. Farmer prospers, h uswife gets cheap sheets, U. S. C tton saves its foreign market. And the money has gone to the man who needs it; not to somebody who makes a thousand bales a year. N tice also this, exaggenerated in my examploe, out of all recognition, but a pressure that could and should be built into whatever modified Brannan plan comes into use. The big landlord, receiving a lot of rent cotton, would ha e to sell that rent cotton (as dintinct from any cotton he raised with his own sweat) at the market. Second year Mr. Landlord would be around knocking on his tenants' doors. "Will, didyou ever think about buying the place offa me? ~~xxxx~~ With the way the government does now you'd get the price, and I would sell it to you reasonable." So putting the help on the ordinary guys would help them become owners.

It takes administrative money, for a teaching effort . But that can succeed.

Politically hard to manage, because these littleguys don't vote. And they don't vote because they are tenants, and are in the hollow of the landlord's hand. Circle.

Further remedies. Help the little fellows to organize. Help the National Agriclutural Workers Union, A F of L, to organize the Farm Labrrers. Yes, retrain some farm people. Yes, set up a working ~~xxxxxxx~~ exployment service for farm people. Better rural housing. Better s hools in the country places. Better roads. Make the experiment stations findout how to mechanize the medium and smaller place. Farm enlargement loans work well. Bring in some mills, near the plantation.

Not so that it takes a big place to succeed with mechanization. It does under Southern institutions about race and tenure; it neededn't under a system with greater liberty, and greater security on the land.

So, I say: find what will most help the fellow of medium to a bit under medium size. Get him security and faith and hope, and you'll get production, with a ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ land-loving people out in the county.

Rambling. There's more that could be said. But this is the problem.

Sincerely,

MEMO

F Reg. - Loescher - travel sch.

FROM: GSM

TO: GSM

SUBJECT: IN REGARD TO FRANK LOESCHER'S TRIP

I should notify Jack Marion that Loescher will attend Richmond board meeting Thursday, January 5.

I should notify Robert Hughes that Loescher will attend Selma, Alabama meeting Saturday, January 7.

I should notify Bill Williams that Loescher will be at Daytona Beach Monday, January 9. As far as I know, no meeting is there scheduled.

I should notify Spearman and Jones that Loescher will be "spearing around" N.C. and S.C. January 11-13.

I should invite suitable persons to GSM's home for discussions January 14 and 15.

I should notify Guy Wells that Loescher will attend Macon meeting January 16 and he must arrange transportation to Macon for him.

I should notify Mrs. Lyells that Loescher will be in Jackson daytime January 17 and Mrs. Lyells should arrange executive committee meeting that day.

I should notify Bob Hughes that Loescher intends to go to Mobile district meeting night of January 17.

I should notify Bob Hughes that Loescher will be at Montgomery local chapter meeting Thursday, January 19.

I should notify executive committee members or at least MAW that Loescher will be at New Orleans January 20 and 21 attending SRC meeting January 21.

I should notify Tom Sutherland that Loescher will be in Texas between January 22 and 24 prepared to attend any scheduled meeting. Loescher also hopes to see Porten in Houston that trip.

What about an educational program on effective democracy providing study materials that may be used by all sorts of groups and organizations. I am not sure that political leaders would appreciate having people know how to hold them responsible for their stewardship and to know how to interfere with their effective practices in engineering the consent of those governed in support of their practices.

If people know how to proceed to use the resources of the community there might be reduction in the explosive mass action that dissatisfied people engage in when they know no other way to express their wishes. Effective education is regarded here again to mean not simply literacy but information that familiarizes people with the community in which they live and instructs them in the manipulation of the resources of the community in an orderly manner.

C
O
P
Y

1221 Simmons Drive
Rockville, Maryland
February 10

Dear Harold:

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Essentially, what I want to do is a reporting-in-depth job as a follow-up to my book on integration of the armed forces. The thing that led to the book was a general notion that great strides had been made in racial progress and that this ought to be reported and written. I got diverted into a single aspect of that progress -- the military -- with results you know of. I'm not sure whether I've told you or not, but advance proofs of chapters of my book were studied by a couple of members of the Supreme Court prior to their historic school decision in 1954. I think it has had its place in helping shed light and solidify progress in the racial rights field.

What is needed basically now, I feel, is another book -- or study resulting in a book, series of articles, or what have you -- on the theme -- "Breakthrough Everywhere."

From my own somewhat limited contacts in the South, plus what I have read and what may be available, it becomes increasingly apparent that throughout the South in general there is a recognition that segregation is through. This is accompanied by an almost wistful plea, please give us a little time, don't cram it down our throats too suddenly, understand us, help us with our problems. But evidence mounts daily that the ramparts are not manned with any wide degree of spirit, save by a few diehard pockets that seem too to realize they are beaten.

The work I want to do falls essentially into two parts: first, collection of available material and evidence on the overall racial situation today -- north as well as south. Most of this material is available from known sources -- the Southern Education Reporting Service for the schools picture, your organization, the President's Committee on Contract Compliance for employment, B'nai B'rith, the Negro organizations, etc. The Scientific American magazine has just published a significant study of public opinion surveys similar to one I suggested in my proposed "Project Light." These, in addition to daily newspaper clippings telling of continued advances, need to be pulled together into the story of racial progress nationwide.

Secondly, I would like to do some personal survey work, to tie this material together with the opinions and findings of people at various levels. I would want to start with the White House, Justice Department, U. S. Office of Education, Department of Labor, members of Congress including southerners and the military establishment here. From there I would like to talk to leaders in the southern states, both in the education field, political leaders, etc. Some of this had been done and need not be duplicated, as in the New York Times survey. But first-hand talks with people like the Governor of Florida, the Governor and Education Commissioner of Mississippi, people in the colleges and others that you might think of, would help to round out the factual picture gleaned from published data.

This is the technique I used in my book, as you know -- facts plus opinion of everyone from Truman down to a buck private in Mississippi. And that is the method I think would be useful if applied to the overall racial situation.

This is a job that I think would take a year and much work, including travel. Its extent would depend on what the Fund was willing to underwrite. I could handle it all myself, but feel that the work of gathering and summarizing the vast quantity of published data available could be better handled by an assistant, if the Fund would go that far.

Such an overall survey, a sort of abridged follow-up to Myrdal's great work, would I think produce a report of not only great current historical value but also an important guide to those seeking light for the future.

A key part of this work -- book or whatever it turned out to be -- would be a study of methods and techniques found successful or suggested by those with experience in the field. I already have some ideas for summarized material in this area. In addition, I told you that people I have talked to in the U. S. Office of Education and the Committee on Government Contracts see definite need for [this] sort of "how-to" material on school and employment integration. While I am not a sociologist, I think the reporter's initial work in this area might open the way to more thorough, more scientific work in the same direction.

In fact, this study might very well indicate the value of additional work or expansion of various aspects, perhaps along the lines I suggested in my original proposal, or in other directions. It would then be up to the Fund or others to see if they wished to move along suggested lines.

A subsidiary aspect of what I would like to undertake involves the translation and ordering of the notes, documents and other background material for my book and subsequent studies of integration in military post schools. I think this data, if put together in useable form, might be of great sociological value. Of course there might be a greater need to put into some kind of shape the source material, including interviews, involved in the new proposed project. Perhaps the Fund itself would be willing to help with such a collation of raw data, perhaps making it available to researchers, scholars, etc. either at its own headquarters or in some useful location such as at Fisk University, or maybe Columbia.

I have in the back of my mind a bold idea for a follow-up -- a study of racial progress throughout the world. I would love to make a world study of this subject, since it is worldwide in its ramifications, and think such a work might prove of enormous value. However this might grow out of the U. S. study, if it is approved and proves as useful as I think it would be.

If you think I need to put this business into more formal form, particularly before Feb. 21, please let me know and I'll endeavor to do so. All the above is subject to any kind of amendation you folks think desirable.

yours etc.

/s/ Lee

P. S. I don't know how much of this [you] would want to be in a formal proposal: but as we have discussed before, during this study and compilation, I would always be on the lookout for ways to publicize some of the important data or findings available, communicate them to persons who need to know them, stimulate newspaper and magazine articles, etc.

Also, and this would be on a more personal basis, I would perhaps be able to serve as an informal means of communication between various factions in this situation -- the White House and southern Negro leaders, for instance; the NAACP and southern white leaders. I do not mean to rate myself too high in this role, and realize there are many others performing this work in various ways far better than I could. But I have found to my sorrow a great hiatus between many groups and persons most concerned with racial rights, and the need for a continual effort to bridge these gaps seems to me to be perhaps one of the greatest factors in the present situation.

ln

File

Reflections on South Africa

Frank J. Loescher

This past summer my wife and I revisited South Africa for a month and then spent three weeks in Southern Rhodesia, ten days in Kenya and a week in Uganda and Ethiopia. We wanted to see our friends in South Africa and learn whether America is can help the growth of peaceful change in multi-racial Africa south of the Sahara.

Attending Southern Africa Yearly Meeting was a high spot of our trip. The setting was Adams College twenty-five miles from Durban in lovely rolling hills. The beauty of the surroundings added much to the tone of the meeting. There are approximately two hundred and fifty Friends in Southern Africa in a population of twenty million, and they are widely scattered over a vast area. It was heartening to meet about forty members and especially joyful to see many younger Friends present. Attendance at Yearly Meeting represents real effort on the part of these Friends because aside from members of the host Meeting they must travel anywhere from four hundred to a thousand miles. We were encouraged by the reports of the monthly meetings concerning their local activities, and impressed by the work of the Publicity Committee in producing and distributing several varieties of stationery each with a drawing of a dark hand and a light hand clasped in

friendship.

When we were asked to say a few words we told the members of the loving interest and support Friends in England and America extend to Friends in South Africa, and with full realization of how little we knew of their situation we raised certain questions for their consideration. Would it be possible, for example, to have Douglas and Dorothy Steere lead week-end retreats for Friends and non-Friends in three or four major cities? Should Friends in South Africa and abroad be encouraged to give greater backing to Wilgespruit, the farm for intergroup conferences and work camps run by the Christian Council? Would it be desirable to have a full-time executive secretary to foster love and unity among Friends in South Africa and help Friends do more bridge-building among the South African people through conferences and other projects? Might Friends consider making a small-scale study of the total situation in South Africa through a carefully chosen working party?

It was at Yearly Meeting that we first met Dudley Robinson, clerk of Salisbury Monthly Meeting. A month later we were to spend many happy hours with Dudley and Mollie Robinson and their children and the other members of this vital Meeting. They are still busy with plans for a Meeting House and Center, but had

run into temporary delays in purchasing the site. They have been promised land in the area formerly occupied by the race course and airport but the city is not able to clear and survey the land immediately, and this has been a disappointment. However, they are assured of land and we hope they will be able to build in the not too distant future.

We had several good meetings in Bulawayo with Friends and friends of Friends. They are very few in number, although subsequent letters tell us that three more Friends have moved into the area, bringing their total to about eight! We were fortunate to be there on one of the two Sundays during the year when they go fifteen miles out of the city to Hope Fountain Mission School for Africans and hold a meeting for worship at the request of the students. There were perhaps a dozen "Europeans" or whites present and sixty Africans. This was followed by a "picnic party" out in the veldt by a [redacted] waterfall. There the twelve of us who had come out from the city got to know each other a little better.

In Kenya we had the opportunity of meeting several English Friends who had come out to work as a result of "The Emergency," as the Mau Mau uprising is called. They are running the Friends Center in Ofafa, an African location in Nairobi, working as probation officers, helping in the rehabilitation program for Mau Mau detainees at Thiba about eighty miles from Nairobi.

At Kaimosi we enjoyed the hospitality of Horst and Inge Rotha for a weekend while we learned about the mission schools and hospital and work camp there. All phases of the work seem to be growing. We had a chance to hear at first hand of the difficulties

and successes of the work campers - three "European" or white boys and four Africans who live and work together. They are constructing four cottages for the use of patients recovering from tuberculosis.

We hope those with more intimate knowledge will assess the prospects for democratic interracial societies in Central and East Africa. We can speak only about South Africa. There are a number of hopeful developments in South Africa. Wilgespruit, the seventy-acre farm of the Christian Council near Johannesburg, is holding intergroup conferences and work camps, and its lovely chapel is a new addition since we were there in 1953. The South Africa Fund has given financial assistance to this project which seems to us the best thing we saw in the whole country. The Dutch Reformed and the English-speaking Protestant churches have held their third annual interracial conference, and the Federal Missions Council of the Dutch Reformed churches has issued a thoughtful statement on race relations.

Economic prosperity was readily apparent. The standard of living of non-white families is rising. Even in their working clothes we noticed more African men and women who [redacted] purchased their suits, dresses and topcoats new and of good quality. We saw a great deal of new housing for Africans. Twelve miles from Johannesburg is Meadowlands, a "Levittown" of 16,000 single homes and shops. Most houses are very small by American standards, but even the smallest includes a livingroom-bedroom, a kitchen-diningroom, two bedrooms and a shower. Some have indoor toilets. For the growing African middle class there are larger homes on larger plots in a separate area. For each ~~500~~ 400 homes there is a new elementary school. The Government aims

at compulsory education for all African children within five years and the abolition of illiteracy within twenty years.

Moroka and other slum locations still remain, but the housing program has moved into high gear with mass production techniques using African laborers and African foremen.

Africans receive better wages in the cities. The restrictions on movements of Africans from the reserves to the cities are a factor, but the Government is also employing Africans in the Post Offices, social agencies, the police force, etc. African business men are being given a monopoly of the retail trade in the new locations. There are African barber shops, grocery stores, petrol stations, butcher shops, tea rooms, tailors, dry cleaners, and even hotels. Competition for these businesses is keen, and the Government is able to use the profitable opportunities to keep the ambitious Africans in line. If they do not conform, they not only lose the chance to run a business, they can be sent away from the urban areas.

We attended the three-day conference of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs and the Dutch Reformed churches on the Tomlinson Report dealing with "The Socio-economic Development of the Native Reserves." There we listened to discussions of a kind of apartheid that conceivably could lead to partition. But if the nine hundred delegates from five hundred Afrikaans religious and cultural organizations were trying to "escape from reality," they impressed us by their many expressions of concern for the well-being of the Africans - spiritual, moral, economic and political.

We saw the Institute of Race Relations' fine new building in Johannesburg, and we were grateful for the Institute's careful

fact-finding and reasonable attitudes.

These signs of growth were overshadowed by laws that threaten to wipe out many Indian businesses, permit cities to remove Africans from any area where they may be considered "undesirable," and take Cape Coloured voters off the Common Roll. The over-all trend is toward more segregation and tighter controls for the Africans, Indians and Coloured people. Along with increases in prosperity have come further restrictions. In some cities a meeting of more than ten Africans, except for church and sport functions and the like, requires a permit. The Criminal Investigation Division of the police regularly attend political meetings and take the names of those present.

The danger of a police state is real. As the Africans, Coloured people and Indians advance in standing, South Africa could become totalitarian. But the National Government's flexibility in its external relations gives ground for hope. It cabled congratulations to the Sudan on its independence, and is prepared to recognize the Gold Coast. It is so eager for South Africans to participate in international scientific and cultural conferences that the Minister of External Affairs has declared that South Africa must consider building an international hostel where people of all races can be accommodated.

We met Mrs. Foley, president of the new organization called the Black Sash, [redacted] and were greatly impressed with her. One of the Black Sash projects is to inform "European" or white women about the living conditions of non-Europeans, and the group is also concerned about the attacks on civil liberties of Africans. Now that the glamour of the initial dramatic demonstrations has worn off, it remains to be seen whether this movement will wash out the way the Torch Commando did

after the first big splash.

Our second trip to South Africa has strengthened the impression gained from our 1953 visit that ~~it is easy not~~ Americans fail to see many of the differences between South African and American race relations. South Africans of nearly all political persuasions naturally resent unfounded criticism and blanket condemnation of the whole of white South Africa. Friends can help by basing their criticisms on facts, and they should not forget to commend the many fine achievements of South Africans.

Friends believe they should "speak truth to power," but it is not easy to know the truth. When Americans ask "Isn't Strijdom a fascist, isn't South Africa a police state?" we reply "Is Governor Griffin of Georgia a fascist, is Governor Coleman of Mississippi?" Certainly the South African churches are free. The press is free. Within a few feet of Johannesburg's City Hall we bought several left-wing weeklies which were critical of the Government and followed the Moscow line. John Gunther's Inside Africa and Father Huddleston's Naught for Your Comfort can be bought in every city in South Africa. There are several political parties, not just one.

Americans can help South Africa by realizing how much time ~~this country~~ she needs to meet the intricate difficulty of her problems. In the present state of world opinion and the rising African nationalism all over the continent South Africa may be too hurried to make the revolutionary changes in attitudes and practice necessary to a true and lasting solution, though we were told by people of sound judgment that the leaders of the National Party are capable of adjusting to reality.

Most of our white South African friends of liberal persuasion are opposed to separate development or partition. They favor relaxation of the color bar and steps toward integration. But we know only a handful who can visualize with equanimity an integrated society without any differentiation in voting, housing and schooling. We also know that few white Americans even in the North are prepared to face implementation of the ideal of equal opportunity and equal treatment for all, judging by the racial and religious quotas in our northern private schools and colleges, the discrimination in private employment, the segregation in churches and other institutions. It is easy to tell the other person or nation that he who loses his life shall find it, but most of us have yet to reach that level of spiritual development.

THE INTELLIGENCE OF AMERICAN NEGROES

by

Robert D. North

Foreword

The Fund for the Republic asked the author to prepare this memorandum on Negro intelligence, reviewing the research data and summarizing the conclusions that have been reached. The author wishes it were possible to assemble the facts and let them speak for themselves. Unfortunately, this cannot be done. Research data in all areas of knowledge must be interpreted within a particular frame of reference and in terms of certain limitations of the studies. This is especially true in the social sciences, where measurement is relative rather than absolute, sampling is frequently inadequate, and many variables are not amenable to experimental control.

In the complex, emotionally-charged area of racial differences, the best that can be done is to indicate what inferences can be drawn without bias at our present stage of knowledge. The author has attempted to do this to the best of his ability.

This is not an exhaustive study in the sense that all relevant studies have been consulted. Because of the numerous publications that have appeared in this research area, the author has found it necessary to rely to a certain extent upon reviews of the literature in searching for leads which might yield new types of evidence. An effort has been made to group the facts, follow trends of inference, and point to general interpretations.

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The Intelligence of American Negroes[1]

By

Robert D. North

Long a subject of academic and humanitarian interests, the question of the relative intelligence of Negroes and whites has recently become a matter of major concern to the nation. The United States Supreme Court decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools served to focus attention on the comparative educability of the two "races." The steadily increasing demand for trained scientific and professional personnel has emphasized the need for developing and using our human resources to the fullest extent possible. With fifteen million, or approximately 10 per cent of our citizens classified as Negroes by the census of 1950, the mental potentialities and limitations of this portion of our population are vitally important to the welfare of our country.

Research on the mental ability of the American Negro dates back to 1897. It flourished in the decade following World War I, and led to considerable controversy and further studies during the past two decades. Some of the data have been contradictory, and some have been interpreted in diametrically opposite ways. During the past few years new evidence has appeared, justifying a review of the issue as a whole at this time.

Before discussing the research data, it is necessary to point out that we are not dealing with two distinct, well-defined races. In fact, the term "race" has no clear-cut scientific meaning. Used in one sense, it refers to a group of mankind that can be identified in terms of certain inborn physical characteristics, such as skin color, hair, and head shape. In another frame of reference,

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[1]This memorandum was prepared at the request of the Fund for the Republic for a summary of the facts on Negro intelligence. The author assumes full responsibility for the contents.

the term denotes membership in a particular cultural, economic, and social group. Racial classification is arbitrary to a certain extent, and depends upon the purpose for which it is used.

The concept that there are five human races, identifiable by skin colors of white, yellow, brown, black, and red, appears to have been introduced in 1865 by an anthropologist, Blumenbach (5). This has not proved to be a useful basis of classification, since there are continuous gradations of skin color, and a large proportion of the population of the world cannot be assigned to a specific race on the color basis.

In 1950, a system of racial classification was introduced that is based on genetically determined blood characteristics, and five major races were identified as follows: European, or Caucasoid; African, or Negroid; Asiatic, or Mongoloid; American Indian; Australoid (7). This system is useful only for identifying groups, not individuals, since it depends upon an analysis of the relative frequency of occurrence of some eight genes, each of which is present to some extent in each of the races. Another racial theory published in the same year by three American anthropologists recognizes thirty races, based largely on the classical criteria of physical types (13). At the present time, it cannot be said that one classificatory system is more correct than another.

Apart from theories of racial classification, there is a certain amount of agreement among anthropologists that the principal ancestral stock of the "true" Negro may be traced to the central part of the African coast facing the Atlantic Ocean (32). Some of the distinguishing characteristics of these Negroes are hairlessness of the body and face, woolly hair on the head, deep pigmentation, thick lips, broad nose, and projecting jaws.

Even in Africa, the task of obtaining a sample of "true" Negroes would be practically impossible, since the mixture with Caucasoids has been going on for an unknown number of centuries. The basic source of the Negro stock is not known, but it seems very probable that all the peoples of the earth have a common origin.

In the United States, individuals are classified as Negroes primarily on a social and conventional basis. Regardless of physical appearance, any person known to have colored ancestry is commonly regarded as a Negro. Comas (14) makes an interesting comment on this: "The lack of logic in this attitude becomes clearer if one reflects that if a person with the smallest proportion of "Negro blood" can be classified as a Negro, it is just as logical and fair to classify everyone with one drop of "white blood" as white."

The loose and unscientific basis of racial designation in this country must be taken into consideration in evaluating the research results dealing with "racial" comparisons. Rarely are the samples adequately defined with respect to ancestry or physical characteristics. The term "Negro" usually includes in a single category individuals with varying degrees of mixture of Negroid and other ancestry. In this connection, it is worth noting that Herskovits (29), in a study of 3,639 Negroes in 1930, found that only 20 per cent of his sample knew of no white or Indian admixture in their ancestry.

It is common knowledge, of course, that the so-called racial classification of "white" applies to individuals of widely diverse ancestry. It is less often realized that some persons with Negro ancestry are indistinguishable from whites and "pass" as such. The actual number of such "passers" is indeterminate.

The effects of haphazard "racial" designation upon the validity of research findings in the area of Negro intelligence is an open question. Garrett (22)

claims that "if differences in mental ability are found in favor of whites, then one may infer that true racial differences would be greater if African Negroes and white Europeans were studied under comparable conditions." It may be noted that such an inference would be justified only if the differences that are found could be ascribed to genetic characteristics of the two groups, rather than to their cultural environments.

The "Burden of Proof" Question

Where does the burden of proof lie? Do we assume that Negroes and whites are equal in mental ability, unless there is proof to the contrary? Or do we hold that one is inferior to the other, in the absence of conflicting evidence? Psychologically, one's position on this point will be determined by his beliefs and prejudices. In the realm of science, the case may be stated as follows: When samples, rather than total populations, are used in research studies, the burden of proof rests with the investigator to show that any differences found among the characteristics of the samples cannot be reasonably ascribed to sampling fluctuations alone; when there is more than one "uncontrolled variable" in an experiment, the burden of proof rests with the one who would ascribe the results specifically to one of the variables.

Since studies of Negro-white differences in mental ability typically involve samples, and since there are usually a number of important uncontrolled variables, such as genetic admixture, socio-economic background, education, and motivation, the burden of proof rests with those who would claim that there are true differences between the innate mental ability levels of Negro and white groups.

Review of the Evidence

Inferences about the relative intelligence of Negroes and whites have been made from the psychological, biological, and cultural points of view. The evidence in each of these areas will be reviewed, but the major emphasis will be placed on the results of intelligence tests.

Basic Considerations.-Many definitions of intelligence have been advanced, but the one formulated by a committee of the American Psychological Association (61) will serve the purpose for this study. That is, intelligence is the ability to learn and to utilize in new situations knowledge or skills acquired by learning, and to adapt selectively through the use of acquired knowledge.

Psychologists have not yet developed a measure of innate intelligence, nor does it seem likely that they will be able to do so in the foreseeable future. For, if intelligence is to be measured by tests, it must be measured through some form of behavior. And all behavior, other than the simple reflexes (which have no significant relation to mental ability), is acquired at least in part through learning. This acquisition is no doubt dependent to some extent upon innate ability, but it is also a result of the opportunities to learn afforded by the environment and the degree to which the individual is motivated to take advantage of these opportunities.

Intelligence tests are usually constructed in such a way as to minimize the influences of formal education through the use of items involving only experiences or education which every normal person in a specified environment has had an opportunity to acquire. An individual who has failed to acquire the necessary tools or concepts, when given the opportunity, is then presumed to be lacking in the ability to profit from education or experience, and thus to be deficient in intelligence (52).

It should be stressed that no test has yet been devised that is equally fair to individuals of all cultures and of all socio-economic levels. Some tests may be relatively "culture-free" when used with one type of population, but not when used with heterogeneous groups from different cultures or cultural levels. In other words, tests can be "culture-free" only within defined limits, at best.

One of the objections often raised in connection with so-called "culture-free" intelligence tests is that the process of making such tests requires the elimination of the very type of items which are most indicative of the aspects of intelligence that are considered important in our civilization--for example, the ability to use language, numbers, symbols, and abstractions. A simple form-board type of "intelligence" test, in which the task involves putting blocks of various shapes into their respective niches, has been used in some studies of the comparative mental ability levels of racial and national groups, but one might well question whether the type of ability required in such a test is an important aspect of intelligence.

The relative contributions of heredity and environment to the determination of intelligence is a complex question. The problem has received considerable attention from psychologists in the past half-century, but the arguments have lost most of their fervor during the past decade, with the evidence pointing to the fact that the two variables are inextricably mixed. A few decades ago some psychologists were willing to venture an opinion that intelligence is determined by heredity by a certain percentage, and by environment by another percentage, but such statements are no longer in vogue. The general problem has been discussed quite thoroughly in several publications.*

*See (10), (19), (31), (33), (35), (43), (47), (59).

Without venturing into controversial areas, this much can be said with equanimity: Just as a normal adult can be reduced to the mental level of an idiot through the brain-washing techniques of deprivation and torment, so can a growing child be retarded in mental development, as measured by tests in current usage, in proportion to the extent that he is deprived of opportunities to learn, intellectual stimulation, and basic biological satisfaction. On the other hand, there is no evidence that a child of very low intelligence, but otherwise normal, can be brought up to the level of superior intelligence through especially favorable environmental opportunities and training. Between these extremes, the evidence is moot.

Intelligence Test Results

The Army testing programs are the principal source of large-scale data on the comparative performance of Negro and white adults on intelligence tests. The results of these testing programs are of special importance, not only because of the large size of the groups, but because of the nation-wide nature of the sampling as well.

In World War II, the Army tested more than nine million inductees with the Army General Classification Test. This is essentially an intelligence test, and the civilian editions of it are now so used, although the Adjutant General's Office took precautions against labeling it as such. It consists of verbal, numerical, and spatial types of items. The results are reported in terms of converted scores, rather than as intelligence quotients, and the average score of all inductees was found to be a few points above 100. The AGCT scores are highly correlated with scores on some of the other intelligence tests now in use, but the scoring scale units are somewhat different.

The proportions of Negro and white soldiers that ranked in each of five AGCT score classifications in one phase of the World War II testing program are shown in Table 1. The differences are clearly in favor of the whites. Scores in the highest two categories were obtained by 38.6 per cent of the whites, as compared with 5.4 per cent of the Negroes.

Test data from World War I yield similar evidence. In 1917-1918, Alpha tests, for literates, and Beta tests, for illiterates, were administered to almost 1,750,000 men. The results were reported in terms of scores that bear no relation to IQ units. Table 2 shows the median scores made by whites, northern Negroes, and southern Negroes on the two tests. On both tests, the whites surpassed the northern Negroes, and the latter excelled the southern

Table 1

Percentage Distribution of Army General Classification Test Scores of Negro and White Selectees Processed June, 1941, to February, 1942

	Classification					
	(High) I	II	III	IV	(Low) V	Number Tested
Whites	8.5%	30.1%	32.1%	20.9%	8.3%	493,651
Negroes	.5	4.9	16.7	31.4	46.3	56,027

Note: Range of AGCT scores within each classification is as follows: I--above 129; II--110 to 129; III--90 to 109; IV--60 to 89; V--below 60 (prior to July, 1942, it was below 69).

(Table is based on data from Davenport, "Implications of Military Selection and Classification in Relation to Universal Military Training," p. 591.)

Table 2

Median Scores of Negro and White Soldiers in World War I on the Army Alpha and Beta Tests

Group	Alpha	Beta
White	59	43
Northern Negro	39	32
Southern Negro	12	20

(Data from Garrett, Great Experiments in Psychology, p. 46)

Negroes. However, as in the case of the AGCT scores of World War II, there was a certain amount of overlapping in the scores of the Negroes and whites. According to Garrett (21), about 25 per cent of the northern Negroes had scores at least as high as the median white soldier on both tests; about five per cent of the southern Negroes reached the median of the white soldiers on the Alpha test, as against ten per cent on the Beta test.

There are literally hundreds of other research studies corroborating the Army test indications that American Negroes, on the average, score lower on intelligence tests than do whites.* In 1944, Klineberg (36) reported that in a total of twenty-seven different studies the range of median or average IQ's of the Negro groups was 58 to 105, with an overall median of 86. In eighteen of these studies in which data on white control groups were given, the range of the median or average IQ's of the white groups was 85 to 108, with a median of 102. These figures should be regarded as only approximate indications of the IQ levels in the various studies, since IQ's on different tests are not directly comparable.

In a few of the studies of unselected Negroes and whites in the same geographical environments, the Negro groups have been found to equal or surpass the white groups on some measures of mental ability. For example, Stetson (56) back in 1897 found that a small group of Negro children was superior to a similar group of white children on a memory test. In Ferguson's study in 1916 (18), involving 486 white children and 421 Negro children in Virginia, the Negroes equalled the whites on some of the tests at certain high school grade levels, although Ferguson reached the conclusion that the "superiority of the whites is indubitable." Sunne (58) found that Negro children in New Orleans were superior to whites there on some of the items of the Binet and

*For reviews of the research literature, see (22), (25), (26), (36), (38), (41), (49), (55), (60), (65), (67).

Yerkes scales, although the Negroes were inferior on the tests as a whole. Petersen and Lanier (53 reported some Negro superiority among certain groups of New York City pupils in 1929. In 1922-23, Clark (12 tested 510 Negro and 4,326 white children, whom he judged to be fairly representative of the third to eighth grade school population in Los Angeles. The difference between the Negro median of 104.9 and the white median of 106.0 was not statistically significant.

In general, however, the overwhelming weight of the evidence supports the conclusion that Negro groups in the United States typically rank below white groups in similar locations. To interpret this as an indication that American Negroes are innately inferior to whites, though, is to go beyond the data.

The Role of Selective Migration.-Let us go back to some further data from World War I. In Table 3, the median intelligence test scores of Negro recruits from New York, Illinois, and Ohio are shown along with the median scores of white recruits from Mississippi, Kentucky, and Arkansas. All three of these Negro groups exceed all three of the white groups. When these data were published in 1931 (4), there were protests that an inferiority of whites to Negroes was implied. In a sense, the comparison may be unfair, since the highest scoring Negro groups are juxtaposed with the lowest scoring white groups. Nevertheless, an important question is brought to the fore. Are these northern Negro groups superior to these southern white groups because they represent superior racial stock that migrated northward, or can the differences be explained in terms of the more favorable educational and cultural conditions in the northern states?

This question can be answered only with inferences at the present stage of our knowledge. Some recent evidence from the Philadelphia public school system bears upon the point (Lee, 44). As part of its regular testing program, this school system administers intelligence tests, including the Philadelphia Tests of Mental and Verbal Ability, to its pupils in the first, second, fourth, sixth, and ninth grades. Among the pupils are Philadelphia-born Negroes and southern-born Negroes who enter the school system at various grade levels. The average IQ's of these groups are shown in Table 4. It will be observed that in the main there is an upward trend in the intelligence test ratings of the southern-born Negroes as the length of residence in Philadelphia increases. The gains cannot be attributed to increasing familiarity with the tests or the testing situation, since there is not a similar trend of gains in the scores of the Philadelphia-born pupils. On the basis of statistical tests of significance, Lee reported that the migrant children who entered the first grade in

Table 3

Average Scores on Army Alpha Test for Negro Soldiers from Three Northern States and White Soldiers from Three Southern States During World War I

Whites			Negroes		
State	Number of Cases	Median Alpha Score	State	Number of Cases	Median Alpha Score
Arkansas	618	41.0	New York	850	44.5
Kentucky	832	41.0	Ohio	152	48.8
Mississippi	665	40.8	Illinois	578	46.9

(Data from Benedict and Weltfish, The Races of Mankind, p. 18; number of cases added by Garrett, "'Facts' and Interpretation Regarding Race Differences," p. 405)

Table 4

Mean IQ's of Negro Children on Philadelphia Tests
of Mental and Verbal Ability

	N	1A	2B	4B	6B	9A
Philadelphia-born Negroes who did not attend kindergarten	424	92.1	93.4	94.7	94.0	93.7
Southern-born Negroes entering Philadelphia school system in grades:						
1A	182	86.5	89.3	91.8	93.3	92.8
1B-2B	109		86.7	88.6	90.9	90.5
3A-4B	199			86.3	87.2	89.4
5A-6B	221				88.2	90.2
7A-9A	219					87.4

(Data from Lee, "Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration," p. 231)

Philadelphia were definitely inferior to the Philadelphia-born children on the first three tests of the series, but by the time they reached the sixth grade there was no significant difference in their test ratings and those of the Philadelphia-born group, who, like them, had not attended kindergarten.

Lee's evidence strengthens Klineberg's contention that "the superiority of the northern Negro over the southern Negro and the tendency of the northern Negro to approximate the scores of the whites are due to factors in the environment and not to selective migration." (37, p. 59)

In one of the studies cited by Klineberg (37), an analysis was made of the relation of intelligence and performance test scores to the number of years of residence in New York City of a group of southern-born Negro children. On two of the three intelligence tests used, the scores of the migrants showed fairly regular increases with increasing length of residence in New York City, and tended to approach the scores of the northern-born Negro children after several years. There was no clear-cut pattern on the third intelligence test or on the performance test. Aside from the lack of complete consistency of the results, the evidence against selective migration in these studies was weakened by the fact that the comparisons were made among groups that migrated to New York in different years, rather than on sequential testing of the same groups of children. That is, the poorer showing of the groups with the smallest number of years of residence in New York City--the groups that migrated more recently--might have been attributable to a possible decrease in selectivity, and lower mental ability level, of the northern migrant groups from year to year. Klineberg reported some evidence, based on a rather small number of cases, that tended to counter such a claim. Lee's supporting study on Philadelphia children is free from the weakness of Klineberg's experimental design.

In another of the studies carried on under Klineberg's direction (37), the school records of the northern Negroes, prior to migration, were compared with those of the Negro children who remained in the South. No significant differences were found between the marks of the migrants and those of their non-migrant classmates. While Klineberg interpreted this as evidence against the selective migration theory, his conclusion has been questioned on the grounds that the school marks were too coarse a criterion to reflect possible IQ differences, even if these were as large as twenty points or so.

The selective migration question has also been studied in relation to the consistent differences that have been found in favor of urban Negro groups over rural Negro groups. It has often been maintained that the urban superiority is attributable to the migration of intelligent individuals into the cities. But again data cited by Klineberg (37) weakens the selective migration theory. In one study, the National Intelligence Test scores of twelve-year-old Negro children born in New Orleans were compared with those of others who had migrated to the city at various ages. The scores of the migrant groups showed almost a steady trend of increase with the number of years of New Orleans residence--from about one year to seven or more years. There was an increase from an average score of 38 for those who had been in the city less than a year to a score of 75 for those born in the city.

A conservative conclusion that can be drawn from these data is that much of the superiority of northern Negroes over southern Negroes, and of urban Negroes over rural Negroes, is attributable to environmental factors, rather than to selective migration. The selective migration theory cannot be ruled out completely, but the evidence for it is weak. The significance of this argument is that the more favorable comparisons of certain Negro groups, such

as those in New York City and Los Angeles, with white groups in the same environment, cannot be ascribed in any large measure to a favorable selection of the samples from the Negro population, according to the available evidence.

The Factor of Schooling.-When the Army test data shown in Table 1 are analyzed in relation to the number of years of schooling completed, as in Table 5, it is evident that the distributions of scores of both the white and Negro groups become progressively more favorable with increasing amounts of education. At each educational level, though, the Negro groups lag behind the white groups. Similar findings have been reported by Fulk and Harrell (20) for samples of 2,010 Negroes and 2,174 whites in the Army Air Force in World War II and by Garrett (21) for World War I soldiers. In the Fulk and Harrell study, the relationship between the amount of schooling completed by the time of induction and the classification test average scores began after grade seven for the whites, and after grade five for the Negroes, but the average scores of the whites were significantly higher than those of the Negroes at each grade level.

The relation between the test scores and the amount of schooling does not necessarily mean that the tests measure school achievement rather than intelligence, since the attrition of the less capable individuals at each grade level causes the average intelligence level to rise from one grade level to the next higher one.

The possible effects of the amount of schooling on intelligence test performance cannot be dismissed lightly, however. For example, recent Swedish studies cited by Anastasi (1) showed that IQ changes over a period of ten years of 613 individuals were related to the number of years of intervening schooling. In comparing the results of intelligence tests administered at the time of Army induction with third-grade test results of ten years earlier, it was found that the group that had completed only the compulsory seven years of primary school showed a slight drop in average score of 1.2 points, while all other groups improved, with the average gains rising consistently from 2.1 to 11.0 with increasing amounts of schooling.

In the American Army test results reported above, the differences between the test performance of the Negroes and whites at each educational level may be attributable in part, at least, to differences in the quality of education available to the two groups and to socio-economic factors. Such a relationship was well depicted by Alexander (68) in his analysis of the World War I Alpha test results. He showed that the ranks of the states with respect to the test scores closely corresponded to their ranks in economic level and educational efficiency, as reflected in their average per capita expenditure for education, the percentage of daily school attendance, and the percentage of children attending high school. While the causal nature of the relation between these conditions and performance on mental ability tests is not demonstrated by Alexander's data, it does seem to be indicated by the findings of Klineberg and of Lee in their migration studies which were discussed above. In any event, it cannot be assumed that Negro and white groups are equated in educational background when the number of years of schooling is the sole basis for matching. The quality of the schooling must also be taken into consideration.

The relation of education and other cultural factors to intelligence test scores is discussed in considerable detail in the publication "Intelligence and Cultural Differences," written by Eells and several collaborators. (16)

Table 5

Percentage Distribution of Army General Classification Test Scores, by Educational Categories, of Negro and White Selectees Processed June, 1941, to February, 1942

Educational Category	Race	Classification (High) I	II	III	IV	(Low) V	Number Tested
Some Schooling	W	0.3%	3.5%	18.9%	42.9%	34.4%	81,033
	N	0.2	1.1	4.9	20.7	73.1	24,456
Completed Grade School	W	2.0	21.8	42.8	27.6	5.8	212,949
	N	0.3	3.6	19.4	43.4	33.1	22,343
Completed High School	W	15.1	50.5	28.5	5.4	0.5	177,556
	N	1.6	16.5	41.5	32.6	7.8	8,404
Completed College	W	47.5	45.0	7.1	0.4	0.0	19,580
	N	6.4	34.9	44.3	12.9	1.5	776
College Post-Graduate	W	53.3	40.2	6.0	0.4	0.1	2,533
	N	12.5	56.3	25.0	4.2	2.1	48

(Data from Davenport, "Implications of Military Selection and Classification in Relation to Universal Military Training," p. 591)

Relation of "Race-Mixture" to Mental Ability.-From the experimental standpoint, a method of studying the relation between Negroid characteristics and mental ability is to let these traits vary along a continuum from Negroid to white while holding constant other variables, such as those of a sociological nature, and then to determine the relation between the degree of Negroid traits and intelligence test scores. It is, of course, possible to find sample groups with varying degrees of Negro-white mixture to meet one of the requirements of such an experiment. However, it is not feasible to hold the other variables constant. Both Klineberg (36) and Herskovits (29) have pointed out that social and economic advantages have tended to favor the individuals with the lighter skin color. Hence, if a significant relation is found between the degree of white mixture and mental ability, this cannot be attributed to the genetic determinants alone unless the mental ability measure is completely "culture-free," which is unlikely. Further difficulties of interpretation are encountered in such an approach when an attempt is made to generalize from the results. For, unless it can be proved that the Negro and white groups that originally entered into the mixture were representative of the Negro and white populations as a whole, the mental ability differences related to degree of mixture might be attributable to high or low selectivity among the progenitors of one or both of the "racial" groups. For example, if it were found that among groups of mixed ancestry those with lightest skin colors had the lowest intelligence, this might be ascribed to superior selection in the Negro lineage and inferior selection in the white lineage.

In spite of these interpretative difficulties involved, some studies have been made in this area. In 1916, Ferguson (18) wrote that "it is probably correct to say that pure Negroes, Negroes three-fourths pure, mulattoes, and

quadroons have roughly 60, 70, 80, and 90 per cent, respectively, of white intellectual efficiency." His criterion of the degree of mixture was crude and his evidence of the relationship was weak. Later studies by Kerakovits (30), Peterson and Lanier (53), and Klineberg,(36) in which more precise indices of racial mixture were used, showed only a very small relation between degrees of mixture and intelligence test scores. Witty and Jenkins (63) reviewed the evidence in the field up to 1936, and offered the following summary: "It was found that investigators have set forth dissimilar conclusions, but the weight of the evidence clearly indicates that intelligence test performance is not conditioned by the relative proportion of white and Negro ancestry. The results of the most comprehensive, careful, and recent studies indicate that there is a negative but insignificant relationship between mental test performances and Negroid characteristics." There does not seem to be any more recent evidence pointing in a different direction.

Test Performance in Relation to Learning Ability.-In 1945, Witty (62) cited evidence showing that Negro and white soldiers in Special Training Units in World War II with comparable scores on the Army General Classification Test demonstrated approximately equal learning ability. In a sense, this is hardly more than a validation of the classification test as a measure of learning ability, but such validation data help to show that the test scores have practical significance. These results signify that Negroes who are equivalent to whites in mental ability, as measured by an intelligence test, and who have equal opportunities to learn, are not inferior in the acquisition of academic skills.

The likelihood that certain types of mental ability tests may yield underestimates of the learning ability of Negroes of low socio-economic status is indicated in a recent report by Clark (11). His data were drawn from the "Southern Project"--a two-year, South-wide talent search designed to select intellectually superior Negro high school seniors in southern segregated high schools and to send them to northern nonsegregated colleges on scholarships. An analysis of the college freshman grades earned by a group of 167 of these highly-selected students, in relation to their Scholastic Aptitude Test scores, revealed that the high-scoring students of low socio-economic status earned higher average grades than did the high-scoring students of high status. While Clark's findings are based on a relatively small number of individuals, they are in line with other evidence given in this memorandum in showing that comparisons of mental ability levels based on test scores must be made with reservations when significant differences in environmental background variables are involved.

Distribution of Intelligence.- In many of the earlier studies of Negro-white differences in intelligence, the findings were based on comparisons of average or median scores, and relatively little attention was paid to the amount of overlap in the ranges of the test scores and to the relative frequencies of scores at the high and low ends of the scales. Data in later studies have tended to be more complete, as it has become increasingly evident that extensive overlap in the ranges of ability of different groups tends to be of greater practical significance than small differences in average ability levels.

In Sunne's New Orleans' study in 1925 (57), it was found that "among the pupils of the elementary grades, there were twice as many Negro children of very low intelligence ratings as white, a much greater proportion of white children at the upper end of the scales, and relatively the same percentage in the middle portions of the scales, though the scores of Negro pupils tend more toward the lower limits even in this middle range." However, the fact that the range and variability of the scores of the two groups were similar led Sunne to conclude that different educational programs or test norms for the two groups were not warranted.

In regard to the Army General Classification Test results in World War II, Garrett (23) noted that approximately 15 to 20 per cent of the Negro soldiers did better on the tests than the average white soldier. Fulk and Harrell (20), in their analysis of the classification test scores of several thousand Air Force soldiers of World War II, found that the proportion of Negro soldiers whose scores exceeded the average of the whites at various levels of schooling ranged from 17 per cent for those with a high school education down to two per cent for those with only five grades of schooling. Referring back to Table it will be seen that the scores of the Negro soldiers tested in 1941 and 1942 ranged from the lowest to the highest classification, regardless of the level

of schooling, as did the scores of the whites. But there is ample evidence in the Army data from both World Wars that the proportion of Negroes scoring at the extremely low end of the mental ability scale is considerably greater than that of the whites.

Since, as Thorndike pointed out many years ago, the upper limit of ability of a group is as important as its average atypical status, reports of Negro children of high mental caliber are of interest. Jenkins (34) cites fifteen studies of Negro pupils where the IQ's exceeded 120. Twenty-six Negro pupils with Stanford-Binet IQ's of 140 and above were identified by Witty and Jenkins (64) in a systematic search for superior Negro children enrolled in seven Chicago public schools. The average IQ of this selected group was 149. In relation to the "race-mixture" question, it is worth noting that about one-fifth of these twenty-six children reported all-Negro ancestry, and the remainder gave indications of being of mixed Negro and white ancestry in varying degrees. The parents of the children were about average in education and in socio-economic status. Garrett (22), in reviewing this study, estimated that the proportion of Negro children identified as having IQ's of 120 or higher in the preliminary phase of the screening was only about one-eighth of that which would probably be found in the general population of the nation. Such an inference would be more justifiable if the children had been selected from the start on the basis of test scores. Instead, they were nominated by the teachers, who had been asked to choose the most intelligent child in the class, the one whose class work was best, and the ones who were more than one-quarter of a year under age for their grade placement. There is no way of knowing how many children in the general population would be found with IQ's of 120 and above if they were selected on such a basis prior to testing.

One can only speculate upon the effect that certain selective factors in the past may have had upon the distribution of intelligence among Negroes in America. For example, were the African forebears who were brought to this country as slaves in the eighteenth century representative of their native population? Myrdal (49) cautiously avoids taking a stand on this issue, observing that there was doubtlessly a wide range of ability among the Africans who were sold to traders as war captives, criminals, debtors, and those who were kidnaped. He also mentions that during the slave era in the South, some selective breeding was practiced, giving favor to the docile and physically strong. Whether or not such selectivity had any effects on the distribution of mental ability is questionable.

Anastasi (2), in a recent review of the literature on the relation between intelligence and family size, indicates that the fertility rate of both Negroes and whites in the United States tends to be inversely related to socio-economic status, which in turn is related to intelligence. It might be argued, therefore, that if the socio-economic status of the Negroes were to continue to be less favorable than that of the whites in this country, the birth-rate differential would tend to operate as a selective factor resulting in a less favorable distribution of mental ability among Negroes.

It is worth emphasizing that possible selection along the lines mentioned above can influence the distribution of mental ability within a racial or national group regardless of whether or not there is any genetic relation between the distinguishing physical characteristics of the group and intelligence. Care should be taken to avoid attributing group differences arising from selection to innate characteristics.

The Developmental Approach

Comparison of Negro and White Infants.-To avoid some of the complications such as language, age, education, and social influences which are usually associated with studies of racial differences, several psychologists have compared the development of Negro and white infants. While the environmental variables are not entirely eliminated through this approach, the effects of some of them are minimized.

In 1946, Pasamanick (51) reported on a study of a group of fifty-three Negro babies born in New Haven. This group represented about 40 per cent of the Negro infants born in that city during the period of the study (approximately one year). The only basis of selection was that babies born prematurely and those that were seriously ill were excluded from the study. The Yale Developmental Schedule and the Tables of Individual Behavior were used to appraise the development of the Negro group and of several typical groups of white babies also born in New Haven. Pasamanick's findings, in part, are as follows:

1. The average New Haven Negro infant of this study is fully equal in behavioral development to the average New Haven white baby.

2. No outstanding characteristic was found which could be called a "racial difference," with the possible exception of the definite acceleration in gross motor behavior displayed by the Negroes. In the spheres of fine motor, adaptive, language, and personal-social behavior, the Negro babies did at least as well as the white children.

3. There are no significant correlations of development with depth of pigmentation, number of years of parental schooling, and regional origin of the parents.

4. A likely explanation for the normal developmental progress displayed by the Negroes of this study may be found in the recently reported important influences of maternal diet upon offspring. The Negro babies of this investigation were conceived and born during World War II, when the Negro babies enjoyed a diet which, for the first time, approached that of the New Haven whites. This is partially reflected in the heights and weights of the Negro children, which exceeded those of any previously reported Negro groups and approached the white norms.

Research along similar lines has been reported more recently by Gilliland (28), who has tested Negro and white infants in the Chicago area with the Northwestern Infant Intelligence Test. In each of three separate comparisons, the Negro groups rated at least as high as the whites.

These findings must be interpreted with caution, since tests of the mental and behavioral development of infants do not have very high predictive value. for IQ's in later life. But the implications of these recent studies are quite different from those of an earlier, and widely-quoted, report of McGraw (46). In 1931, McGraw administered the Vienna Baby Tests to sixty-eight white and sixty Negro babies, two to eleven months old, in Tallahassee, Florida. These were approximately 50 per cent o the babies born there during that year. Her principal conclusion was that "in general the developmental level achieved by the Negro babies appears to be about 80 per cent as mature as that of the white babies." The fact that at these early ages the white children rated higher on the tests was interpreted by Garrett (21) as a strong suggestion that heredity was the cause of the differences in mental ability. But, as Garrett recognized, this conclusion is questionable because the Negro babies were not so well developed physically as the whites, nor so well nourished.

The Biological Approach

It has been argued at times that Negroes and whites may differ in their degree of "primitiveness"--that is, in the relative number of anthropoid, or ape-like, characteristics. Kreeber (42) has reviewed the evidence and concludes that there is approximately an equal number of anthropoid characteristics in both groups, and that no decision can be reached as to which is the more primitive. For example, the Caucasian is more like the anthropoid with respect to hairiness of the body, while the Negro is more anthropoid in nose structure.

One might think that a direct approach to the study of the mental capacities of Negroes and whites would be to compare characteristics of the brains of the two groups. A physiological method of studying the functioning of the brain is through the measurement of the small electrical currents emitted. These currents can be recorded accurately by the electroencephalograph (EEG), and both the magnitude and frequency of the waves can be recorded and analyzed. But this approach does not show promise of differentiating the relative intelligence levels of racial groupings. In a recent review of the EEG literature, Ellingson (17) concluded that the weight of evidence indicates that the brain waves are unrelated to test intelligence. Similar conclusions were reached by reviewers in 1944 and 1950. So far as is known, there is no difference between the brain wave characteristics of Negroes and whites.

As in the case of the EEG, there is no significant relation between the structural characteristics of the brain and intelligence among normal human beings. For example, the proportional brain size of women is smaller, on the average, than that of men, but there is no reliable evidence that women are inferior to men in intelligence. Anatomical studies of the brains of morons

and geniuses have failed to reveal any significant differences. The comparisons that have been made of the brains of Negroes and whites have yielded negative results. Klineberg (69) cites evidence from studies of Todd and Lindala, and of Mall, who reported that there were no essential dissimilarities in the brain structures of the two groups.

The Cultural Approach

One of the approaches that is sometimes used in an attempt to establish a case for a hierarchy of racial or national groups is through a comparison of their present stages of civilization and culture, and of their contributions in these areas in the past. For example, the present superiority of the western nations in science and technology might be taken as an indication of Caucasian supremacy. The comment that Leiris (45) makes on this point is worth quoting: "Judgments in this matter are necessarily relative and dependent on the point of view, and an African, Indian, or Polynesian would be as fully justified in passing a severe judgment on the ignorance of most of us in matters of genealogy as we should on his ignorance of the laws of electricity or Archimedes' principle."

Boas (6) also emphasizes that the main interests, goals, and scales of values may differ entirely among various societies, and he points out that each type of culture has its successes and failures, its faults and virtues.

The elements of geography must also be given weight in making cross-cultural comparisons. Communication and transportation have made important contributions to the development of all great civilizations, and it is impossible to say how much progress is due to the talents of a particular national or racial group, and how much must be attributed to "borrowing" from other groups.

The cultural argument for the superiority of one racial stock over another is, at best, a temporal one. At various stages in the history of mankind, the evidence has varied. By choosing a specific era and an appropriate criterion, one might readily present a favorable case for the supremacy of the Greeks, Romans, African Negroes, Chinese, Aztec Indians, Melanesians, and most other racial and national groups.

It seems justifiable to take the stand of Klineberg (36), who states: "The cultural argument for 'racial' differences depends upon criteria outside the scope of objective or experimental treatment, and in any case varies markedly according to the interest or bias of the writer."

Discussion

In this review of the research findings on Negro-white differences in mental ability, ample evidence was found that Negroes, on the average, score below whites on intelligence tests. Most of the studies reported in the first quarter of the century, as well as those conducted more recently in the South and those based on World War II data, have consistently shown a margin in favor of the white groups. However, investigations dealing with infants and school children in the North indicate that the Negro-white differences in mental ability tend to decrease, if not disappear, as the socio-economic conditions of the two groups become more nearly equal. The bulk of evidence is against an explanation in terms of selective migration.

During the past twenty years, scientific interest in studying racial differences has waned considerably. Among the reasons are the following: the difficulties involved in attempting to differentiate between the effects of heredity and environment; the problems encountered in defining and selecting "representative" samples; increased recognition that tests do not measure innate abilities; failure to find evidence that biologically-determined racial characteristics are linked with mental traits; and realization that variations in intelligence within the racial groups are considerably more significant than differences among the groups.

More and more, the emphasis is shifting from group comparisons to the evaluation of the potentialities of the individual. It is now obvious that far better appraisals and predictions of a person's capabilities and limitations can be made on the basis of objective measures, such as provided by standardized tests, than on the basis of characteristics related to membership in a particular race. It is clear that some Negroes are superior to some whites in standing

on intelligence tests, just as some whites are superior to some Negroes in this respect.

If further efforts were to be made to determine whether or not there are innate differences in the intelligence levels of Negro and white groups, the most promising approach would probably be to select samples which are as closely comparable as possible in living conditions and social status. Probably the environment in which such groups are most likely to be found is a non-restricted housing project in a northern metropolitan area, such as New York, where the family income levels fall within a relatively narrow range and where the children attend non-segregated schools. A comparison of the intelligence levels of the children in this setting is likely to provide as fair a basis for drawing inferences as it is possible to find in the nation today. However, before generalizations could be made from the findings, it would be necessary to establish that the Negro and white groups were equally representative of the respective populations in the United States as a whole.

In past decades, it was usually necessary to organize special testing programs when test data were needed for research purposes, such as in studies of Negro intelligence. The rapid growth of guidance and testing programs in recent years now makes it possible to obtain the necessary data from existing records in many schools, especially those in large cities. To an increasing extent, schools are routinely administering standardized tests in intelligence, achievement and other areas to their pupils. These test results are useful both in studying the growth and development of individuals and in appraising the characteristics of groups.

Data of this type from school systems such as those of Washington, D. C., and Baltimore may be of considerable interest and value in studying the effects

of recent desegregation on the aptitude and achievement characteristics of Negro pupils. In this connection, the following quotation from the Baltimore City Schools report of its study on desegregation (50) may provide some useful research leads: "Although some principals do not emphasize the matter, almost all have agreed that Negro children transferred to formerly white schools in grades above the first are not generally equal in preparation to children who have attended white schools. The reading level is said to be low, and both spoken and written English is comparatively poorer. In spite of the frequently marked retardation of Negro children, many respond to their new opportunities by working hard and learning rapidly. No principal or teacher attributed the retardation (i.e., achievement below that expected of a child's age) to poorer capacity, or alleged that Negro children had any greater propensity to be slow learners than white children. The less favorable showing was ascribed to the inadequate preparation Negro children had received, and to the socio-economic conditions under which most of them live. The latter tend to dampen ambition and scholastic incentives. The principal of an elementary school (formerly white) with a heavy Negro enrollment explained that she had no evidence that class-work has been slowed down by the presence therein of Negro pupils, attributing that satisfactory result in part to the great amount of remedial instruction which teachers give to retarded children, both white and colored."

As a matter of theoretical concern, the question of Negro-white differences in intelligence has given way to problems that are more amenable to experimental controls and hence show more promise of yielding clear-cut answers. There seems to be little to be gained by persisting further in the attempt to disentangle group differences from the web of environmental influences, selection, and individual differences in heredity.

Summary and Conclusions

The principal issues and evidence related to the question of Negro-white differences in intelligence in the United States were reviewed. The interpretation of the evidence is complicated by sampling problems, conflicting data, and the difficulties involved in evaluating the possible effects of socio-economic and cultural factors on mental development in general, and on intelligence test scores in particular. With due regard for limitations in the available evidence, the following conclusions may be cited:

1. In general, the average intelligence test score of Negroes falls below that of whites in the same geographical region.

2. There is no proof that such differences as are found between the mental ability levels of Negro and white groups are related to genetically-determined "racial" traits.

3. The mental ability differences between Negro and white groups are of an order of magnitude that could be produced by environmental factors.

4. Improvement of the environmental and educational opportunities of groups of Negro children tends to raise their average IQ's and to decrease the Negro-white disparity.

5. There is no proof that Negroes, as a group, are biologically inferior to whites, nor that their potentialities for educational and cultural development are more limited.

Appendix I

Since the experimental and research evidence regarding the relative innate ability levels of Negroes and whites is quite complex, it may be of some interest to review the interpretations of some representative scientists.

In 1939, Jenkins (34) summarized the conclusions reached in twelve reviews of the research literature in the field between 1914 and 1939. The conclusions were:

Bruner, 1914: No conclusion; the three studies cited (Baldwin, Strong, Mayo) all emphasized the inferiority of the Negro groups.

Woodworth, 1916: No conclusion; the investigators, without exception, accept the hypothesis of race differences in intelligence.

Pintner, 1923: "All results show the Negro decidedly inferior to the whites on standard intelligence tests. These results are sufficiently numerous to point to a racial difference in intelligence."

Garth, 1925: "These studies altogether seem to indicate the mental superiority of the white race.... Altogether it may be said that the investigators recognized that these experimental results are crude and so they must be taken tentatively."

Viteles, 1928: "From among the varied conclusions it is possible for anyone interested in the problem of Negro-white differences to choose one which best suits his particular bias. The varied character of the findings themselves and the difficulties of interpretation suggest extreme caution in generalizing on differences between the Negro and the white."

Yoder, 1928: "It may be correctly concluded that the consensus of competent scientific thought, contemplating the inability of mental testers to define intelligence, the inadequacy of all attempts to take such factors as education, social status, and language into proper consideration, and the deficiencies of testing conditions, finds no proof of racial inferiority or superiority and eliminates the usual methods of determining such standing from the field of scientific usefulness."

Witty and Lehman, 1930: "For the present, it may be said, therefore, that (a) individual differences among the members of a given race are always much larger than the so-called 'race differences' and that therefore, (b) any sweeping statement of the intellectual status of the so-called inferior races would be premature."

Garth, 1930: "It would appear that it (the racial difference hypothesis) is no nearer being established than it was five years ago. In fact many psychologists seem practically ready for another, the hypothesis of racial equality. But the problem in either case is the same as it was--to obtain fair samples of the races in question, to control the factor of nurture, and to secure a testing device and technique fair to the races compared."

Garth, 1934: "Much of the difference found in the results of studies of racial differences in mental traits is due to differences in nurtural factors and the rest is due to racial mobility, so that one race has a temporary advantage over another."

Price, 1934: "It seems safe to conclude, therefore, that until the validity of these assumptions is more thoroughly tested than they have been hitherto, it is not only futile to attempt to compare whites and Negroes, but that meanwhile there should be suspended the belief that the Negro is inferior mentally."

Klineberg, 1935: "The general conclusion of this book is that there is no scientific proof of racial differences in mentality. This does not necessarily mean that there are no such differences....In the present stage of our knowledge, however, we have no right to assume that they exist."

Garth, 1937: "...any differences so far found in these traits must of necessity be laid at the door of differences in experience and the environmental factors, in racial ideals, and in social status. In fact, any differences so far found may be said to be due to one or two factors, the factor of selection or the factor of nurture."

To this list of conclusions compiled by Jenkins may be added the conclusions reached in later surveys and reviews:

Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb, 1937: "To summarize the evidence on intelligence differences between Negroes and whites, we may say that in our present forms of intelligence tests, Negroes make much lower scores than do whites, but that schooling and length of residence in the city seem to affect the ratings of Negroes to such a great extent that we cannot determine from present data what the actual difference would be if environmental differences were eliminated."

Garrett, 1941: "One point should be stressed in conclusion. It must be remembered that the mental test differences cited apply to Negro-White groups as we find them, not to groups in which environmental factors have been equated. That the Negro would test lower than the White under equal social conditions we do not know; that he does test lower under conditions in which we find him is a demonstrated fact. .... On the whole it is hard to see how selection or variations in social status can account for <u>all</u> of the differences found in these studies, although it might very well account for a part. The Negro comes out consistently below the White norms on tests designed to gauge mental ability. Whether these differences are chiefly native or chiefly environmental, we cannot at present say, but a reasonable view is that native differences play some part. This does not alter the fact, of course, that as shown by the overlapping of test scores, many Negroes stand higher than Whites."

Myrdal, 1944: "The inferences to be drawn are, on the whole, negative as far as hereditary differences are concerned: it has not been possible to prove beyond doubt the existence of any differences at all in innate intelligence between American Negroes and whites; neither has it been possible to prove, on the other hand, that no differences exist. In regard to environmental factors the inferences are, however, positive: it has been proved that environmental differences account for large differences in the measured intelligence performances. Present evidence seems, therefore, to make it highly improbable that innate differences exist which are as large as is popularly assumed and as was assumed by scholars a few decades ago."

Klineberg and Garth, 1950: "It is safe to conclude that the belief in inborn racial or national differences is not supported by adequate experimental evidence. Of course groups differ, and in recent years social scientists have devoted much time and effort to developing a methodology for the study of 'national character.' These approaches have almost invariably, however, proceeded on the assumption that it is to the historical background and the life experiences of the developing individual, and not to a national or racial genetic constitution, that we must look for an explanation of the observed differences."

Leiris, 1951: "As regards psychological tests, in proportion as we have learned to make allowance for the influence of the physical and social environment....the results have pointed increasingly to a fundamental equivalence in the intellectual attributes of all human groups. In the present condition of science it is not possible to say of a particular race that it is more (or less) intelligent than another. While it can indubitably be shown that a member of a poor and isolated group--or of a lower social class--is handicapped vis-a-vis the members living under better economic conditions ....., this proves nothing as to the aptitude which the less privileged individual might display in a more favorable setting."

It is worth noting that since 1925 Garrett alone, of those cited above, has tended to hold out for the innate racial difference hypothesis. The trend of change in thinking during the past few decades is well illustrated by the following quotation from Brigham ([8], p. 165):

"This review has summarized some of the more recent test findings which show that comparative studies of various national and racial groups may not be made with existing tests, and which show, in particular, that one of the most pretentious of these comparative racial studies--the writer's own--was without foundation."

Appendix II

The writer wishes to offer some comments, outside the realm of scientific discourse, on several recent publications that have come to his attention.

Furnas, in his widely-heralded book, "Goodbye to Uncle Tom," invectively attacks Harriet Beecher Stowe's premise that the Negro race is innately inferior. His highly spirited tirade against the famous novel "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and its author, which takes up more than half of his book, tends to make his more factual discussion of Negro-white differences in the latter part of the book somewhat anticlimactical. His writing shows unmistakable evidence of extensive research background, and his numerous bibliographical references are useful leads for research by others. In general, his interpretations of scientific data are sound, but the validity of his arguments is weakened at times by his dynamic, journalistic style of presentation and his crusading tenor.

There are some instances where Furnas tends to over-extend the facts. For example, his statement to the effect that possibly as many as three million "white" Americans unknowingly carry "black blood" cannot be substantiated on the basis of available information. Myrdal's more cautious interpretation of the data on this subject is that the number of Negroes "passing" as whites is "indeterminate." But Furnas's interesting claim was quickly picked up by the book reviewers in the metropolitan daily press, and this type of publicity is not likely to help the book win converts from the camps of racial prejudice. In other places in his book, such as in the discussion of Negroes with superior IQ's (p. 369), there are signs of over-generalization, but this is probably to be expected in literature that is designed to appeal to the general public. On the whole, though, Furnas has built a convincing case against racism, and his book deserves wide readership.

In the May, 1956 issue of the Phi Delta Kappan, Anderson discusses some of the differences between Negroes and whites in support of his implication that desegregation in the schools of the South is undesirable. At one point he states: "The explanation of this difference in intelligence leads to the thought-provoking problem of the relative effects of nature and nurture upon intellectual development. Certain writers, G. L. Brown, Feingold, Hirsch, and Garrett, for example, interpret such data as evidence of a hereditary difference in the intellectual brightness of the races. Others, Anastasi and Foley, Klineberg and Benedict, for instance, maintain that this difference is not a function of heredity but is instead a result of differences in environment." It is significant to note that of those cited as maintaining the hereditarian viewpoint, Garrett alone is prominent in relatively recent publications. Even Garrett's position as a hereditarian is questionable, in view of one of his summary statements, as follows: "Probably the most salutary impression which a reader can carry away from a survey of the studies of racial groups is a better appreciation of the difficulties encountered, and of the practical impossibility of isolating a resultant effect which can definitely be attributed to racial origin alone." (Great Experiments in Psychology (1941), p. 93). The author has not been able to find any record of educational or psychological publications by Brown, Feingold, or Hirsch of a later date than 1926. Apparently, Anderson was hard-pressed to find supporters for the hereditarian position in the contemporary scene. In fairness to Anderson, though, it should be mentioned that his own stated view is "that it is much more sound to view nature and nurture as co-variables affecting the growth and development of intelligence."

A Congressional Record reprint of the speech of Williams (Representative from Mississippi) in the House of Representatives on March 27, 1956, is also of interest. In this speech, Williams declared: "The time has come for the light of truth to penetrate the iron curtain that has been thrown around the facts regarding racial differences and distinctions." He goes on to cite sociological data showing that Negroes in America are at a sociological disadvantage, but the only "fact" that he offers in relation to the mental ability of Negroes is in the form of a question: "Has the Negro race reached the same, or a comparable level of mental development to that of the white race since the birth of his civilization some ninety-three years ago?" Perhaps Williams can best be answered with another question: Have Negroes in America been given opportunities equal to those of whites during the past ninety-three years?

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The Fabulous Ford Foundation

Robert L. Heilbroner

On the fourth of December, 1915, one of the strangest caravans in the annals of American history set out on a voyage for the fleshpots of Europe. The beast of burden was the good ship *Oscar II,* an old single-stacker from the Scandinavian Lines; the goods it carried were an assorted lot of feminists, cranks, do-gooders, students, joyriders, correspondents, and sincere devotees; the purpose of the adventure was to bring peace on earth to a continent that was tearing itself asunder with terrible ferocity. At the rail as the ship sailed was a thin spare man with keen eyes and a face lined with conviction, a man with an immense amount of money and an equally immense amount of gullibility: Henry Ford.

The story of the Ford Peace Ship has come down to us as one of the great guffaws of history; from beginning to end it was a journalist's delight. Never has so grandiose a project foundered on such Lilliputian trivia. Invitations were sent to every Congressman, Senator, and State Governor; invitations were declined by all the notables. Blessings were sought from the Pope and from the President; the telegram to Rome was addressed to a Pope dead a thousand years, and President Wilson refused to give official countenance to the trip. Hardly had the delegates been at sea a week when they fell to fighting among themselves; rumors of a mutiny reached other ships who solicitously offered help.

When the *Oscar II* reached Christiana, Norway, Ford was quoted as saying: "The landing of the peace pilgrims will be regarded as the most benevolent thing America ever did"; within a week he had sailed back for America with hoots and jeers ringing in his ears. "I didn't get much peace," he announced with characteristic aplomb, "but I learned that Russia is going to be a great market for tractors."

It has taken America a long while to reassess this comic-opera footnote to its history; the verdict of a heartless, not to say jingoistic press sank deep. But in retrospect, a kind of admirable if naïve purpose shone through the superficial foolishness of the venture. As Mark Sullivan has written in *Our Times*: "If

Even in a country accustomed to bigness the mammoth Ford Foundation is something new and controversial in the philanthropic field. Mr. Heilbroner here evaluates in concrete terms the achievements and shortcomings of its first year of operation.

buffoons pirouetted across the world stage in 1915, they were not Ford and the half-dozen who participated with him in the project of halting the madness of Europe; the buffoons were the rulers and statesmen and diplomats whose inability to maintain peace among civilized nations stood as the most tragic failure in all the annals of humanity."

And now, thirty-five years later, another Ford ship has set out on an equally audacious mission. Bigger, more modern, infinitely more carefully engineered than the *Oscar II,* it is also dedicated to the proposition that a few men of good will and a great deal of money can do something to make this a more decent world to live in. The captain and the crew of the new Ford ship of peace are quite aware of the fate of the *Oscar II,* but they are willing to run the risk of looking like fools, if they can thereby deflect by an inch the forces of ignorance and intolerance that have conspired to make such a mess of modern times.

The new Ford venture for man's welfare is the Ford Foundation, an immense philanthropic trust set up in 1936 by Edsel Ford, enriched in the forties by the acquisition of his and Henry Ford's estates, and launched on its mission in 1950. Not being people to do things by halves, the Fords have created a behemoth of an institution that makes the previous giants in the field—the Rockefeller and Carnegie and Duke and Kresge trusts—look like exhibits out of the Hundred Neediest Cases. In a nation accustomed to philanthropy on a mammoth scale, this is still big enough to evoke an astonished whistle: half a billion dollars—which as we shall see later is a moderate estimate of its wealth—is money even as the government counts it.

And not only is the Ford Foundation big, but its objectives are as wide as the sky. It has marked out for itself five areas of human affairs which make old Henry Ford's ideas look like timid conservatism. The Foundation not only wants to strengthen peace, but its program also aims at aiding democracy, advancing education, supporting economic well-being, and extending our knowledge of human behavior. Nothing picayune about that.

And in addition to being big and ambitious, the Foundation is courageous. To carry out its program it has picked Paul Hoffman, a strong and independent man, to guide the Ford millions as he and his associates see fit and as they deem best. Hoffman took the job only after he was convinced that Henry Ford II would have the courage to support activities which might possibly redound unfavorably to the public-relations value of the name of Ford—activities which might tar the Ford name with vicious labels or defame it with cheap ridicule. "We may sail twenty peace ships," said Hoffman, "and not a one of them may reach shore." Young Ford said that was okay with him. Hoffman took the job and chose as his chief associates such vigorous men as Robert M. Hutchins, chancellor of the University of Chicago; Chester C. Davis, who had had long government and Federal Reserve experience; H. Rowan Gaither, Jr., San Francisco lawyer and chairman of the Rand Corporation; and Milton Katz, Harvard Law School professor and Ambassador-at-Large for ECA. In Hoffman's own words: "The Ford Foundation has the biggest blank check in history."

They wrote $23,000,000 out of that blank check in a year of operation—an expenditure equal to that of the ten largest foundations in 1944.

A little over $1,300,000 went to bolster up the Free University of Berlin—an outpost of democratic learning at the most exposed salient of our cold war frontier. Something like $1,200,000 is ticketed for the first real big-time experiments in making radio and TV shows of an adult caliber that will be good enough entertainment to hold their own commercially against the pull of soap operas and wrestling bouts. Five millions have been set aside for overseas expenditures. In India and Pakistan this money will go for spearhead projects like simple demonstration farms where food output may be raised by as much as a third in ways that can be copied from village to village, and for a kind of technical high school where young Pakistanis will learn how to use machines and how to teach other young Pakistanis how to use machines. More than a million dollars has been used to improve our education by giving outstanding young instructors a chance to take a year off to better their own teaching abilities, and another million plus is being used to see if

16½-year-olds can take a year of college before they get pulled into the Army—and thereby bridge the educational gap caused by our military program.

And these are just the more spectacular expenditures. Ford money has also been used to finance the resettlement of refugees from behind the Iron Curtain, it has gone into the international exchange of students and scholars, it has been tapped to help support an institute for a freer press, and it is being used in a dozen projects for adult education.

The Foundation maintains its head office in Pasadena, where Hoffman and his associates engage in that most arduous of all activities: thinking. In the offices in New York are the bright young men who do the actual contact work with organizations who will carry out Ford-financed ideas. They lead a busy and rather bewildering life. On Monday they will be investigating a plan for elementary education in the Belgian Congo, on Tuesday a program for the psychiatric care of orphans, on Wednesday documentary radio programs for Latin America, on Thursday a study of Midwest regional planning, on Friday a proposal to reform penal institutions; and on Saturday they stare at the mess of papers they haven't been able to get to on Friday. On Sunday they rest.

And there is a becoming air of humility about these working echelons. These are not —very definitely not—bright young men who throw their weight around along with the millions over whose disposition they have such influence. On the contrary, they are full of a sense of responsibility and even despair, a state of mind which comes to those who wield the quite awful power of being able to help some, but not all. No one here claims to know all the answers. "Really," they kept saying to me, as I bothered them with questions, "you can do *us* a favor by telling us what you think of our whole setup."

It is a very hackneyed word, but in some ways the Ford Foundation is really rather inspiring.

So much for the fanfare. There is another and more critical appraisal which can be made. The Ford Foundation, in a year of shakedown cruising, has been as much a disappointment as it has been a success. What with all the splash of wake and the exuberance of its crew, that huge spread of financial canvas has sailed the Ford galleon majestically down the main at a speed that might be estimated at a spanking one knot.

For the Ford trustees and officers have found that it is no easy task to play God. God, after all, knows the worth of His possessions. That puts Him one up right away on the men who run the Ford Foundation. And although the Almighty may be inscrutable, there is a Design in the apparently jumbled goings-on under His supervision. The Ford Foundation, on the other hand, while likened by the easily impressed to an act of Godlike beneficence, has been less flatteringly characterized when it comes to Purposes. Skeptics have compared it with a great lumbering beast with its brains in Pasadena, its vital organs in Detroit, and its legs in New York City; furthermore they have charged that since a rather elementary nervous system connects the parts, the vital organs do the thinking, the brains do the traveling, and the legs digest all the information.

II

Whether the Ford Foundation is in fact nothing but the largest grab bag in history is a question we will have to leave for the moment. First, let us look at the curiously anomalous financial position in which the Foundation finds itself and at the extraordinary fact that it really doesn't know how much it is worth.

For the Ford trustees administer an institution whose wealth, although immense, has no real market value. There is, of course, a dollars and cents figure on the balance sheet—$492,678,254.79 as of December 31, 1950. But apart from a $68,000,000 petty-cash fund of liquid assets, the Ford Foundation's wealth consists almost entirely of stock: it owns nearly *90 per cent* of the Ford Motor Company! But the Ford Motor Company has never sold its stock on an exchange and hence the price of its shares on the Foundation's books—$135 each—is purely a tax valuation; a figure not without meaning but traditionally below market values. It would not surprise me if the trustees would turn down three-quarters of a billion dollars cold cash for the assets on that balance sheet.

But what is odd is that this enormous

wealth is a kind of imaginary fortune. Since there is no open market for the Ford stock, it is difficult to see how the trustees can sell their assets to diversify principal or spend any substantial part of their capital for a worthwhile project, even if they want to.

Odder yet is the fact that the Foundation trustees do not know what their *income* is going to be. Publicly they have announced that the Foundation has something like $25,000,000 available for expenditure per year. But like the half-billion dollars of real but unavailable capital, the $25-million figure cannot be taken at face value either. Last year was a good year for Ford cars and dividends were high; the Foundation income for 1950 has been kept a family secret but rumors (and where there are no facts there are juicy rumors) have placed it near $100,000,000. But in another year income from the Ford Company stock could be very small. It could even be nonexistent.

It is for this reason that the Foundation is now putting its surplus income into a stabilization fund—a nest egg into which to dip, if lean years should come.

Oddest of all is that while the Foundation will derive virtually all its income from the Ford Motor Company, and while it owns the Motor Company almost lock, stock, and barrel, it has absolutely no voice in the determination of company policies such as the payment of dividends. For the stock it owns is all *nonvoting*. Should Ford decide that next year is the right year for it to have a little price war with General Motors or should it play games with its depreciation policy or should it engage in any number of perfectly sound hard-headed business maneuvers, the Foundation can only accept its fate and hope that it will not find itself too strapped for spending money. It is interesting to speculate on the possibility that Henry Ford II and Benson Ford, both of whom are trustees of the Foundation *and* directors of the Company, might find themselves wrestling with a situation where as business men their interests would lie in minimizing dividend distribution, while as public benefactors, their interest would lie in having as much money to spend as possible.

There is, of course, a reason for this financial straitjacket. The Ford Motor Company has always been a jealously guarded private preserve, and while that has provided formidable advantages in the way of secrecy (Walter Reuther will be pleased to find out more about Ford's finances when the Foundation starts announcing its income by giving out figures for 1951), it has also posed very considerable financial problems. Charitable motives aside, there was no alternative for the Fords but to give their money to a foundation; had their estates not thus been made tax-exempt, it would have been necessary to risk dismembering the empire by selling its stock on the open market in order to pay the huge death duties involved.

III

But financial tangles are the least; while the Foundation finds itself in the unenviable position of a wealthy but financially incompetent cousin whose affairs are tended by the poorer but sounder-minded members of the family, it is certainly no mere appendage of the Ford family when it comes to programs and purposes. In fact irate Ford dealers have already accused the Foundation of espousing heinous doctrines without regard to their impact on buyers of Mercurys and Lincolns.

More important is the critical dismay of many of those who have tried in vain to latch onto some of the Foundation's money. For while the Ford prospectus covers heaven and earth, the interpretation of that prospectus lies in the hands of the high priests of Pasadena. The attempt to fathom their purposes has caused a good deal of consternation among the institutions who lined up for their philanthropic alms in the full confidence that Ford would go Rockefeller one better. The prospectors have found out that the vast Ford cornucopia disburses its fortune out of the narrow end of its gigantic cone, and that this narrow end seems to have the diameter of a clogged eyedropper. For of all the $23,000,000 which the Foundation has *earmarked* for expenditure, as of early October less than half had actually been *spent*.

This is probably natural enough in view of the fact that the organization has had no chance to learn while growing, as most big institutions have; it was born a giant. And furthermore it was not buying assembled merchandise but men's working abilities,

which are much harder to appraise. But at least it seems significant that of the money which has actually been spent, only a spoonful has found its way into the hands of the established educational and welfare institutions of the country. The large expenditures—the overseas grants, the radio-TV workshop, the faculty scholarships, and the 16½-year-old experiment—have by-passed entirely the plans and the pocketbooks of the great majority of colleges, schools, councils, committees, institutes, and organizations who have spent their lives in the very fields in which the Foundation is supposed to be interested. No wonder there is somewhat less than whole-hearted support for the projects which the Foundation in its greater wisdom has selected.

In due justice, it must be said that with the publication of the Fords' wills, the gold rush started; it was the hottest since the Klondike. Applications have come pouring in at a rate of two hundred to five hundred a week; they have ranged all the way from distressing stories of personal misery to long printed documents with charts. A few are funny, a sprinkling are mad, most are dead serious. And they all have the common denominator of being expensive.

Within a year the sum total of requests for aid—including a few modest projects without price tag such as converting the Mediterranean into a fresh-water pond and doing something about the formation of icebergs at the South Pole—would probably have more than paid for the total national debt of the United States. Some four thousand applications, totaling over a quarter of a billion dollars, poured in from universities and colleges; one university alone put in two hundred separate and distinct projects for consideration (it wound up with a batting average of .000). One of the Foundation's officers proposed that the Pasadena headquarters be named Itching Palms.

But while there is of course an element of comedy and a trace of indecorousness in this spectacle of gowned dignitaries tripping on their hems as they scramble for the grab bag, there is a more serious side to the free-for-all. For most of the scramblers are people who have spent their working lives trying to do on a smaller scale what the Foundation now proposes to do in bold and massive strokes. It is to be expected that they will scramble—they *should* scramble. And if they do not happen to be included in the list of donees, at least they should be able to look at the Ford program and admit, however grudgingly, that it makes sense.

This is just what they don't. And the criticism one hears is not merely a disagreement about the merits of the projects that have made the grade. That sort of criticism, after all, is the occupational disease of all foundation life; every disgruntled donee can call a foundation's pet projects "mere grants of charity" or "ill-coordinated and ineffectual."

But the criticism one does hear is of a different nature and more disturbing. It is a criticism of attitudes rather than projects, and a questioning of whether the Foundation's programs are in line with its objectives. One finds disquieting testimony to a We-Know-Better attitude at the top of the Foundation which sits ill with outsiders who think they know *something* of these problems. "And do they know better?" snorted one university official. "They talk peace and support cold-war irritants. They talk education and 'advance' it in ways that would hardly have the support of more than a minority of the nation's educators. They talk of adult education and dribble money away in a garbage-pail program with no real plan behind it. In the meantime there are perfectly good programs under way that are threatened with disaster for lack of funds, good schools which can't make ends meet, deserving but unspectacular work that needs financing. The Foundation doesn't want those. It goes in for the big international splash, the trail-blazing grant that leads God knows where, and for the pet hobby horses of its topkicks. It's all very discouraging."

IV

BETWEEN the open-mouthed admiration with which the Ford Foundation was greeted by the professional adulators of all merchant-prince beneficence and the irritation with which it is discussed in some academic circles, there is a considerable gulf. Perhaps it is a measure of the confusion which still exists about the purposes that lie behind the Foundation—a confusion, by the way, which had its ultimate expression when a lady

called up the Pasadena offices and asked if she could arrange for a fitting.

Having established the Foundation as a philanthropic institution second to none, Henry Ford II (who is the real hero of the story) did two quite extraordinary things. He arranged for the appointment of "outside" trustees—people like Karl Compton of MIT and Donald David of the Harvard Business School—who not only outnumbered the "inside" trustees (the Ford family) but who could outvote them. In a word he gave up control over his own Foundation; a truly spectacular gesture of self-denial and a real avowal of the public nature and responsibility of the Foundation. And having done that, he set up a study group with powers unlimited to tell the trustees what was the very best they could do with the money for the welfare of mankind. In fact he wrote to H. Rowan Gaither, Jr., who headed the committee:

> We want to take stock of our existing knowledge, institutions, and techniques in order to locate areas where the problems are most important and where additional efforts toward their solution are most needed.
>
> We want the best thought available in the United States as to how this Foundation can most effectively and intelligently put its resources to work for human welfare.

For two years the study group grappled with this order. It interviewed a thousand people, put in the equivalent of seven man-years of labor, wrote two books. It had to; after all, there are many things a foundation can do. It can take an inspiring project and bring it into concrete existence: Carnegie built libraries and started us on the way to having the finest public library system in the world and the Rockefellers built medical centers until we lead the world there, too. A foundation can take a specific evil and blot it out: Rockefeller money obliterated hookworm in the South and the Rosenwald Foundation had a real and lasting impact on the problem of race relations in America. A foundation can play by ear for special talents: witness the Guggenheim fellowships and the Juilliard scholarships.

But what the study group said the people needed was not more buildings, institutions, medical help, or housing, important as all these are. What the people needed, said the study group, was help in getting along with other people; guidance in organizing and benefiting from the richness of a democratic society; more understanding of how to live in peace with themselves and with their neighbors. The study group chose five areas where Ford money could do what it thought was the most good, even though the visible return might be very scanty: the establishment of peace, the strengthening of democracy, the strengthening of the economy, the encouragement of education, and the understanding of individual behavior and human relations.

The Foundation would have made it a great deal easier for itself had it not accepted the report of the study committee and proceeded to put it into practice. It could have built a playground or two or a hospital here and there and everybody would have applauded and said how wonderful that the rich had such social consciences. But the trustees were not looking for cheap kudos. This was, as they very well knew, money that, save for the provisions of section 101 (6) of the Internal Revenue Code, belonged to the Treasury and hence to the people of the United States. And this is, after all, a generation with less veneration for the sanctity of the fortunes of the very rich. In a real sense the trustees felt called upon to justify the existence of what might have looked like nothing but the biggest tax dodge in history by doing something with the money that was so demonstrably wise and efficacious that no one could construe their motives amiss or say: "What have these people done for welfare that couldn't have been done better by the peoples' own welfare agency—their government?"

V

It is only after one has taken cognizance of the nobility of its goals and the difficulties of their attainment that one can arrive at some sort of judgment on this big, butter-fingered, eager-eyed child of a foundation. For it is going, as all foundations do, through what Dr. Alan Gregg of the Rockefeller Foundation once called "children's diseases."

We could spend all day arguing about each project that has been accepted and each one that has been rejected and we wouldn't come up with very much more in the end than one

man's opinion as against another's. The Foundation may well be making hideous mistakes and scattering its money like buckshot, or it may be displaying the rarest of acumen and subtle generalship. There is only one judge of that: time.

But while it makes little sense today to criticize the Ford Foundation for acts of omission or commission, it seems perfectly fair to take a long look at the way in which it has gone about its business. An enormous institution, responsible to no one but itself, devoid of all need to show "results," capable of influencing for better or worse much of our thinking and many of our institutions, must live in an atmosphere of public criticism and public understanding. Here, then, are two questions that I should like to see the Foundation wrestle with:

(1) *Can the Foundation cut its ties with Ford?*

This is not a question that implies sinister "influences" or casts aspersions on the excellence of the Ford Company management. It is a question put in the best interests of the Foundation itself, for it asks whether any foundation should be in a position where it cannot call its own financial shots. A foundation should have complete freedom in the use and disposition of its resources and its income; and this is manifestly impossible so long as it is tied to a commercial enterprise. I venture to guess, in addition, that in its program to strengthen the American economy, the Foundation will espouse the widest possible distribution of corporate wealth. Where better to begin than in its own back yard?

It is only fair to add that the trustees themselves are acutely aware of the problems which grow out of the tie to Ford. The crux of the question they face is apparently this: how can the Ford stock be distributed without running the risk of wrecking the Company? To try to strengthen the national economy while undermining one of its important units would hardly make much sense. Possibly there is no early way of accomplishing the divorce without undue danger; yet sooner or later a way must be found.

(2) *Can the Foundation learn to stop, look, and listen?*

It did its preliminary planning—decided upon its general objectives—only after long and thoughtful study and wide consultation. But since then there has been an apparent tendency toward something that looks very much like arbitrariness. One has an uneasy feeling that too many of the projects can be identified with the well-known intellectual predilections of its top officers. This is natural in the early stages of such an enterprise, but it raises many questions about the future. There is a suspicion that ideas which do not happen to fall in line with the Pasadena brand of "contributory thinking" are given short shrift—even when these ideas may be firmly held by a great many quite respectable authorities. There is the impression that the Foundation is sympathetic toward the dramatic gesture, at the expense of many workaday organizations which have been plugging away at some of the Foundation's goals so long that they have lost their glamour.

Item: The Foundation has not yet seen fit to aid any of the excellent civil liberty groups working in the country; none of them quite "fills the bill." Instead it will set up its own.

Item: One of the higher officials of the Foundation sets out on a round-the-world tour to study conditions—and allots, in his plans, only one month for the expedition.

Item: A university president writes to a high official in Pasadena saying that he would like to meet him in New York or elsewhere at his convenience and specifically says that he recognizes that it would be impractical to meet in Pasadena. He receives as answer a note to the effect that it is impossible to meet in Pasadena, period.

This sort of behavior naturally instills in the Foundation's critics a feeling that the thinking in Pasadena is insulated, arrogant, and hurried. This generalization does not apply, so far as I can see, to the men in the lower echelons to whose open-mindedness I have already borne witness; nor, for that matter, will anyone who knows Paul Hoffman charge him with a lack of humility. Yet the effect is somehow there—a kind of remote playing God and a disregard of counsels which may perhaps lack the desired element of "pioneering" because they are tempered with experience.

Perhaps the fault can be summarized in saying that the Foundation lacks good public relations—not in the narrow sense of putting out releases and announcements, but in the

deepest sense of inspiring a feeling of good will and sympathetic support from its fellow-workers. One wonders, sometimes, if the Foundation feels it has any fellow-workers.

It is true, of course, that too many cooks spoil the broth and that an idea which pleases everybody is apt to be a platitude. The Foundation could hardly keep open house and run its affairs efficiently. But neither can it decree new directions in philanthropy—with the inevitable effect on the whole trend of institutional activity—without some larger degree of general participation than the sages of Pasadena now seem to be willing to admit.

Perhaps Julius Rosenwald summed up the difficulties as clearly as anybody. "It is nearly always easier," he said, "to make a million dollars honestly than to dispose of it wisely." No institution has tried harder to live up to that challenge than the Ford Foundation. It has intelligence, imagination, and courage. It has hardly begun to function. Its future is before it. With a large dose of humility and perseverance, it may get over its acute growing pains and achieve a magnificently fruitful maturity.

An Address for All Occasions

Subject: THE CRISIS

(or any other topic)

MR. CHAIRMAN, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is indeed a great and undeserved privilege to address such an audience as I see before me. At no previous time in the history of human civilization have greater problems confronted and challenged the ingenuity of man's intellect than now. Let us look around us. What do we see on the horizon? What forces are at work? Whither are we drifting? Under what mist of clouds does the future stand obscured?

My friends, casting aside the raiment of all human speech, the crucial test for the solution of these intricate problems, to which I have just alluded, is the sheer and forceful application of those immutable laws which, down the corridors of time, have always guided the hand of man, groping, as it were, for some faint beacon-light for his hopes and aspirations. Without these great vital principles, we are but puppets, responding to whim and fancy, failing entirely to grasp the hidden meaning of it all. We must re-address ourselves to these questions which press for answer and solution. The issues cannot be avoided. There they stand. It is upon you—and you—and yes, even upon me, that the yoke of responsibility falls.

What then, is our duty? Shall we continue to drift? No! with all the emphasis of my being I hurl back the message: No! Drifting must stop. We must press onward and upward toward that ultimate goal to which all must aspire. . . .

—From an address to end all addresses, written over a quarter century ago by the late A. Parker Nevin and printed in 1948 in the Princeton Alumni Weekly, *to which we are indebted for permission to reproduce it.*

January 3, 1953

Mr. David Freeman
The Ford Foundation
655 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman,

Our warmest appreciation for Mr. Gladieux' and your time and considerate attention on the 31st wehn Miss Strauss and I came to see you.

We here in the Council have thought hard over the best thing to do. We decide it is to let the need for stable, long-range assistance go squarely before the Board of the Fund for the Republic. Nothing that we could do in the next few weeks would approach at all the importance of putting firm support behind the general purposes of the Council, for the long pull of the next several years. The School Committees would be the first order of business of an expanded program, and there'll be work for them to do for a good while ahead. Meanwhile, we'll see what we can do toward getting one or two pilot committees under way some how.

I am fully sensible of the time and effort you offered, in a period of strain, in getting an immediate request for a small sum up to head people. It would be good, but the most needed thing is the basic thing, and we put our request on that.

Sincerely,

Executive Director

September 3, 1953

Mr. David F. Freeman
The Ford Foundation
655 Madison Ave.
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Many thanks for 'phoning yesterday.

Morris Abram will come in to see you at 11:00 Tuesday, September 15.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

RECEIVED
SEP 30
Southern Regional Council

September 28, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Confirming my conversation with Mr. Abram, we have recently made a preliminary review of proposals and grant requests submitted to The Fund for the Republic.

We have examined with interest your proposal for the establishment of special bi-racial voluntary committees in the southern states to help deal with some of the problems expected to arise from the forthcoming Supreme Court school segregation decision. As you know, we have received a large number of requests, especially in the race relations field. In addition, we are still in the process of defining the nature and scope of our program in this area. We have, therefore, taken no action on your proposal but are holding it for further consideration, when our program has taken on more definite form. At that time, we will be in touch with you.

We should appreciate being kept informed of any new developments in connection with your proposal.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman
Secretary

January 6, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

I attach a report for the October-November-December quarter of 1954.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

RECEIVED FEB 1 1954 Southern Regional Council

January 29, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

I tried to reach you at your hotel this morning but learned that you had checked out. Accordingly, I am writing to advise you that at its Board meeting yesterday, our Board authorized a grant to the Southern Regional Council of up to $5,000 for the purpose of preparing, printing and distributing a popular pamphlet based on the Ashmore Report. Discretionary power was conferred upon the President to make this grant after further investigation and discussion with the Southern Regional Council.

As the next step, I suggest that you prepare an outlined budget for the proposed grant, and if possible, give us some indication as to the form of the pamphlet, its potential audience etc. You will also probably want to check with the University of North Carolina Press to get clearance from them for the popularization, since I understand they hold a copyright on the Ashmore Report. Finally, it would be helpful if you could send along to us, at your convenience, a recent financial statement from the Southern Regional Council and a copy of the Treasury Department ruling establishing your tax-exempt status. This latter document should be accompanied by a statement from you or some other officer of the Council to the effect that the Council has not departed from the terms of the ruling, and that to the best of your knowledge, the ruling is still in full force and effect.

We will continue to check with Phil Coombs of the Fund for Advancement as to the status of the actual text of the report, the timing of its release for publication, and any other possibilities for reprinting which may be suggested. I don't think it will be necessary for you to come back to New York on this, but we might consider the possibility of your sending Mr. Fleming up here, at our expense of course, to chat with us about the actual content of the pamphlet.

I enjoyed our talk the other day very much, and we will continue to work on the larger proposal from the Council in the hope that we will be able to give you the "yes or no" answer you requested in the not-too-distant-future.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman
Secretary

DFF:tk

February 2, 1954

Mr. Frank Loescher
Intergroup Relations Consultant
The Fund For The Republic, Inc.
1 East 54th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Frank:

I just got your letter of yesterday about your stay in Atlanta February 16 - 18. Unfortunately, I don't match up well. I promised to be at Lynchburg, Virginia, all day the 16th and most of the 17th. I will be back in Atlanta all day the 18th.

I am going to Chapel Hill to be there the afternoon and evening of the 20th and all day the 21st, in the custody of one Bell of the Methodist Church.

So far as I know, Harold Fleming will be here in the SRC office on the 16th, 17th, and 18th, and will be much at your service, as also Katherine Stoney, our Secretary-Treasurer.

The Urban League person is Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, 239 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Walnut 2355. She has saved 2 P.M. the 16th for you.

Other people whose judgments are much respected in these parts are: President Benjamin Mays of Morehouse College; Ralph McGill; Rufus Clement of Atlanta University; Morris Abram, a lawyer in the Healey Bldg.; and John Griffin of Emory University. Malcolm Bryan is Chief Economist and Vice-President of the Trust Company of Georgia. He was for a few days or weeks on the Board of the Fund For The Republic and would doubtless have a banker's insight, as well as connections with many people with cautious views.

Save me some time on Thursday the 18th and we can talk.

Meanwhile, I will thank Freeman Day for his welcome letter about the pamphlet.

I think Ashmore is closeted February 1, 2, and 3 with the Fund For The Advancement of Education at their New York office; and if this arrives in time, you might call him there and see what his plans are.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

RECEIVED
FEB 2
Southern Regional Council

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

February 1, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I plan to be in Atlanta from February 16 to 18 and I wonder if you will be free on Tuesday evening, February 16. I am making appointments for the morning and afternoon of Tuesday and Wednesday. I am trying to keep Thursday free for any developments. Two people I have not written to are Harold Fleming and the executive of the Atlanta Urban League; perhaps you will be able to ask them to save some time for me on Thursday morning in case I am unable to reach them on Tuesday or Wednesday. I plan to take a plane Thursday at 6 for Chapel Hill where I will spend two nights with the Guthries.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher
Intergroup Relations Consultant

P.S. Will Ashmore be in Atlanta? If so, I would like to see him too.

FSL:jrf

February 2, 1954

Mr. and Mrs. David Freeman
99 - 19 Sixty-second Rd.
Forrest Hills
Long Island, New York

Dear the Freemans:

You were both mighty kind to me, and I am grateful.

Let's keep in touch and stay friends.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

February 9, 1954

Mr. David F. Freeman, Secretary
The Fund For The Republic, Inc.
1 East 54th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman:

We are delighted with the good news in your letter of January 29 about a popular pamphlet on the Ashmore Report.

The various items mentioned in your letter are attached.

When I was in New York, I saw Maxwell Stewart of the Public Affairs Committee and offered him Harold Fleming's services in doing for Stewart's Committee a compressed version of the Ashmore Report, suitable for a Public Affairs Pamphlet. I do not know what decision Stewart has reached but assume that we will hear from him later on.

Our own version would be both a greatly compressed summary of the main findings of the Ashmore Report and suggestions to local communities and school authorities in the South as toways of bringing about compliance in the school systems with whatever may be the decision of the Court and with changing public opinion on the question of segregation. For the present we see these two matters as interwoven, rather than as two separated parts of the pamphlet.

It would be very wise indeed if at a later stage Harold Fleming could come to New York and check through his draft with you and with the people in the Fund for the Advancement of Education. On the same trip, I would think, he could go to Chapel Hill and clear the MS finally with the U.N.C. Press.

I have talked with Porter Cowles at the UNC Press by telephone, and she has undertaken to be in touch with Lambert Davis, the head man,

who's supposed to be in New York just now. All seems clear with UNC Press, but that is as yet unofficial. We agree that the publication of the pamphlet should not be proceeded with unless with the consent of the UNC Press.

We think the pamphlet can be of immense educational value in the South and are most grateful for the Fund's willingness to make it possible.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh
Enclosures

FORMAT

Approximately 24 to 32 pp., 6 x 9 inches. Two-color work on cover, and probably color-printing of sub-headings in text. A tiny list of other useful publications would feature principally the full Ashmore Report and its supplementary volumes, as from the U. of N. C. Press.

Price to the public, 10¢ or 15¢.

The pamphlet would be intended for the use of local study and discussion groups, and would try to reach a level not higher than high-school graduates.

PROMOTION

Principally with appropriate Church groups and boards in the various religious denominations having strength in the South, YMCA and YWCA, teachers' organizations, women's clubs, trade union educational programs, school debating groups, colleges, and minor school officials, including local School Board Members.

We have already got going in many of these groups local discussion groups, many of which are interracial; and the pamphlet would be promoted as a future aid to existing and new groups of this kind.

EXTENT OF CIRCULATION

The only datum we have to go by is the fact that our own September 1953 pamphlet called "Questions and Answers - The Court and the Schools" has been distributed entirely for pay in the number of 31,000. We think this one should do better and would reprint it, if much better, without further subsidy.

Budget for SRC Pamphlet on Ashmore Report

Printing 35,000 copies @ 10¢	$ 3,500.
Preparation	
Harold C. Fleming, one mo.	500.
A. Holden, research asst., one wk.	85.
Promotion	
Salaries, G.S. Mitchell and secretary	370.
Postage on promotion	10.
Handling	85.
TOTAL	$ 4,540.

We cannot at this stage make a firm estimate of cost of printing. Suppose you send the full $5000; and we will undertake to hold to the budget figures for preparation, promotion and handling, and return any unused balance of a total printing fund of $3500 plus $460, being $3960.

February 9, 1954

Mr. David F. Freeman, Secretary
The Fund For The Republic, Inc.
1 East 54th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman:

We prepared, at the end of 1953, a summary report of our activities for the year.

I thought a couple of copies of it should be in your files. And also I send for the files an additional copy of the audit for 1953; and another copy of what I call the Vastine Report.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh
Enclosures 4

March 2, 1954

Mr. David S. Freeman
Fund for the Republic
655 Madison Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Here is a copy of Lambert Davis' letter of February 26 clearing all matters of copyright on the proposed SRC version of the Ashmore report.

We are hopeful that this letter can release the grant to SRC for the job.

Mr. Fleming is already well into the writing.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM:s
Encl.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

Chapel Hill, N. C.

February 26, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council,
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Confirming our telephone conversation, I am very happy to give permission to the Southern Regional Council to do a pamphlet based upon Harry Ashmore's THE NEGRO AND THE SCHOOLS which is to be published by The University of North Carolina Press. It is my understanding that you have already received permission to do this from Mr. Philip Coombs representing the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

The conditions we make are that your pamphlet contain a full statement of the source of the material, and give prominence to information as to the publisher and price of our volume. Also, your pamphlet should not be released until after book publication. We hope within another week to be able to give you a definite retail price on our volume, and at the same time we hope to be able to confirm the present tentative publication date of May 15.

Sincerely yours,

/S/ Lambert Davis
Director

ld/lm
cc: Mr. Philip Coombs

March 4, '54

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
1 East 54th Street
N. Y. 22, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman,

Thus mimeod for your convenience. I'll send twenty more copies along by regular mail.

We figure the Williamsburg Meeting will cost about 7,000. Proper budget soon. Meanwhile it would help if you would be considering whether, and if so how, a preliminary two thousand of it could be made available for pre-meeting travel. We agree that it would be best to talk with the principal invitees personally ahead of time; and there is the matter of getting the central planning group together.

We do hope this budget herewith will find approval.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

RECEIVED
MAR 9 1954
Southern Regional Council

March 5, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks very much for your note of March 4 enclosing copies of the latest presentation from the Southern Regional Council. I particularly appreciate the speed with which you got together the proposal. Frank Loescher and I will go to work on it the first thing Monday morning.

It may well be that we may want to suggest to you that you and possibly Mr. Abrams come up for a day sometime next week to talk about some of the details. If this seems to us to be a useful suggestion, we will try to ring you about it Monday. Meanwhile would you be good enough to send us fifteen copies of the latest issue of NEW SOUTH and of the pamphlet entitled "Questions and Answers--The Schools and the Courts."

I hope that by the first of next week we will be able to send you our check for $5,000 to cover the expenses of the pamphlet on the Ashmore Report. We have delayed on this only because we wanted to read at least a draft of the report before approving the project.

Sincerely,

Dave Freeman

David F. Freeman
Secretary

DFF:wm

March 9, '54

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic
1 East 54th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman,

The Q and A pamphlets, and copies of the last two issues of New South, will go up to you to-day.

And Morris Abram and I will meet you at Frank Loescher's house in Philadelphia at 11 this coming Thursday morning. Our plane gets in to Philadelphia at 10.25, and we hold space for the return journey leaving Philadelphia at 3.55 that afternoon.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC., NEW YORK, N. Y.

DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

INVOICE		DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	DISTRIBUTION	
DATE	NUMBER			AMOUNT	CODE
		For the preparation, printing and distribution of a popular pamphlet based on the Ashmore Report and for general administrative expenses		$5,000	5000

JD.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

March 10, 1954

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE, Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

I am pleased to advise you that the Board of Directors of The Fund for the Republic has approved a grant of $5,000 to the Southern Regional Council for the preparation, printing and distribution of a popular pamphlet based on the Ashmore Report, and for general administrative expenses.

We would appreciate receiving a program and financial report which will indicate how the grant has been used. We would, of course, like to receive any special progress reports which you deem appropriate.

You are at liberty to publicize this grant should you desire to do so. We would appreciate, however, the opportunity of reviewing a draft of any news release before it is made available to the public.

We have on hand a copy of your tax-exempt ruling under IRC # 101(6) and your statement of February 5, 1954 that the Southern Regional Council has not departed from the terms of the ruling.

I am enclosing our check for $5,000 and would appreciate receiving your acknowledgement of this payment at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman
Secretary

DFF:wm
Enclosure

March 15, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
1 East 54th Street
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman;

You will recall our conference on March 11. The Southern Regional Council has reworked the budget proposal of March 3, and now proposes the appended figures.

This is based on regarding the first period of operation as stretching over eighteen months. We are agreed that getting twelve State organizations going will involve in some of the States delays of several months, and we can take into consideration a high proportion of lapses.

Internal budget figures for personal services, travel, etc., per State organization and per associate secretaryship and for the central office are substantially as submitted March 3.

Fund for the Republic assistance for the State organizations is calculated as extending, in maximum, for three and a half years; and assistance to the central office for three years.

We think this makes a feasible and resultful program, and that it has good promise of being picked up throughout most of the South as an on-going and independent group of private or public agencies.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

BUDGET FOR FIRST 18 MONTHS

12 State Organizations @ $17,675.00	$ 212,100.00		
5 Assoc. Secretaries @ ~~$9,950.00~~ 10,750.00	53,750.00		
	265,850.00		
Less States to raise (12 @$1,800.)	21,600.00		
	244,250.00		
Less 35% for lapses	85,487.50		
Net amount from Fund for Republic for first 18 months		$ 158,762.50	
Central Office			
Budget for first 18 months	118,575.00		
Less Central office to raise	40,000.00		
	78,575.00		
Less 5% for lapses	3,928.75		
Net amount from Fund for Republic for first 18 months		74,646.25	
TOTAL GRANT FROM FUND FOR REPUBLIC FOR FIRST 18 MONTHS			$ 233,408.75

BUDGET FOR SECOND YEAR (12 months)

12 State Organizations @ 11,860.00	$ 142,320.00		
5 Assoc. Secretaries @ $7,810.00	39,050.00		
	181,370.00		
Less States to raise (12 @ $3,500.)	42,000.00		
	139,370.00		
Less 10% for lapses	13,937.00		
Net amount from Fund for Republic for 2nd year		$125,433.00	
Central office			
Budget 2nd year	79,050.00		
Less Central office to raise	55,000.00		
	24,050.00		
Less 5% for lapses	1,202.50		
Net amount from Fund for Republic for 2nd year		22,847.50	
TOTAL GRANT FROM FUND FOR REPUBLIC FOR 2ND YEAR			148,280.50

BUDGET FOR THIRD YEAR (12 months)

12 State Organizations @ $11,860.00	142,320.00		
5 Assoc. Secretaries @ 7,610.00	38,050.00		
	180,370.00		
Less States to raise (12 @$6,000.)	72,000.00		
	108,370.00		
Less 10% for lapses	10,837.00		
Net amount from Fund for Republic for 3rd year		97,533.00	
Central Office (6 months only)			
Budget 6 months of 3rd year	39,525.00		
Less Central Office to raise	27,200.00		
Net Amount from Fund for Republic for Central office		12,325.00	
TOTAL GRANT FROM FUND FOR REPUBLIC FOR 3RD YEAR			109,858.00

TOTAL Grant GRANTED TO SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS	$ 491,547.25
WILLIAMSBURG CONFERENCE	6,500.00
	$ 498,047.25

Budget under final proposal to Fund for the Republic - March 11, 1954

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

To raise themselves		From Fund for Republic	* Actual grant
1st 18 mos.	$ 21,600.00	$ 158,762.50	$ 158,800.00
2nd year	42,000.00	125,433.00	126,000.00
3rd year	72,000.00	97,533.00	97,600.00
Totals	135,600.00	381,728.50	382,400.00

CENTRAL OFFICE

To raise		From Fund for Republic	* Actual grant
1st. 18 mos.	$40,000.00	$ 74,646.25	$ 74,700.00
2nd year	55,000.00	22,847.50	24,000.00
3rd year (6 mos.)	27,200.00	12,325.00	12,400.00
Rem. 6 mos.	39,525.00		
Totals	161,725.00	109,818.75	111,100.00
Williamsburg Conference		6,500.00	6,500.00
Grand totals	$ 297,325.00	$ 498,047.25	$ 500,000.00

Payments of Grant to be as follows

April 1-1954 - Sept. 30, 1955 - $240,000.00

October 1, 1955 - Sept. 30, 1956 $150,000.00

October 1, 1956 - Sept. 30, 1957 $110,000.00

March 16, 1954

Mr. David F. Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
1 East 54th Street
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman;

On behalf of the Council I acknowledge with great appreciation the Fund for the Republic's grant of $5000, for the preparation, printing and distribution of a popular pamphlet based on the Ashmore Report and for general administrative purposes. The staff informs me that the work on the pamphlet is already well under way.

We will keep you informed of the progress ofthe writing and distribution, and will report fully after the pamphlet has been put into circulation.

The Council's formal receipt is enclosed.

Sincerely,

Nathan A. Wright
President

RECEIVED
MAR 19 1954
Southern Regional Council

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

March 17, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George,

Thank you very much for your letter of March 15 and the enclosed budget. It arrived just in time to meet our deadline, since Frank and I have just completed our memorandum to the Board on the grant request of the Council.

Unless some of the Board fire tough questions between now and April 1, there would seem to be nothing else that anyone of us need do except keep our fingers crossed. We will, of course, be in touch with you promptly after the April 1 meeting of our Board to let you know what their decision is. Meanwhile, my sincere thanks to you and Mr. Abram for coming up to Philadelphia and helping us out on the details of our recommendations.

Sincerely,

Dave Freeman

David F. Freeman
Secretary

P.S. Last week we made a grant to the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools to permit them to take advantage of free radio time for a series of 13 broadcasts beginning April 12. It seems likely that one of these programs may be devoted to a discussion of the Ashmore Report and/or the Supreme Court decision, if it has come down by then. In discussing this with the Commission, Frank and I suggested that they might want to get in touch with you or Harold Fleming, so you may be hearing from them in the near future.

DFF

RECEIVED
MAR 18 1954
Southern Regional Council

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

March 17, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear George,

Can you let me have a list of the people being invited to attend the Williamsburg Conference? We will not hold you to the list, but the names and affiliations of those expected will be of interest to the Board. May we have the list by March 23?

We received your revised budget.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

P.S. Dave Freeman has not heard from his contact re Williamsburg discount.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

RECEIVED
MAR 25 1954
Southern Regional Council

March 23, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George,

Thank you for your letter of March 17 listing the names of those who will probably attend the conference. I am glad that all the arrangements for the conference are going forward smoothly.

Sincerely yours,

Doc Freeman

David F. Freeman
Secretary

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

April 2, 1954

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright,

I am pleased to advise you that the Board of Directors of The Fund for the Republic has authorized a grant of $240,000 for eighteen months beginning April 1, 1954, to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. to support the expansion of the educational work of the Council in twelve southern states, and to strengthen the central office in Atlanta. The grant is based upon the proposed budget for the first eighteen months of such an expanded program contained in Mr. Mitchell's letter of March 15, and is intended also to cover the costs of the "Williamsburg Conference." The Fund will give consideration to requests for a grant in 1955-56 of not to exceed $150,000 and a grant in 1956-57 of not to exceed $110,000. There is no commitment or intention on the part of the Fund to support the program of the Council after September 30, 1957.

While the grant for the first 18 months is not made on a matching funds basis, it is felt that the future financial health of the Council and the state organizations might be seriously impaired if they were not to find substantial southern financial support. The Fund's consideration of further grants to the Council will therefore be influenced not only by the effectiveness of the program developed in the first eighteen months, but also by the degree of success which the Council and its state organizations have achieved in raising funds from other sources. We believe that increased financial support from individuals, religious bodies, trade unions, businesses and industries in the South is of vital importance to assure the continued success of the Council and the continuation of its expanded program.

I would appreciate it if you would stress to all the members of the Board of the Council, and to those who will be serving on the state committees to be created, that our grant to the Council, representing as it does a four-fold increase over the present annual budget, is not based solely on our esteem for Mr. Mitchell and his staff and the enviable record of achievement which the Council has compiled over the years. As a result of several talks with

Mr. Abram, we are also confident that the officers of the Council and the members of the various boards and committees will give generously of their time and energy in order to insure that the expanded program of the Council is established on a firm base.

This latter consideration has been a major factor in our decision to provide the financing for a large expansion of your program for the next 18 months. The deep commitment of all the members of the Council is, we believe, essential in meeting the obvious difficulties involved in recruiting, training and administering a sizeable staff while at the same time broadening the base of financial support and conducting a vitally needed educational program.

We understand that Mr. Mitchell will furnish us with quarterly accountings which will indicate how this grant is being used and an annual program and financial report. We would also welcome informal progress reports at any time.

You are at liberty to publicize this grant should you desire to do so. We would appreciate, however, the opportunity of reviewing a draft of any news release before it is made available to the public.

We have on hand a copy of your tax exempt ruling under Internal Revenue Code 101(6) and your statement of February 5, 1954, that the Southern Regional Council has not departed from the terms of the ruling.

Our check in the amount of $240,000 is enclosed herewith and we would appreciate acknowledgment of its receipt at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman
Secretary

April 6, 1954

Mr. David F. Freeman, Secretary
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
1 East 54th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman:

The Southern Regional Council directs me to acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 2 enclosing check in the amount of $240,000.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee in Atlanta today, full consideration has been given to the points and suggestions contained in your letter. We find ourselves in complete agreement with all of the ideas and recommendations which you submitted. They seem to us to be reasonable and, in fact, essential, not merely to the proper utilization of the funds involved but as well to the expansion and growth in usefulness of this organization.

I am sure you will be interested to know that at today's meeting, with the most competent legal and business advice, we have approved methods of bookkeeping and disbursement of the funds and imposed all safeguards suggested by prudence.

The occasion calls for more than a mere formal acknowledgement of funds. We firmly believe that this date will be memorable, not merely in the history of the Southern Regional Council but in the history of the area it hopes to serve. For the first time in our experience we are enabled to attempt with relatively adequate resources to cope with problems which have long beset the South.

We shall, of course, file the quarterly and interim reports suggested. We hope that these may not be sufficient to prevent your looking in upon us personally from time to time to get at first hand your impressions of what we are doing and to give us orally the benefit of your experience and counsel.

With renewed expression of our gratitude, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright
President

MAW: F

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
(WAlnut 7963)

FOR RELEASE SUNDAY, APRIL 11

(The following statement was issued today by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council. A list of the Executive Committee members, as well as the members of the full Board of Directors, is attached.)

We are pleased to announce that the Fund for the Republic has approved a grant of $240,000 to assist the Southern Regional Council's educational program in twelve Southern States for an 18-month period. The Fund for the Republic, which was established by the Ford Foundation in December 1952, is concerned with preserving and extending those individual rights which are the essence of our American heritage. The Southern Regional Council, since its founding in 1944, has expressed that concern as it exists among thoughtful people of both races in the South. As the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Council goes back, in experience and good will, to 1919. Its aim is the attainment of equal opportunity for all the people of the South.

Throughout these years the Council, like the Commission before it, has sought to unite the best of Southern thought and leadership, without racial distinctions. It has employed the familiar methods of fact-finding, conference, and persuasion, and has fostered the development of state divisions and affiliates through which its members might work in their respective states and communities. The central office in Atlanta coordinates and services the state groups and individual members throughout the region.

The grant from the Fund for the Republic, together with contributions from other sources, will make possible stronger and more independent state bodies. It is contemplated that each state organization affiliated with the Council shall have its own membership, governing board, and officers. The greater part of the newly available funds will be used to enable the state groups to employ

professional staff persons, white and Negro. Thus each Southern state will have a full-time human relations service, available to both public officials and private citizens, maintained and directed by local leadership. The states to be included are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia

The grant of funds is in reality a challenge to the strengthened state bodies to win the local support necessary to become self-sustaining human relations agencies.

The Southern Regional Council proper will now consist of a widely representative board drawn from both races and every state in the region. The Atlanta office will continue to perform fact-finding, information, and coordinating functions.

We believe that this approach is well suited to the human relations needs of the South. It puts major reliance where it belongs--on local responsibility and initiative -- and it gives opportunity for the constructive forces in every Southern state to work effectively.

This pattern has characterized the activities of the Southern Regional Council from the beginning, and with heartening results. It has helped secure the right of Negro citizens to vote without hindrance. It has provided a network of Southern people with the will and the know-how to curb racial tension and violence. It has helped make possible the employment of Negro policemen and other municipal workers in scores of Southern cities. It has spread the example of the self-survey, through which a number of communities have achieved cooperation and progress across the lines of race. It has mobilized church women in a Southwide effort for impartial law enforcement and equal justice in the courts. It has stimulated local groups to study and seek correction of school inequalities. It has made widely known every Southern precedent for the dropping of racial barriers -- in professional associations, higher education,

transportation, public libraries, and the like.

The impending Supreme Court decision on public school segregation -- whatever it may be -- will call for all that is best and most responsible in Southern life. Fortunately, there is abundant and growing evidence today of Southern willingness to find positive, democratic solutions to the problems of the region. It is our hope and belief that the Southern Regional Council, through its expanded state services, will make an important contribution to this effort.

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council expresses its gratitude to the Fund for the Republic for putting this new strength into the growth of human opportunity in the South.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

President - Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N. C.
Vice-Presidents - Carter Wesley, Houston, Texas
Gordon B. Hancock, Richmond, Virginia
A. W. Dent, New Orleans, La.
Alfred Mynders, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Chairman Executive Committee - Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta, Ga.
Counsel - Leonard Haas, Atlanta, Ga.
Executive Director, George S. Mitchell

Mrs. C. M. Birnie, Atlanta, Ga.
Rev. A. S. Turnipseed, Montgomery, Ala.
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C.O.
John A. Griffin, Atlanta, Ga.
Harry V. Richardson, Atlanta, Ga.
Paul R. Christopher, Knoxville, Tenn.

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J. Edwin Smith, Houston
Mrs. Tommie Stroud, Waco
Mrs. James S. Crate, Houston

Virginia
Alonzo G. Moron, Hampton
Paul D. Williams, Richmond
Thos. W. Young, Norfolk

April 13, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic
1 East 54th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman:

We thought you would like to see the enclosed editorials discussing the Fund's grant to the Council. John Popham's story, most of which appeared in the Sunday New York Times, was carried in full by the Chattanooga Times, beginning on the front page. That is also enclosed.

I believe some feature treatment of the Council's activities in the light of the grant will be forthcoming. If so, we will send copies to you.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/m

Enclosures (3)

Encl: Editorial Chattanooga Times, Asheville Citizen
news story Chattanooga Times

April 19, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East 54th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Some explosions in the local hate-sheet press.

1. "Surprised, Dismayed, Shocked and Dumfounded," from The Statesman of April 1, 1954. Premonitory.

2. Story in the issue of April 15, 1954.

3. An SRC release in the news stories.

4. Story in Atlanta Constitution of April 17.

U.P. carried something about the blast on its wire service, and so did A.P. Presumably only Georgia papers picked it up.

The Statesman is representative of a bad old habit in Georgia. Leading political candidates run their own weekly sheets, sometimes dignified with the name newspapers. When a man's out of office such a sheet beats up his point of view, and when he's in it keeps his claque together. There are three such sheets in Georgia today, run by Roy Harris, M. E. Thompson, and Herman Talmadge. There's another, run by the Commissioner of Agriculture, but publicly paid for. The effective working editor of The Statesman enjoys a salary in some other capacity as a state employee.

We expected this sort of thing, and send it on (as we did I believe the earlier Blake Craft blast) as a part of keeping you informed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls. - 4

Enclosures: Copy of Analysis of article in Methodist Voice (Blake Craft)
Two copies of Agenda for Williamsburg meeting

April 23, 1954

Mr. David F. Freeman
The Fund For The Republic, Inc.
One East 54th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear David:

When our attorney and Executive Committee member, Leonard Haas, was in New York in May of 1953, he took by the office of the Fund for the Republic and discussed, with Gordon and Matthews, the contents of the relevant issue of One Methodist Voice, the Blake Craft blast. In any case, here is a copy of it and of an analysis of it which we prepared at the time. The memorandum was put together for the benefit of the members of the Board of Trustees having jurisdiction over the building in which our offices are. The Trustees found no cause to disturb us, and at the subsequent June conference of the Methodist Church for North Georgia, Mr. Craft was informed that the church had not been able to find a pastorate for him and he was put in some inactive status. I understand that he started, in later issues of his paper, to denounce his bishop, alleging that he, Craft, had been unjustly treated. We have heard little or nothing more out of it. It is believed that his publication has had some subsidy from Texas oil sources. I will call on the 28th, and hope for time with you and Frank on the 29th.

Here are two copies of the completely unrevised first draft of an Agenda for the Williamsburg meeting. It has been out for some days with the absent members of the Steering Committee. And we hope to get it approved today or Monday.

The idea is that by spending about the first half of the meeting in going through these circumstances surrounding the school issue, the members of the Conference will begin to shape up things needful to be done in related fields. Then the last half of the meeting would try to get those things into package form.

We have had about twenty-four acceptances and it looks like a useful and hard working gathering.

Various of our state people are busily preparing for reorganization. We know of planning meetings which have occurred in Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

RECEIVED
APR 23 1954
Southern Regional Council

April 21, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George,

Thanks very much for your letter of April 19 forwarding the Statesman of April 1 and related news items. The story was picked up by the New York Times last Saturday, and I enclose a copy of the story which they ran.

I don't believe we have received a copy of the item which you referred to as "the earlier Blake Craft blast". If you think that we would be interested, perhaps you could send it along at your convenience.

Frank Loescher and I are looking forward to seeing you on April 29, at a time which you and I could agree on when you get in town on the 28th. I understand from Phil Coombs that you are also planning to meet with him. He has some ideas on a follow-up of the Ashmore Report which, if they materialize, should prove very useful to you in the work of the Council.

Sincerely yours,

Dave Freeman

David F. Freeman
Secretary

DFF:tk

Recopied - ltr of 4/23/54
changed "Fund for the Republic" to "Ford Foundation"

April 30, 1954

Mr. David F. Freeman
The Fund For the Republic, Inc.
One East 54th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear David:

When our attorney and Executive Committee member, Leonard Haas, was in New York in May of 1953, he took by the office of the Ford Foundation and discusses, with Gordon and Matthews, the contents of the relevant issue of One Methodist Voice, the Blake Craft blast. In any case, here is a copy of it and of an analysis of it which we prepared at the time. The memorandum was put together for the benefit of the members of the Board of Trustees having jurisdiction over the building in which our offices are. The Trustees found no cause to disturb us, and at the subsequent June conference of the Methodist Church for North Georgia, Mr. Craft was informed that the church had not been able to find a pastorate for him and he was put in some inactive status. I understand that he started, in later issues of his paper, to denounce his bishop, alleging that he, Craft, had been unjustly treated. We have heard little or nothing more out of it. It is believed that his publication has had some subsidy from Texas oil sources.

I will call on the 28th, and hope for time with you and Frank on the 29th.

Here are two copies of the completely unrevised first draft of an Agenda for the Williamsburg meeting. It has been out for some days with the absent members of the Steering Committee. And we hope to get it approved today or Monday.

The idea is that by spending about the first half of the meeting in going through these circumstances surrounding the school issue, the members of the Conference will begin to shape up things needful to be done in related fields. Then the last half of the meeting would try to get those things into package form.

We have had about twenty-four acceptances and it looks like a useful and hard working gathering.

Various of our state people are busily preparing for reorganization. We know of planning meetings which have occurred in Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

May 5, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
1 East 54th Street,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Dr. Mitchell asked that I send you this copy of the SRC BY-laws for your files.

Sincerely,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

May 6, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic
One East 54th St.
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear David:

Still the pot boils!

The Governor's newspaper of April 29th (copy enclosed) reprints the resolutions of the Association of County Commissioners, given at their State Convention in Savannah, jumping on the "Ford Foundation" for helping us. It gives a lengthy lead article condemning Hutchins and citing against him what they took from the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee. They did have the grace to state that the information obtained from the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee "should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation. . . . The subject ... is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer or a fellow-traveller unless otherwise indicated." I assume that they willnext week print versus me what they can find in the same files.

Meanwhile, our friend Rev. Blake Craft gave the April, 1954 issue of his sheet largely to his concern about a fictitious link between the Southern Conference Education Fund and the Southern Regional Council. I willsend a copy as soon as we can find another.

We never sued Blake Craft, possibly because allthe advice we could get was against suing. The paper passes for religious. I rather think he should now be answered, but I cannot yet tell the best way.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM: ah
encl

cc: Marion Wright

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

May 10, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George,

Thanks very much for your letter of May 6 enclosing the latest "revelations" from The Statesman. Would you please also thank Mrs. Stoney for forwarding a copy of your new by-laws.

We will look forward with interest to anything which you may have to report after the Williamsburg Conference.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman
Secretary

RECEIVED
MAY 12 1954
Southern Regional Council

DFF:tk

May 11, 1954

Mr. David F. Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
One East 54th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear David:

Back from Williamsburg! Nothing startling came out.

A good meeting well and appreciatively attended. Perfect circumstances.

Some dozen short-range things to do; some that need some work on them immediately, with others work later; some slower still; and some postponable for a year or two. I think, on the whole, the long-range things are thought out better than the short-range things. The best thoughts were in the field of public information.

We are working on a full report and will, of course, send it to you the moment it is done.

Interesting to me that the worthwhile recommendations run along occupational groups. Do things through Junior Chamber of Commerce; do things through business leaders; do things through educators; through church bodies; through teachers; PTA's; and so on.

The people who came professed to having a satisfying time working things over. I should not be surprised but what a considerable result from the meeting will be the things that those present are going to start doing independently on various projects.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

CC: Frank Loescher
GSM/eab

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

RECEIVED
MAY 15 1954
Southern Regional Council

May 12, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
c/o Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

This is a personal inquiry on behalf of a friend of one of our employees, Mrs. Meskus.

This friend has a 17-year old daughter attending a private school in Putney, Vermont. A Mr. Morris Mitchell, who is with Glen Maples-teacher training branch of the Putney School, has interested the girl in spending her summer with a group at Macedonia, Georgia. It appears to be a group interested in some sort of agricultural work on a community basis. The father does not want to discourage his daughter in making her own decisions, but he seeks reassurance that the Macedonia group is an ethical group, and not crack-pot or worse.

Do you happen to know about their activities? If so could you let me have your appraisal? Please don't go to the trouble of making any inquiries if neither you nor your associates know about the group.

Best regards,

Dave

David F. Freeman

Good
will
mail
54

sent original copy received from Lesesne as
another copy received from Newton Aiken
of the Baltimore Evening Sun.

EB

May 24, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic
One East 54th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear David:

Here's a pleasant item from Henry Lesesne in the Baltimore Evening Sun for May 14.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

RECEIVED
JUN 21 1954
Southern Regional Council

June 18, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburne Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George,

In a recent conversation with representatives of the Cleveland YMCA, I was advised that a gentleman named George Simmons formerly Y secretary in Brooklyn, who had been very effective in intergroup relations work there, particularly with regard to Jackie Robinson has recently been transferred to Charlotte, North Carolina. I gather that he is now Secretary for the North and South Carolina Y committees.

If you have not already met Mr. Simmons, it might be mutually profitably for you to do so. His address is given to me as 330 South Tryon Street, Charlotte 2, North Carolina.

Sincerely,

Dave

David F. Freeman

DFF:tk

June 28, '54

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dave,

This man broke loose again in his weekly scandal-sheet. He's a powerful but not creditable Georgia politician, reputedly the man who knows so much about politics in each of the 159 Counties that he makes and unmakes Governors.

Copies are scarce. Could you let this one reach Coombs, at least for a time, because there are queerly slanted references to the Ashmore project?

Our present plan is to answer any appearances of this "news" in standard newspapers. UP ran a discreet story on the attack, carrying only a couple of names.

Sorry for these involvements, and especially sorry that the guy preaches against Ford cars (and tractors!), but if you make omelettes you break eggs!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

RECEIVED
JUL 8 1954
Southern Regional Council

July 6, 1954

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

Thanks very much for your letter of July 2. I will be interested in learning whether anything eventuates from your contact with the White House.

I gathered from talking with Barney Berelson last week that he had found the meeting of behavioral scientists more productive than I would have suspected. I will let you know what, if anything, of substance materializes in terms of next steps.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman
Secretary

DFF:tk

July 1, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York 22, New York

Dear David:

Here's the latest issue of Mr. Roy Harris' publication.

Except for a couple of radio broadcasts and for minute mention of this whole matter in reputable newspapers.

If you refer to my first quarterly report coming up to you today, you will see reference to the various steps taken toward answering these charges. Yesterday, I sent Mr. McGill of the Atlanta Constitution the letter prepared to go to any newspapers which carried Harris' charges, and asked that the Constitution publish the letter in the "Letters to the Editor" column. Thus far the Atlanta Constitution has not carried the letter. We are drafting and reviewing now a letter which may be sent to Roy Harris direct.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Encl.

August 4

Check ltr to David Freeman re photostating of July 12 issue of The Augusta Courier, and remind Dr. Mitchell if nothing has been done.

July 12, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York 22, New York

Dear David:

Here's the latest effusion of Roy Harris.

This is the only copy we have and, regretfully, I must ask you to send it back or to send us a reproduction of it in some form. Maybe you will photostat it. I don't like to photostate things of this kind hereabouts because sometimes the negatives get unhappily used.

Do be at pains to try to get some account of these attacks to people in the Fund for the Advancement of Education office. They hear of them as through a veil darkly and wonderingly. You remember that the last issue, I think, jumped on the whole Ashmore business too.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/cab
Encl.

July 12, 1954

Dictated July 9

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

So far as I can learn, there are only three responsible papers which carried any mention of the Roy Harris blast: The Savannah Evening Press, the Macon Telegraph for June 28th, and the Macon News for June 28th. All carried the same UP story dated from Atlanta.

The Savannah Evening Press story can well serve as a sample of the three stories. It is copied on the attached.

As all three stories carried what we think is a pretty complete answer to Harris, we propose to leave it at that.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

July 15, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George,

This will acknowledge your letter of July 12 and its various predecessors. I want to thank you particularly for the excellent progress report which I have read with great interest and will circulate among our staff.

In accordance with the exhortation in your letter of July 12, I am passing along to Phil Coombs today a representative selection of the outpourings of Talmadge and Harris. He and I both agree that this is no more than might have been expected, and my own hunch is that the measures you have taken to reply have been fully adequate.

I have asked Phil Coombs to return directly to you the Augusta Courier issue of July 12.

Sincerely yours,

Dave Freeman

David F. Freeman
Secretary

DFF:tk
Cy to Mr. Coombs

RECEIVED
JUL 19 19
Southern Regional Council

August 24, 1954

Dictated August 23

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear David:

We are having good success with the pamphlet, Answer for Action: The Schools in the South. We put out around 3,000 copies of it to our own members and subscribers. In addition, we have had already the attached principal orders and an excellent scattering of small orders.

The first edition was 20,000. At this rate we will exhaust it soon. The second will do a better color printing job on the map. We found that Atlanta printers simply do not possess the technique of a build up of color tones. And they had run off 20,000 before they showed us the map, so we let that poorly printed job stand.

The pamphlet is welcomed all around, and we are grateful to the Fund for the Republic for enabling us to get it out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED
9/27/54
Southern Regional Council

THE COUNCIL FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

September 24, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George,

I will look forward to hearing from you on the 18th and seeing you on the 19th of October.

Sincerely,

Dave

David F. Freeman

September 22, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York 22, New York

Dear David:

The Herald-Tribune Forum is paying for me to come to New York the night of October 18.

If I came to see you on the 19th, would I be likely to catch you there?

Unless I hear from you to the contrary, what I will do is the usual: call you when I get in on the afternoon of the 18th and ask the honorable office if you are expected to be there on the 19th, and when. We are doing tolerably and I would like to tell you about it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

File Copy

October 6, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear David Freeman:

A great deal of time has gone into getting the matter of the schools before Southern audiences.

The Executive Director, during the last three months, has talked to influential groups in widely scattered places.

Among church-related bodies was a week's conference of the Division of Christian Relations at the Church Extension Conference of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (which is the Southern Presbyterian Church), at Montreat, North Carolina; a forum on public school desegregation conducted by the School of Law at Loyola University in Chicago; at the Town and Country Ministers Conference of the Southeastern Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church at Junaluska, North Carolina; at the Town and Country Ministers Conference at Emory University; for an interdenominational leadership conference arranged at Atlanta by the Board of Social Relations of the Methodist Church; and with the first state-wide conference of the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Alabama.

For labor groups, he spoke to or conducted lengthy teaching sessions at the AFof L's Kentucky Labor School at Lexington; for the CIO labor school for the upper South at Junaluska, North Carolina; and for the Southeastern AF of L Labor School at Charlottesville, Virginia.

Other appearances, mainly on the schools matter, were for the Savannah Branch of the NAACP; the Seminar on Inter-group Relations of the NCCJ at Lexington, Kentucky; the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University; the National Convention of the NAACP at Dallas; the Convention of the American Teachers Association (which is the Negro teachers of the states having segregated education), at Nashville; and a South-wide meeting of representatives of Leagues of Women Voters for seventeen Southern states, in Atlanta.

This travel schedule has been supplemented by innumerable office conferences or small Atlanta meetings where people were asking guidance on the matter of the schools.

Mrs. Tilly has appeared before the Executive Committee of the Women's Society of the Methodist Church, Southeastern Jurisdiction, Lake Junaluska, North Carolina; the Rural Commission of the North Georgia Methodists; taught for a week at the Convocation of Methodist Youth (2,000), Lake Junaluska, and was a night speaker on the Supreme Court decision; taught a course in United Nations for a week at the School of Missions, Emory University; taught a course on "The City" at Clark College for a week; worked with the North Georgia Methodist women on a study course on "Christianity and Wealth" on two separate days; taught a community study class on "Jesus' Teachings Concerning Women"; worked with the Council of Church Women of Georgia, preparing the program for their state-wide meeting in October; worked with the Georgia Interracial Committee in setting up its new program; corresponded with all of the state presidents of United Church Women concerning the Supreme Court's decision; gathered together the pronouncements of all the denominations on the Supreme Court decision and the reactions of these denominations at state and local levels; wrote a program for the Methodist youth of the nation; and wrote the pamphlet, "Christian Conscience and the Supreme Court decision." A busy schedule, whose results will tell.

STATE ORGANIZATIONS:

Georgia. The Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation has had an uninterrupted existence for many years. For the last nine or ten years it has been an affiliate of SRC, but it goes back to the earlier period with the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Since about 1945, it has managed to raise, from its several hundred members and from its small individual contributors, funds enough to enable it to pay the half-time salary of a single staff person. Its executive committee, at the beginning of this past Summer, thought that there would be no difficulty in raising a sum over and above what must be raised by the state group before September 30, 1955, to enable the Georgia Interracial Committee to employ a person full-time at its own expense during June, July, and August, 1954. The Southern Regional Council has advanced, to the Georgia Interracial Committee, the expense of this staff member.

They employed Mr. Guy Wells, who has had a distinguished career in Georgia educational circles. He is a past president of the Georgia Education Association, which is the professional organization of the white teachers in the state; and until a year or so ago, he had been for a considerable period president of a Georgia state college at Milledgeville, one of the principal teacher-training institutions in the State. He left that position for a year's service with the Mutual Security Agency in Libya, and returned for reasons of his wife's health without entering on the second year of service there. He is deeply interested in the progress of the state in matters touching on race, and his wide acquaintance among political and business and educational figures is standing him in good stead. He has used the Summer to strengthen the organizational roots of the Georgia Interracial Committee, and has spoken to important audiences all over the state on the matter of the schools.

The executive committee of the Georgia Interracial Committee meets October 5th, for formal adoption of altered By-Laws and their official launching as the state program of the Southern Regional Council.

Mr. Wells has employed Mrs. Luesta Knox as his secretary. Negotiations have been opened with the Reverend L. H. Pitts, the head of a private church-related Negro school in Cordele, Georgia, looking toward his being employed as a consultant until December 31, 1954, with the possibility of full-time employment thereafter.

South Carolina. The Executive Committee of the South Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council, following various meetings during the Summer, selected as their principal staff person, Mrs. Eugene Spearman, and she will enter on duty October 1, 1954, with an office at Columbia. Mrs. Spearman is a white Baptist laywoman, active in various social service fields in her own Church, and widely known throughout South Carolina. She has had a long association with the interracial movement in the state and will be a vigorous staff member for the South Carolina group.

Alabama. The Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council has employed, effective October 1, the Reverend Robert Hughes, a Methodist minister. His office will be in Montgomery. He is twenty-six years old, a native of Gadsden where his father was a physician; a graduate of the University of Alabama in political science and history, and with a B.D. degree from Emory University's Candler School of Theology. In his Atlanta period, he took part in the interracial movement relating to the several white and Negro student bodies in the city. He took a rural church in Northeast Alabama in October, 1953. His Bishop has assigned him to the work with the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council, which means that he remains in good standing as a minister in the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church, though he will not have a church in his employment by this new body.

Louisiana. Louisiana has for some years had an anomalous arrangement. The New Orleans Committee on Race Relations has been autonomous within the Louisiana Division of the Southern Regional Council, and all members of either have been members of the Southern Regional Council. The New Orleans Committee had a thousand dollars in its treasury and in June employed a young man as its staff person at the expense of that fund. He will be picked up October 1 in the normal arrangement with the Southern Regional Council. He is Milton C. Vigo, who went to Tulane University, and for graduate work to Loyola University in New Orleans. Three years in the Army, which took him to North Africa and ETO. He has taught for the last four years at a private boys academy in New Orleans. Thirty. Carefully chosen by New Orleans people whom we trust. Enterprising and promising. We have an agreement with Mr. Vigo that when additional personnel is added to the staff in Louisiana, the expectation will be that the new staff member will be drawn from the Northern portion of the state. An office has been opened by the Louisiana Council on Human Relations, which is their new name, at 303 Board of Trade Annex Building, telephone number, Main 4295. The Summer has been spent in that state in reaching the existing membership by travel and correspondence, and in planning for expansion and field reporting. By-Laws have been prepared and are being reviewed.

North Carolina. The North Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council seems likely to employ as its executive October 1, Harry S. Jones, who has for the last five years served as Regional Director of the Carolina region of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. He has been widely popular in the state and has arranged unusually effective programs. Before that, he spent five years with the NCCJ in New Orleans, and a year in Military Government in Germany, and four years of military service in North Carolina. He has taught school in Honolulu, in Mississippi, and in New Jersey. Went to college at Westminster College in Missouri, at Teachers' College, Columbia University, and took a B.D. degree from Union Theological Seminary. The North Carolina Division, which has the previous year centered its activities in the Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill-areas, moves its office (a purpose) to Charlotte in order to reach more vigorously into that part of the state.

Kentucky. The Kentucky Division of the Southern Regional Council converted itself, during the Summer, into the Kentucky Council of Human Relations. In numerous conferences with us here it has been agreed that they may try an experimental form of organization which has no precedent within the Southern Regional Council. They propose to have as their single full-time staff personnel, a high-type clerical person, and the professional salary funds will be used in temporary per-diem assignments by community leaders, white and Negro, appropriately spaced over the state. They propose to make no great effort to build up a membership body, but wish to serve as a coordinating Council of active organizations related, or potentially related, to the field of human relations. By-Laws to confirm this type of operation are in preparation, and have in outline been approved by us.

The above states we regard as launched as of October 1, 1954.

For the remainder, we contemplate getting going over the next couple of months.

Texas. Texas, through its Texas Commission on Race Relations (long affiliated with SRC), has had a number of meetings looking toward the employment of paid staff by October 1. They have about settled on a candidate, but wish to make some further inquiry about him before making the arrangement final.

Florida. The Florida Division of the Southern Regional Council has had a couple of meetings during the Summer, and will be visited in early October by people from here, who believe that a program can be got going within a few weeks time.

Mississippi. Our membership there is small, and the situation is tense, and from our present weakened base, and in the absence for the Summer of our chairman there, no settled course has been agreed upon. It is being visited in early October.

Tennessee. In Tennessee a general meeting of the members of the Southern Regional Council will convene October 12 at Nashville, under the leadership of Mr. Dan May, a hosiery manufacturer of Nashville. The Southern Regional Council's membership in the state was for two or three years organized into a Tennessee Division, but we found that the makeup of Tennessee, in three or even four distinct parts, worked against sustained activity by a state organization, and the Tennessee Division was disbanded two years back. We have the active assistance of Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor of the Chattanooga Times in getting it going again. We, here, are attempting to encourage an arrangement in Tennessee for four local chapters with only a loose connection between them.

Virginia. In Virginia we have done no more than reach a verbal understanding with the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches, that the Southern Regional Council will be assisted by them in forming a non-sectarian race relations organization in the state. I suppose it will be November or December before this is actually done.

Arkansas. In Arkansas, several meetings have been held with the assistance of Harry Ashmore, and it is intended at an appropriate time a little later to call together a group of people who will launch again the almost negligible organization of the Southern Regional Council in Arkansas -- this time with paid staff.

So the arithmetic is that six of the states are going with paid staff October 1, and two or three more will probably be set up during October. We consider that satisfactory progress, and are indeed rather pleased that almost entirely by their own efforts, with little more than telephone calls and a good deal of correspondence, plus visits by Mr. Parrish, this much has been accomplished.

STAFF:

We employed, effective June 1, as Associate Executive Director, Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, who is on leave to this job from the position of Secretary to the Urban League. She has been helpful in linking us to the Negro leadership of the South, and in shaping our policy thought.

We took on, September 1, Mr. Frederick B. Routh as an Assistant Director. He was brought up in Coral Gables, Florida; went to the University of Miami; took the Master's degree in human relations and history; did a little law; and has completed a good deal of his work toward a Doctorate degree in human relations from New York University. During the war he served as an officer in Naval Air Intelligence as Public Information Officer. He was one of the small group who were active in the establishment of the Dade County Council on Human Relations, the first municipally sponsored agency in this field in the South, and has done a lot of community development work in the Miami area. He ran for Congress in the Miami area in 1954, and captured about half as many votes as the man who got elected. Routh is 31. We have loaded on him much of the field travel involved in launching and relating this office to state programs; title -- Assistant Director for Program Development.

Routh has an opposite number in C. H. Parrish of the University of Louisville, as a Consultant and Assistant Director in Charge of Program Development. Mr. Parrish is the one Negro professor taken over in the consolidation of the former Louisville Municipal College with the University of Louisville. He travelled extensively during February and March for the Southern Regional Council in Louisiana and Alabama, and again this Summer in five or six of the states, singling out leadership persons of both races. With them he explored the matter of a desired course of action for the proposed new state organizations, and much of the accomplishment thus far should be attributed to his wisdom and skill in the interviews he arranged. He went, particularly, to North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas, and Florida. As his teaching duties will keep him most of the time in Kentucky, he will be active in the growth of the Kentucky program. Our arrangement with him is that he can give us several days a month outside Kentucky as a consultant at $35.00 a day plus travel.

Mrs. Hamilton we have altered in title from Associate Director to Assistant Director for Program Planning.

Associate Staff in State Groups. We have come, during the Summer months to the virtual surrender of a proposal we made earlier with the states that additional professional staff be employed jointly by two or more states. The states have not liked it and personnel has not seemed readily available for such split assignments. We have urged all the states to employ on their own a full-time Associate Executive, or, as most of them will more likely do, appoint one, two, or three persons as associates who will serve as consultants and will assist the growth of and service the organization in their own areas. It is expected that such consultants will attend all staff meetings and we propose for them a per diem of $20.00 a day plus travel. This seems a workable interim device, but we hope to push it on to the stage where most of the states do have co-equal white and Negro personnel full-time.

PUBLIC RELATIONS:

During the past three months, the Council has continued to service information requests, by mail, telephone, and in person, from newspapers and news agencies. Among those assisted: Associated Press, United Press, Time, Newsweek, Christian Science Monitor, New York Times, Washington Star.

Stories about the Council itself and/or its executive director have appeared in Southern and non-Southern publications -- even as distant as the Manchester Guardian. The most widespread publicity resulted from an Associated Press Newsfeatures series on segregation in the South, prepared by staffwriter Bem Price. One article was devoted wholly to the Council and its work.

Harold Fleming was one of the panelists on an ABC Network broadcast, Town Meeting of the Air, in August; subject: school integration.

CONSULTATIVE SERVICES:

Staff members have been in steady demand as advisors to organizations and individuals with some special concern for race relations. Examples: faculty adviser for a Colgate group planning field work in the Atlanta area; director of the Herald-Tribune Forum; field worker for the U. S. Public Health Service; editor of the alumni magazine of a private (segregated university, and so forth at length. The Council in mid-September arranged a conference with appropriate people in Atlanta for the Cornell group carrying out an assignment for the Ford Foundation's Behavioral Sciences Division.

FOREIGN VISITORS:

Increasingly, the Council is called on to play host to foreign visitors brought to this country by U. S. Government programs or by private exchange organizations. Quite often, we are asked to assume full responsibility for scheduling the visitor's stay in Atlanta -- interesting and useful, though extremely time-consuming. In other instances, we are called on to spend an hour or two of staff time briefing the visitor on the South and, particularly, race relations. Some idea of the variety of this visiting stream is suggested by the following selected list out of the last three months:

Daniel Roth, Switzerland, journalist
Michael Stewart, England, Labor M.P.
John Hall, England, Conservative M.P.
Ernst S. Schlange-Schoeningen, Agricultural Secretary, German Embassy
Theodore Lefevre, Belgium, Chamber of Deputies
Djuka Julius, Jugoslavia, journalist
Madhav Kamath, India, journalist
International student group, representing eight countries
Hendrik Vos, Netherlands, vice-president Dutch Labor Party

FINANCE:

Miss Stoney, as Secretary-Treasurer, will report in a few days when she has had opportunity to obtain the auditor's review of the figures for the past quarter.

FIELD RELEASES:

Copies are attached of Memoranda #4, 5, and 6.

CENTRAL OFFICE POLICY BOARDS:

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council met July 30th and reviewed and approved arrangements as made thus far. The entire Board of the Council will meet November 10, at Atlanta.

PROGRAM ITEMS:

The Council had the benefit of travel in the Eastern Carolinas during July and August by a Disciples of Christ minister, Sam Freeman, from a church in East Orange, New Jersey. He is a native of the area in which he travelled and stimulated bi-racial meetings for discussion on school problems -- and that is a difficult area. His travel and salary were without expense to the Council, though we contributed the pamphlet, Answers for Action: Schools in the South, which he got out to those with whom he discussed the proposal in local communities. He has made a report of his trip which now joins similar reports made by other assigned church connected persons. It will be recalled that we have argued strongly that segregation in the schools can best be got to crumble from the mountain counties toward the older parts of the South more heavily affected by the plantation system. In development of this idea, the Council put some money this Summer into an unbudgeted item. We arranged for travel by Robert Memefee, a young economist from Berea College in Kentucky, to a series of mountain places in North Carolina, Southwest Virginia, and Eastern Tennessee. His method was to introduce himself to editors, ministers, school officials, and other community leaders and discuss with them the practicability of local steps toward early integration. His reception varied considerably, but by and large it was seen that he carried a workable and, in some places, quite tempting idea. He is now preparing a full report based upon his weekly letters to us, and we hope in an early issue of New South to summarize his experiences. His full report will be sent to a selected number of people with whom he talked during the Summer months. This travel and salary has cost us about $1,700.52. But we thought its promise of early and peaceful action so fine that we went ahead with it. And we are satisfied that the investment was a wise one.

Answers for Action: Schools in the South has now sold 18,000 copies, of which the first 4,000 went out to our own members and mailing list. The following are among the major and more significant orders received for it:

Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D. C.	1000
National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, N. Y.	1600
National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, N. Y.	250
Methodist Pastors' School, Sullins College, Virginia	200
Division of Church Relations, Presbyterian Church of U. S.	99
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Savannah, Ga.	100
International Ladies Garment Workers Union, N. Y.	75
Georgia Teachers Education Association, Atlanta	1000
St. Peter's Catholic Church, Jackson, Miss.	100
General Board of Education, the Methodist Church	410
Mississippi Economic Council, Jackson, Miss.	120
Unitarian Blue Ridge Conference, Knoxville, Tenn.	50
American Jewish Committee, Miami, Fla.	200
Friendship House, Shreveport, La.	50
National Conference of Christians and Jews, N. Y.	100
Phelps-Stokes Fund, N. Y.	50
Catholic Committee of the South, Rock Hill, S. C.	2500
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Atlanta	40

Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn.	50
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York	20
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York	100
American Labor Education Service, New York	20
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Miami, Fla.	50
Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist Convention	100
Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill	50
League of Women Voters of Texas	20
Progressive Farmer, Birmingham, Alabama	20
Judge J. Waties Waring, New York	15
League of Women Voters of the U. S., Washington, D. C.	20
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., New York	100
Virginia Council of Churches, Richmond, Virginia, (which includes coverage of each member of the Governor's Special Legislative Committee on the Schools).	100
Virginia Council of Churches, Richmond, Virginia, (to be distributed to every elder in the Southern Presbyterian Church in Virginia)	1000
Catholic Interracial Council of New York	100
Commission on Christian Social Action of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Cleveland, Ohio	300
The Armed Services Department, YMCA, New York	100
Kentucky Teachers Association, Louisville	100
United Steelworkers of America, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	100
National Conference of Christians and Jews, Louisville, Ky.	100
Woman's Division of Christian Service, Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, New York	500
American Friends Service Committee, Washington, D. C. (Community Relations Program)	50
American Missionary Association Division, Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian Churches, Race Relations Department, New York	100
Maryland Council of United Church Women, Baltimore, Maryland	50
Mrs. C. E. Tatum, Birmingham, Alabama	50
The American Jewish Committee, Southeast Area Office, Miami, Florida	50

The pamphlet has been widely praised in private letters and in notices in the general press, and in the religious and other special-interest publications. We hardly feel like boasting of the temperateness of the South in meeting the Supreme Court's decision, but we do think that the many thousands of readers of the pamphlet are serving as enlighteners in corners otherwise obscure.

GENERAL PICTURE:

I hesitate at this time to summarize the situation in the South as to the school matter. There seems to have been earlier in the Summer a general feeling on the part of officialdom in four or five, at least, of the Southern states, that compliance could be worked out without a great deal of difficulty. During the Summer, the attitude of public

officials has hardened a good deal. In most of the states now, many responsible persons have persuaded themselves that evasions can be successfully practiced for a long time to come, and the hard work is being done on how to get around the decision, and not on how to enforce it. Possibly the final decrees of the court when they come out will clarify this situation. But in any case it becomes clearer and clearer that the great lack in the South is supporting public opinion for unsegregated schools.

We have put our main effort on finding out how to build such opinion and increasing it. We have struck some quite useful channels, and are using them as best we can from the central office. As the state programs get going we should be able to magnify and localise that work with opinion-forming groups. I have put it graphically by saying that the democratic institutions of the Western World are put here to a severe strain -- a strain which comes on a spot noticeably weak in the democratic tradition any way: Here's a two-strand cotton rope, one strand white and the other strand black. Because the two have never been twined together the rope is weak, and it has now upon it a frightening stretch. Signs are a'plenty that the rope is popping. It looks as though the only available substitute cord is what the churches may be about to spin across the breach. Maybe there are other cords too, and we will try to find them. But the best hope is for getting the whole of the doctrine of the churches to bear for peaceful local performance toward compliance with the decision.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

October 29, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
One East Fifty-fourth Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Dave:

Grace Hamilton has passed on to me three of the publications in the "Freedom Agenda" series. I had already received through the mail some of the promotional releases.

I think the basic pamphlet -- "A Guide for Local Planning" -- is a very clear and readable handbook which anybody interested enough to undertake a Freedom Agenda project would find easy to use.

The two discussion pamphlets by Alfred H. Kelly and T.V. Smith are also good leadership pieces. I should think, however, that their most effective use would be with the relatively small group of leadership people whose interest in the subject matter can be taken for granted and who, accordingly, need little pampering. The format is pretty sober and would hardly tease the interest of a larger group of people less involved in the project. For more widespread distribution the same material, by the same authors, could be presented in a much more attention getting way. Something like the Public Affairs pamphlets, using art work, color and bold, lively headings, would be a better bet for that kind of distribution. Of course, the amount of funds available for printing has a lot to do with the form of presentation, but some of the "popular" techniques can be used at relatively low cost.

This isn't meant to be critical, in the least, of the series as it stands. Knowing the League for Women Voters, I am sure that its members require a minimum of flossy presentation -- and particularly the leadership group for which, I understand, this series is intended. But if they desire to go in for more general distribution, I think they could profitably consider other typographical layout techniques.

I hope to get a chance to see you again the next time I get a free ride to New York. Meanwhile, best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rf

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

November 1, 1954

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

Thanks very much for your helpful letter of October 29 containing your comments on the Freedom Agenda series. I find myself--as usual-- in general agreement with you. Please express my thanks also to Miss Stoney for the excellent financial report and to George and all the staff for the very complete progress report.

Sincerely,

Dave

David F. Freeman
Secretary

DFF:tk

November 2, 1954

Dictated October 29

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

You will be pleased to hear that we have had a letter this week from the Marshall Field Foundation, saying that they had approved an allocation to the Southern Regional Council of $15,000 stretched over the three years beginning January 1, 1955, for aid to New South. $7,000 the first year, $5,000 the second, and $3,000 the third.

We think that with diligent work on building the subscriptions list, this will be enough to guarantee a really much improved publication beginning the first of the year.

We are extremely grateful to the Marshall Field Foundation for this grant.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

November 5, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

Small item, but of interest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - police report

Circulate:
HCF ✓
GTH ✓
EAB (for files)

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

November 5, 1954

RECEIVED
11/8/54

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George,

Congratulations on the grant from the Field Foundation. The three-year stretch-out technique seems to be catching fire even though the digits aren't as numerous as they were in our grant.

For your information, the modest application from Dr. Lee is faring well, and we hope to be able to report to him an affirmative decision by our Board on November 18. This will put the responsibility for the border states squarely in his hands, and I am confident that the results will be beneficial.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman
Secretary

DFF:tk

November 23, 1954

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Frank Loescher:

All straight about December 15th, and I will be on hand for the luncheon.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED
NOV 18, 1954
Southern Regional Council

November 16, 1954

David F. Freeman

Frank S. Loescher

Follow-up Meeting to Luncheon Meeting after Herald-Tribune Forum

On Wednesday, November 10, Dan Dodson called a luncheon meeting at the N.Y.U. Faculty Club. Present: Dodson, Ed Lukas, Ben Epstein, Oscar Lee, Mrs. Waller (Director of the Herald-Tribune Forum, Rabinoff (National Social Welfare Assembly), Loescher. Absent: Ken Clark and Roy Wilkins (NAACP), Granger or Moss (Urban League), Seamans (NCCJ).

There was a three hour discussion of next steps. They did agree to meet on December 15 (when George Mitchell is in town) at the dining room of the Herald Tribune. (Each person will pay for his own lunch.) Mitchell will bring us up to date on the South. Lists of key people in the southern and border states will be circulated. Mrs. Waller will try to arrange for a person from Milford to be present to report on what is being done to prepare the community for school integration.

Ben Epstein will probably ask Jack Brooks to prepare a handbook for local groups on community organization.

To give you some idea of the range of discussion here are some of my notes:

Purpose of luncheon coordinating group:

a. Desire to exchange information and thus avoid duplication and coordinate for greater effect.

b. Desire to secure participation by other groups that can be effective

c. Strategy planning.

* * * * * * *

There was discussion of housing. Both Lee and Rabinoff look for a "tightening up" in housing as communities, north and south, try to resist school integration.

Lukas feels Mitchell feels "threatened", and is worried about soveriegnty. (Mitchell has been through hell over the years. Lee disagreed strongly with Lukas. I said Lukas' notion was a new one to me.

* * * * * * * *

Lukas and Epstein are really fearful of some of the effects of the Supreme Court's decision. They believe, and Lukas was more articulate, that these will be serious problems for 10 or 15 years. Lukas sees need for fire fighting and fire prevention activities through some mechanism for coordinating. Epstein spoke again for the Clarksdale, Mississippi, incident where Jewish merchants who are members of B'nai B'rith fear economic pressure.

* * * * * * * * *

Mrs. Waller said the group was overlooking what the young people can do. More attention should be paid to them. They can educate their parents. Herald Tribune Youth Forum with young people from 35 countries will be held in March. She asked group to think about idea of inviting 35 southern youth to conference and to use opportunity to find out what Southern young people think.

Mrs. Waller says TV, radio and press have run out of fresh material. She feels that some of the folks from the border states and the South, someof the little people, who were on the Herald Tribune Forum ought to be made known to the mass media.

Rabinoff of the National Social Welfare Assembly drew from his experience. He said the group should think about which groups ought to be involved. There are the intergroup relations agencies, the welfare organizations and the national civic bodies, including Chambers of Commerce, etc. The latter are organized in the Council of National Organizations. Rabinoff resisted Lukas' emphasis on the need to formalize the group and to secure a secretariat. Rabinoff said we should keep the structure loose until we are clearer about what groups we hope to involve.

I said that the group should not look to the Fund to support a secretariat. I personally favored consideration of some type of formal structure with a person responsible for coordinating, but I thought the intergroup organizations should set this up and share the expenses. Call it a Council on Integration and establish it for a year. It might lead to coordination on problems in other areas. Lukas said he would bet that the Fund eventually would support it.

Mrs. Waller thought there ought to be a sheet sent out twice a week reporting what the organizations are doing.

Lee said it will be difficult to get national organizations to cooperate. They all fear they will lose their leadership in local communities to other organizations.

* * * * * * * * *

The group wanted me to issue invitations to the next luncheon. I said the Fund was willing to do this but I thought it would be better if Dan Dodson continued as convener. However, in lieu of the Fund treating the group to lunch, the Fund would pay the travel expenses of the person Mrs. Waller is to bring up from Milford. It seems wise for each person to pay for his own lunch as we did at N.Y.U. since pretty soon we will run out of organizations that can afford to treat a large group.

FSL:tk

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

RECEIVED
11/17/54
Southern Regional Council

November 15, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks very much for your letter of October 29 with the list of your people in several states. I also received Lovejoy's.

The luncheon group met on November 10 at NYU with Dan Dodson presiding. I will try to see that you receive a copy of some notes I made.

We meet again on December 15 for lunch at the Herald Tribune Building when you are in town to bring us all up-to-date. Mrs. Waller hopes to have at the meeting a person from Milford who can report on what is being done there to prepare the community for school integration. Ben Epstein will probably ask Jack Brooks to prepare a handbook.

Congratulations on the Field Foundation grant!

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank (jf)

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:jrf

November 29, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

You will be glad to hear that the Doris Duke Foundation has sent us $10,000 for our information service project for the year 1955. The grant is without any commitment for subsequent years, but it will help us enormously in our whole problem of giving a policy lead to the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Blind Copy: Marion Wright

December 23, 1954

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

This came in today. I send it to you as the neatest illustration that I have seen of the way this show works.

Six or eight months ago Joe Ross with Neiman Marcus in Dallas arranged for me to have a visit with his friend, Maurice Lazarus, at Foley's in Houston. A few days ago I found in my pocket book reference to the rightness of keeping up a contact with Mr. Lazarus, and I wrote our new man in Texas and said Lazarus would be his friend. Then this letter comes in.

Read it and send it on back to us. And it wouldn't be wise to make any copies. But I thought you would perceive from this to a T how work gets done.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. ~~TT~~ to FBR from Thomas Sutherland 12/20/54

January 13, 1955

(Dictated January 11)

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Many thanks for your letter of January 10th. We will see to it that New South reaches you and Phil Coombs.

Perfectly all right for Oscar Lee to see the January 6th report. But I wouldn't like it quoted from anywhere.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

January 13, 1955

TO: KS

Please see to it that David Freeman, the Fund for the Republic, 1 East 54th Street, New York, and Phil Coombs, the Fund for the Advancement of Education, 575 Madison Avenue, New York, receive New South henceforth.

This is by request of David Freeman in a letter of January 10th, 1955.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

January 10, 1955

JAN 11 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George,

Thank you very much for your note of January 6 forwarding the quarterly progress report. The report makes fine reading and I am delighted to see that things are going along so actively. The suggestion that more program responsibility will have to be assumed by the central office does not surprise me.

After the report has been circulated within our own office, I would like to pass it along to Phil Coombs at the Fund for Advancement for his information. I would also like to show it to Oscar Lee, unless you have any doubts about letting this sort of material get outside of the family. I won't show it to Lee unless I hear from you.

The description of the recent issues of New South and plans for the forthcoming January issue leads me to suggest that you put us on your mailing list to receive New South regularly. You might also consider the advisability of putting Phil Coombs' office on your list if you don't already mail them one.

Best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Dave

David F. Freeman

DFF:tk

January 28, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

I apprise you of a tax exemption problem now in the mill.

Our Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, through its Executive Director, Guy Wells, sought funds from local foundations in the Atlanta area. They asked for evidence of tax exemption. He consulted us and made an application. It went in to Washington and came back only half approved, conferring tax exemption upon the income of the Georgia Committee, but not conferring tax exemption upon donors to it.

In exact conformity with directions for appeal, we prepared the attached appeal.

This, of course, had the advance approval of our general counsel, Mr. Leonard Haas.

Our President, Marion Wright, in reviewing this points out that we should send all this on to you for review by your lawyers, as obviously both the Fund and the Southern Regional Council are directly involved.

I think that the matter will come straight when sufficient information is placed before the Treasury people. But we wish to act in concert with you so far as that may be desired.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls: 1. ltr. dtd. 1/3/55 to Committee on Interracial Cooperation from Treasury Department

2. Copy of appeal made by the Georgia Committee

Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

HCF.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

February 23, 1955

FEB 28 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George,

I have intercepted your letter of February 21 addressed to Frank which I will pass along to him promptly. We will give the proposals in your letter careful consideration, but I should warn you that my initial reaction is somewhat negative.

Sincerely,

Dave

David F. Freeman
Secretary

DFF:tk

Still hope! GSM.

March 22, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

This is to confirm my phone conversation today with your secretary.

SRC has invited in the employed staff people from the eight, nine, or ten state organizations which by that time will have staff, for a meeting near Chapel Hill early in June. It begins before supper Wednesday, June 1st, and ends after lunch, Friday, June 3rd. The actual location of the meeting is a camp conducted by the Orange Presbytery some six miles north of Chapel Hill. Details later. The airplane place would be Raleigh-Durham, and the railroad place would be either Raleigh or Durham. The highway place to begin from would be Chapel Hill.

Three or four miles from Chapel Hill lives W. W. Alexander who began the old Interracial Commission back in 1919. I have arrangements with Mrs. Alexander under which Dr. Will will be available during the period of our meeting, and we expect to bring our whole group over to sit for an afternoon or an evening on his front porch and get him to reminisce. Otherwise the time will be spent in planning out program and procedures and discussing policy for these new state groups which we are fostering.

It will be an interesting occasion -- really a choice one for someone to get a glimpse of how things proceed in this part of the world. With that in mind, I thought I would urge that someone come down from the Fund for the Republic. Somebody on the staff, you yourself, or somebody on the Board, or a friend of somebody on the Board. We would all help to make the visit not particularly noticeable, but fruitful. And whoever comes needn't stay the whole time; there may be an afternoon when our best foot would not be forward!

Anyway, think about it and later on take some action if action should be taken.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

April 6, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear David:

Somebody is hauling me up to Washington on April 13th, and I thought I would just push on up to New York and be there Friday, April 15th. No very special business, but I will hope that there will be time that morning when you and I can check progress.

Unless I hear otherwise, I will do the usual, and call your office about opening of business Friday, the 15th, and see what the young ladies say.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

April 7, 1955

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Frank:

Here is an effort at a one page boil-down.

I compressed it from the letter that went toward you April 4th (our regular quarterly report).

You can boost or deflate from it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

The Southern Regional Council undertook to establish in each of twelve Southern states a race relations agency with paid staff, which it is hoped will continue after a three-year period of subsidy to the state organizations.

Twelve such agencies have come into being. Here they are with the dates on which they began to use paid staff: Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, June 1, 1954; Louisiana Council on Human Relations, June 1, 1954; Alabama Council on Human Relations, October 1, 1954; North Carolina Council on Human Relations, October 1, 1954; South Carolina Council on Human Relations, October 1, 1954; Texas Commission on Race Relations, November 1, 1954; Kentucky Council on Human Relations, December 1, 1954.

Arkansas is expected to take on paid staff April 15, 1955. The Florida Council for Human Relations is expected to take on paid staff May 1, 1955. Virginia is expected to take on paid staff May 1, 1955. Tennessee is expected to take on paid staff June 1, 1955.

These new state organizations have put most of their energy into matters of staffing, setting up an office, and building their Boards and memberships. Program has as yet for most of them been small. But their establishment is an encouragement to the many good causes which they will serve and assist, and the new staffs and officers and Board members are building exact local knowledge of the situation and the possibilities in each state. They have all drawn in high-type and responsible citizens to assist in their direction.

In the first period of SRC aid to these state groups, (ending September 30, 1955), each group which has operated with paid staff for twelve months would be required to raise $1800 itself. Those that have been going for lesser periods will be asked to raise correspondingly lesser amounts. As of March 31st sums raised by the individual states on their own were as follows: Georgia, $2,513, Texas, $1,103, Louisiana, $970; Alabama, $920; South Carolina, $562; Mississippi $243; Kentucky, $182.

Arkansas, Tennessee, and Virginia, having as yet no paid staff, have raised nothing.

The Southern Regional Council's Atlanta office reports its satisfaction with the pace of organization of the state groups.

An important Southwide gathering of churchwomen was held, in connection with the Southern Regional Council, in Atlanta February 24th and 25th to exchange experiences and plans on the matter of public school desegregation.

SRC reports that of the $40,000 it is required to raise independently before September 30, 1955, it has raised $37,500.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

APR 7 1955

April 6, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

As you know, we give the Board of Directors of the Fund quarterly reports on the highlights of the grantees' recent activities. We will appreciate it if you can send us by April 15 a one page summary of major developments of the past two months.

I attended Oscar Lee's annual meeting of church race relations secretaries April 1-2. Some nice things were said about the Southern Regional Council. They voted to have your organization represented next year.

I now plan to attend the meeting of state organization staff people June 1-3. Thanks for the invitation.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:jrf

April 19, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This is to review our conversation of April 15th, on the subject of the lapses mentioned in my report to the Fund for the Republic dated April 4, 1955.

In your view, final policy on this matter would have to be set at a later date. Meanwhile, you saw no objection to SRC's proceeding on the assumption that sums from the allocation to states, unspent as of September 30, 1955, might enter into our calculations of the assistance SRC would be giving state by state in the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1955; but sums thus designated in SRC's plans to be carried over into the coming fiscal year should serve as the basis for a calculation of a lesser request as an allocation available for states by the Fund for the Republic to the Southern Regional Council in the second period of aid, i.e., the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1955.

We but barely touched upon the possibility that at the conclusion of the third period of aid to SRC, SRC might bring up again for consideration the possible needs of some of those states which were late in getting going for moderate extension of aid.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

April 22, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear David:

I put together what I understood to be the main ideas exchanged between us in conversation April 15th on the matter of the "Lapses" memtioned in my report to the Fund for the Republic dated April 4th.

But I have since had some better ideas, and I would prefer at this time not to give substance to the skeleton of a plan which we then discussed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

DRAFT

April 19, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This is to review our conversation of April 15th, on the subject of the lapses mentioned in my report to the Fund for the Republic dated April 4th, 1955

In your view, final policy on this matter would have to be set at a later date. Meanwhile, you saw no objection to SRC's proceeding on the assumption that sums from the allocation to states, unspent as of September 30, 1955, might enter into our calculations of the assistance SRC would be giving state by state in the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1955; but sums thus designated in SRC's plans to be carried over into the coming fiscal year should serve as the basis for a calculation of a lesser request as an allocation available for states by the Fund for the Republic to the Southern Regional Council in the second period of aid, i. e., the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1955.

We but barely touched upon the possibility that at the conclusion of the third period of aid to SRC, SRC might bring up again for consideration the possible needs of some of those states which were late in getting going for moderate extension of aid.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

May 20, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear David:

I had word today that the two men tentatively chosen to take over the job in Virginia have accepted. They are John H. Marion of Richmond, and William M. Cooper of Hampton. Excellent men who will do well.

I assume that they will get an office going about June 1st.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

May 25, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MAY 27 1955

gave to carbon & etc. ad

Dear George,

This will acknowledge your letter of May 16, which we have gone over with the care it deserved.

With the one exception that I understand Frank Loescher has already discussed with you on the phone, the various proposals you suggest are entirely agreeable to us. That exception relates to the payment of the prospective lapse balance of $9,757 to the appropriate state organizations before the end of the first grant period. As I think Frank suggested to you on the phone, we don't feel that you should make these payments before the end of the grant period merely in order to present a clearer financial picture. If, in your judgment, the funds will be needed before the end of the grant period, you should of course go ahead, but if you would prefer to retain this small balance or some part of it and carry it over into the second grant period, this will be perfectly agreeable to us.

One further thought -- at the top of page 4 of your letter to us you suggest two alternatives for the expenditure of the $10,000 balance there described. While I have no objection to the conference training for staff and volunteer personnel, I do think that the opportunity to use Irene Osborne's services is one which should not be overlooked. In other words if there is a clear either/or situation, my vote would be for Irene Osborne. However, I am willing to be persuaded to the contrary should you decide that the conference training was more important for your program.

Frank will be down with you soon and will be going into all facets of your program in detail. At this point there is one matter that I think deserves to be stressed. You will recall that in our grant letter of April 2, 1954 we indicated that the staff and Board's decision as to additional grants to the Council would be influenced "not only by the effectiveness of the program developed in the first eighteen months, but also by the degree of success which the Council and its state organizations have achieved in raising funds from other sources."

On the basis of the reports we have received from you to date it would seem to me that the financial picture we will have to present to the Board will be an encouraging one. The chief purpose of Frank's trip through the South will be to make an evaluation of the program accomplishments during the first eighteen-month period. While I realize that many of these accomplishments will be of an intangible nature and difficult to pinpoint, I would hope that every effort will be made to present as specific a report on the program side as is possible. For instance, it might be helpful to have one or two informal reports, on a diary basis, that would give us an understanding of the day-to-day activities of the state executives. What I have in mind is something analogous to the excellent report prepared by the field man loaned to you, as I recall, by the National Council of Churches.

I am sorry that I won't be able to join Frank at the conference you are having a week hence. He will, of course, be our official representative to the extent that you need to have a handle for him.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman

DFF:tk

FILE COPY

May 16, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear David:

Advantaged by conferences with my own staff and by the opportunity to inform Frank Loescher in detail of our proposals, I now put our proposals formally before the staff of the Fund for the Republic and ask for advice as to how we should proceed.

The matter concerns the sums from the allocation made by the Fund for the Republic in its 1954-55 grant to the Southern Regional Council, for state organizations, being those sums which prospectively will not have been spent by the end of the first grant period - September 30, 1955. This is the matter previously reported upon in my quarterly report dated April 4, 1955, and touched upon in conversation ten days or so later.

The total allocation to state organizations was $158,800.

First let us establish as to the allocation between the states a division between salary money and operating money. This division has grown up in practice in this office and in our state organizations.

Salary Money: The central office writes and mails out salary checks for all personnel employed by the various state organizations; for the Executive Director, the Associate Director (where employed), and the Secretary. In our standard offer to a "normal" state this amounts to $10,000 for the first grant period; $5,000 for the Executive Director, $2,500 for one-half the salary of an Associate Director, and $2,500 for the Secretary.

Operating Money: In our standard offer to a "normal" state we promised $3,200 to be used for such things as rent, office equipment, travel, communications, supplies, etc., etc. The state was to raise $1,800, which when added to the $3,200 above provided an operating fund of $5,000 for the first grant period.

Salary money plus operating money (including the $1,800 being raised by the states) gives each "normal" state a $15,000 total budget for the first grant period.

The dates at which the several states took on paid staff were as listed in my letter of April 4, here repeated and supplemented:

Georgia	June 1, 1954
Louisiana	June 1, 1954
Alabama	October 1, 1954
North Carolina	October 1, 1954
South Carolina	October 1, 1954
Texas	November 1, 1954
Kentucky	December 1, 1954*
Mississippi	January 1, 1955
Arkansas	April 15, 1955
Virginia	June 1, 1955**
Florida	***
Tennessee	***

*Arbitrary date. Program and some expenditures were underway earlier.

**Expected

***Presumably June 1, 1955

True that in the original conversations with the Fund for the Republic we forecast starting dates for all the states centering around October 1, 1954. True, as shown, half of them got or will get started much later. In some cases the delays are accounted for by the difficulties of getting our friends in each state to take up the effort involved in concerted program; in other cases the problem has been finding good staff. We do not doubt that it has been wisest to proceed at a pace agreeable to our friends in each state. The effort was not to launch programs willy-nilly, but to launch programs which would be soundly carried through by people in each state.

Obviously the late starts involve an accumulation of "salary money." In round sums, and calculated prospectively to September 30, 1955, these will amount to:

Lapses for clerks	$10,592
Lapses for Executive Directors	17,375
Lapses for Associates	24,634
Total	$52,601

The final figure of $52,601, is therefore the prospective total salary lapse for state organizations for the first grant period.

We must now examine a little more closely the item of lapses for associates. You will recall that in all our early requests to the Fund for the Republic for aid in this general program, we urged that sufficient money be made available for each state organization to have available to it, on a subsidy basis, both an executive director and an associate director, drawing equal salaries, (and for five years). What was granted was insufficient for that;

but by proposing what we thought a minimum staff for the central office, and by the exercise of every other possible economy, an offer was made to each state to carry for several years the salary of an executive and a clerk and one-half the annual salary of an associate, ($2,500 per year). We first suggested that wherever practicable two states combine to use the services of a single associate. Nobody did it. The associate would be insecurely based in one, at least, of the two states; travel would be high; and the whole arrangement was thought an obvious makeshift. Alternatively, we urged the various states to increase their fund-raising efforts, and in this first year raise enough extra to guarantee the full-time salary of an associate (in effect an extra $2,500 plus some travel money). The states were reluctant to do so because they were new and were going to find even the $1800 not easy to raise, and because, also, they looked ahead to a second grant period in which they would have an extra fund-raising burden (if they were to offer continuity of employment to the associate). For our part, we have been watchful that what was allocated on our books for employment of an associate for each state in the first grant period ($2,500) be not paid out for other purposes to the states.

Kentucky divided all its available salary money between an equal staff of white and Negro consultants and central office employees. Arkansas is using an associate for the remaining months of this year, half-time. Virginia when it gets going June 1 will be expected to do the same. The rest of the states have followed makeshift devices, or none. Wherefore the bulk of the allocation on our books for use for the salaries of associates (half-time) in this first grant period remains unspent.

We propose an arrangement which would enable each state to offer fifteen months secure employment to an associate. This would involve the use for the final three months of this current grant period of $12,500 of what has presently accrued unspent for this purpose. It also involves our being enabled to promise each of the twelve states that in the coming second grant period beginning October 1, 1955, not only the presently covenanted $2,500 of aid for employment of an associate will be forthcoming for each state, but that an additional $2,500 of such aid will be forthcoming for each state. Twelve times the additional $2,500 is $30,000. We propose that of the total prospective salary lapse for the first grant period, the $30,000 be, at an early date, guaranteed to the twelve states. That backed, all or practically all of the states would by or before July 1, 1955, add an associate to their staffs on a permanent basis, with fifteen months' sure funds.

I discussed some with Frank Loescher the various reasons why this step seems critically important. An integrated, not merely a bi-racial staff, is essential in the field of human relations in the South, for the Negro community and enlightened whites rightfully look with question on any organization whose full-time staff is only white. Social change in a bi-racial society has its greatest likelihood of peaceful success if the members of both races are fully persuaded of the ends and methods involved.

For a summary on salary money: From a prospective salary lapse in this grant period of $52,601 we would like to be in position to promise the states $30,000 for use for associates in the second grant period, and this offer would enable the states to employ associates for at least the final three

months of the current grant period. The two sums of $30,000 plus $12,500 so involved reduce the prospective total salary lapse from $52,601 by $42,500 to $10,000.

The balance of $10,000 would be used helpfully in our program of aid to the states in a variety of ways. They need more conference training for their staffs and principal volunteer personnel. The whole $10,000 could well go on that. We would like to be in position to command the services of Irene Osborne for the greater part of a year, beginning October 1, and the salary and travel involved in that would nearly use up the $10,000.

Switch over now to operating money. The original plan which you had in mind and which we had in mind was to assist each of twelve states with extra generosity in the first twelve months of operation in order that, scrambling to their feet, they could face with prospect of success the task of raising in the second grant period a considerably increased sum ($3,500 as against $1,800.). As it turns out, the starting date for various of the states puts them for many months of that first year into the second grant period in which they are due to be but leanly helped on their needs for operating money (specifically $500 per state). Thus the very states which are the weakest and newest in staffed program, will confront, beginning October 1, 1954, a fund-raising effort, thought no more than just manageable for the states which will have been running a full year. That seems to us unwise. Of course it can be said that they knew all along that they would confront such a difficulty, and they chose to be slow rather than fast in getting going, and so let them reap their due reward! Still unwise. Remedy: Pay out to each slow-starting state before the end of this first grant period what would remain unspent of "their" $3,200 of operating money.

The accounts for it would be as follows:

Total allocation on our books for operating money for twelve states for the first grant period.	$38,400
Paid, or prospectively to be paid out on our present "pro rata" basis, operating money	28,643
Balance, prospectively to lapse	$ 9,757

The phrase "pro rata" needs explanation. If a state began with staff not twelve months before September 30, 1955, but six months before September 30, 1955, we have been offering to it and paying out to it one-half of what was allocated on our books for it in the first grant period. And so pro rata month for month of operation with staff.

We could, of course, before the end of the first grant period simply pay the $9,757 out to the states "due" it in their several proportions. The states would be carrying over funds from the first grant period into the second grant period, without disclosure. But we do ask permission to pay it to the late-starting states to enable them to amend the very unfairness referred to a paragraph or two above. Starting late, they have the most need of what was the all-along planned help in getting on their feet.

In final summary: what we ask is agreement to our wish to recoup the late start of some of the states by

using nearly all the salary lapse money to enable the states to employ associates on a reasonable contract (fifteen months certain)

using the remaining $10,000 of salary lapse money beneficially to the states, by way of conferences or special, and needed, services

giving the late-starters for each one's first twelve months the same help toward operating money that was always intended.

Our proposal forecasts no actual reversion of funds from our allocation, at the end of the first grant period, and no reduction in our request for the allocation for the second period. We are well into doing what was intended, and it will take all of the grant to do it. We hope that it will not be found desirable to penalise the whole program because we, and some of the states, chose to proceed soundly.

This is a long and complicated matter, but it incorporates our best judgment on actual program aid in this present period of stress in the area served by the Southern Regional Council, and we request your review of it. I will be happy to come up for conference about it, but I am in hopes that so long a letter will make clear, and acceptable, what is proposed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

June 10, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear David:

I have written Dick Bennett with proposals about getting Irene Osborne available to us for the coming fiscal year. Hope it will prove acceptable.

We continue grateful for your agreement to the things we wanted to do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

June 23, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear David:

Dan Dodson has me coming up for some Workshop of his July 12, 13, and 14. I will hope that that won't coincide with a holiday for you. Will do the usual of calling your office as soon as I get in to see if there will be time for a visit.

Can you give me any rough idea of a date toward which I should work for having in my request for next year's help? It is important in arranging meetings of our Executive Committee, etc.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

for [illegible] Board meeting rec'd 6/21/55

June 23, 1955.

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
1 East 54th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Dave:

A small matter, but I thought I should send you the enclosed article from New Republic and the subsequently published correction.

We have quite a time battling the public confusion between the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Republic, but I wanted you to know that we are trying.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc

Encs.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

June 28, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

Thanks for trying -- keep up the fight!

Sincerely,

Dave

David F. Freeman

July 6, 1955

A I R M A I L

Mr. David F. Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
One East Fifty-Fourth Street
New York 22, New York

Dear David:

I have to get SRC's Executive Committee together before I can put in anything approaching final form a letter of request for next year. And the earliest I could arrange to get them together is August 16th, 17th, and 18th. Indeed, that date has been set and the Committee has been summoned.

Do you think I could get our grant request in to you as late as August 20th and still meet your deadline?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

JUN 29 1955

June 27, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George,

I am sorry I will miss seeing you when you're in New York next month but I will be on vacation until the First of August.

I would suggest that you have your grant request in by August 10.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman
Secretary

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

NEW ADDRESS AFTER JULY 22
60 EAST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 2-1250

August 2, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

AUG 4 1955

Dear George,

On my return to the office yesterday I found awaiting me your excellent quarterly report under date of July 18. I also noted your letter of July 6 and the reply from Frank Loescher.

I wonder if it would be possible for you to send us, on an informal basis, the grant request in the form in which you plan to submit it to your Executive Committee meeting. I want to be sure that the other Officers of this Fund have plenty of time to consider the grant request before the docket goes out for our September Board meeting. If you could let me have something in writing by the 10th, it would be most helpful and we would, of course, replace it with the official version as your Executive Committee meets.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman
Secretary

DF F: tk

August 5, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear David:

We have put together a selection of such news stories as have reached us about the expanded work of the Council here and in the states.

I send on a copy early, hoping that you will have opportunity to make appropriate use of it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

August 8, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

George Mitchell has asked me to send you some of the mimeographed material that has been put out by our affiliated state organizations. I enclose it herewith and have added two other things I thought might be of interest to you: one is a speach by SRC President Marion A. Wright to the National Committee for Rural Schools and the other a short piece called Human Relation Councils in the South which describes our efforts to activate 12 states.

Cordially yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/vc
Encs.8

FILE COPY

August 10, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear David:

Still rough, and the biggest part of the innards not with it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

FILE COPY

August 10, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This is the request from the Southern Regional Council for renewal of aid from the Fund for the Republic for the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1955.

The letter of grant dated April 2, 1954, in referring to periods after the first eighteen months, reads:

> "The Fund will give consideration to requests for a grant in 1955-56 of not to exceed $150,000 and a grant in 1956-57 of not to exceed $110,000. There is no commitment or intention on the part of the Fund to support the program of the Council after September 30, 1957."

Our letter of March 15, 1954, envisioned a total sum available from the Fund for the Republic for the twelve months October 1, 1955 - September 30, 1956 of $22,847,50 for the central office of SRC and $125,433 for aid to the state programs. We would hope that these figures, particularly the $22,847.50, will be rounded upward.

As to financing of the state programs, we are content with the amount just set out. For the typical state, that means aid from the second year's grant of about $10,500 with about $3,500 to be raised by each state organization. The longer organized state groups should be able to raise the needed amount without too great strain. The newer ones, staffed within the last few months, will find it harder, but the Fund for the Republic has materially eased the task for them by the terms of your letter of May 25, 1955, enabling the carry-over to the state programs, under given restrictions, of some of the 1954-55 allocations for state programs unused (by reason of late starts with staff) in the current fiscal period. We feel satisfied that the twelve state organizations we have going will be able to continue as planned in the fiscal year 1955-56.

On the central office, we foresee problems, and ask for some further help, over and above that forecast in the original letter of grant.

The Southern Regional Council originally requested help from the Ford Foundation in May, 1951, after, of course, many months of careful preparation of the proposal. There seemed then to be time enough before any crisis-period would be upon the South to organize in advance twelve state movements, and get them in condition to carry corrective program when the anticipated strain of desegregation, in various forms, would be upon the South. Generous as was the grant from the Fund for the Republic, its actual date was April, 1954, and the crucial decision of the U. S. Supreme Court on the matter of the public schools came in the next month. The grant perforce had to be trimmed to what seemed the smallest possible amount for getting state organizations going. Specifically, in an effort to flow into the states the maximum of funds for their needs, we agreed to a minimal central office, deemed by us, and I suppose by your own staff, but barely enough to let us go out and organize twelve state movements and give them safe administrative supervision from a central office in Atlanta. Proceeding in the terms of the 1951 request, we were hoping that such a minimal supervisory office would be enough.

In actual fact, history has telescoped the need for supervision of a field organization and the need for rapid training of the field staffs in program looking toward desegregation. The two needs have run concurrently, and will do so for the second grant period, and to some degree probably for the third. Yet we in the central office have only sufficient funds for a routine administrative program, and cannot, under present circumstances, pay for the leadership, detailed instruction, and implementing guidance which the state organizations urgently need.

An obvious answer would be "if you need more, go out and raise it." We are committed already to raising by our own efforts, independent of the Fund for the Republic, $55,000 in the second grant period and that is quite as much as we can realistically undertake.

[Here follows justifications for the training program and a calculation of its cost]

[Then follows a grand total of the request.]

We do not burden this letter with an account of our stewardship for the first grant period now coming to an end. We have reported in detail for each quarter, and your staff is familiar, from its own travel, with our successes and our shortcomings. In addition, full audit reports have been filed for each quarter, and another audit, with an eighteen months summary for the first grant period, will be filed shortly after September 30, 1955.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

August 29, 1955

(Dictated 8.19)

EAB:

How far have we gotten with the undertaking in the last quarterly report to David Freeman to send up the Board list.

Dr. Mitchell:

You turned the matter of getting the Board list up to date over to Mr. Routh. I will check with him.

FILE COPY

August 31, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Attached is a proposal that the Fund for the Republic make a two-year grant to the Southern Regional Council enabling the Council to administer a program of awards to Southern communities undertaking public school integration.

This proposal has been considered and approved by members of the Executive Committee and staff -- with the understanding, however, that it be regarded as entirely separate from and secondary to our major request sent to you on August 19th. For that reason, I would be reluctant to submit it at this time, were it not for Frank Loescher's assurance that the submission will not be misconstrued. Frank felt that we should send it up prior to your forthcoming Board meeting so that it may be considered along with any similar ideas that may be discussed.

Mr. Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, North Carolina, the President of the Council, played a major part in the development of this proposal. If the staff and the officers of the Fund felt that it would be beneficial to discuss the idea in person with Mr. Wright, I am sure that he would be glad to come to New York at a mutually convenient time in the near future. This is merely a suggestion, which I leave entirely to your judgment.

In any case, we are aware that any final favorable action on this proposal would probably be preceded by further discussion as to details of the program.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

COMMUNITY AWARDS PROPOSAL

Staff members of the Fund for the Republic have invited the views of the Southern Regional Council on the usefulness and possible mechanics of a program of awards to Southern communities which do an outstanding job of desegregating their public schools. This matter was discussed at some length by the Executive Committee of the Council at its meeting of August 16-18, 1955. The following proposals represent the combined thinking of the Executive Committee and the staff of the Council.

While there would be ample arguments for a program of awards if Southern communities were left to their free choices, the arguments are the more compelling because of pressure in many areas to preserve the present status. This pressure is both official and non-official.

For example, Louisiana sets aside a fund of $100,000 to employ segregation attorneys to defend local suits. Georgia authorizes use of state funds of an unstated amount for the same purpose, and, additionally, assigns two members of the Attorney General's staff to assist in defending such suits. That State has also passed legislation denying state funds to desegregating communities. North Carolina with State funds creates an advisory commission (all white) to assist communities to institute a program of voluntary segregation. Instances might be multiplied, of the full weight and resources of states being employed to dissuade communities from compliance with the decrees.

In addition, there have been spawned in the South a host of private organizations upon whose shoulders the mantle of the Ku Klux Klan has fallen, such as the White Citizens Councils, White America, Inc., Knights of the White Christians, Southern Gentlemen, Society for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity, Maryland Petition Committee, Baltimore Association for States Rights, States Rights League, National

Association for the Advancement of White People, Virginia League, Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties and Federation for Constitutional Government. The states represented in this list are Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Maryland, South Carolina, Delaware, Virginia, and Tennessee.

There is, then, a truly impressive exhibition of official and privately organized resources and individuals whose sole purpose is to coerce or terrify communities into non-compliance with law. They etch the necessity for counteraction.

THE PLAN

One appropriate strategy to counter this combination of public and private power seems to be self-dictated. If there is to be punishment for non-compliance, there should be reward for compliance. Stated otherwise, if there is to be from some quarters obloquy and reproach for those who seek to uphold the law, there should be from other quarters honor and approbation. If a community is to be subjected to pressure to be craven, there should be upon it an off-setting pressure to be bold. And, since a community may be bold without being wise, the reward should go to communities which exhibit both boldness and wisdom in their approach to integration.

As important as may be words of judicious praise, the reward should not consist of compliments alone. It should be tangible. It should be monetary and in an amount sufficient to be appreciated and striven for.

The plan, in brief, is that to each of ten units of school administration -- district, city or county, as may be determined -- there should go an award of $10,000 for its boldness and wisdom in accomplishing integration

in the public schools "with all deliberate speed." Co-incidentally, there should be awarded to individuals -- trustees, superintendents or others responsible -- appropriately engraved gold medals. The total program should extend over a two-year period.

The plan recognizes that the community is an entity and that the action is group action. It also makes acknowledgement that behind, and responsible for, the action is an individual or group of individuals.

OBJECTIVES

There would be three major objectives:

1. To accord deserved recognition to communities and individuals who have moved with courage and statesmanship.
2. To encourage hesitant or wavering communities or individuals so to move.
3. By publicizing the policies pursued in successful integration, to educate others as to proper techniques.

The award method possesses certain distinct virtues.

It is positive rather than negative. However deserved adverse criticism for failure to act may be, commendation for those who do act is believed to be more effective as an incentive to move. The carrot should be tried before the stick.

The method lends itself to widespread and favorable publicity. Awards recently made by the Fund for the Republic for liberal action in fields at least tangential to public school integration were widely covered by press, radio and television.

In several Southern states, by operation of newly enacted legislation, counties and districts now have autonomy in assignment of pupils. They <u>can</u> integrate if they want to. Many such counties and districts are

pondering their courses. Where the scales are nearly balanced, the distinction and monetary award which came to another Southern community may prove decisive.

Nobel and Pulitzer wisely appealed to men's competitive instinct and their natural thirst for well grounded approbation. Such would be the reason underlying the plan herein proposed.

Upon the individual, as distinguished from the community level, there may be division within a board of trustees, or a superintendent may have his moments of doubt. The public recognition and acclaim which have come to other trustees or superintendents may be of crucial importance.

MECHANICS

To effectuate the plan, it is proposed:

1. That the Southern Regional Council should set up a board of seven Southern educators of both races whose respective institutions would be ineligible for any award. The board would determine the recipients. The board would elect from its members a chairman and a secretary. The Southern Regional Council would fill vacancies if any.
2. The board would have complete authority as to its choices, community and individual, for awards, but should select only one community (and the individual or individuals concerned) at a time, and at intervals of not less than one month. It should take into account the resolution and tact displayed, the steps pursued, including their adaptability to other communities, and the results achieved, if results have become evident.
3. The board may make such investigation as it desires and use such

evidence, information and reports as it deems credible in arriving at its decision. Records of the Southern Regional Council shall at all times be available to the board, and it is anticipated that the staff of the Council and its affiliated state organizations may be called on for first-hand investigation of likely communities.

4. The board shall make no disclosure of its awards except to the Southern Regional Council in order that the Council may make them public at such times and under such circumstances as to secure maximum favorable publicity.

5. An award shall be delivered only upon receipt by the Council from the responsible school official of a full report of the integration experience of the community involved; this report should be a critical self-evaluation of the process to date, designed for maximum usefulness to other communities. The Council shall have the right to distribute and publicize such report as it may see fit.

6. Awards to communities shall be ten in number in amount of $10,000 each. Individual awards in a number to be determined by the board shall be suitably inscribed gold medals of the value of $50.00 each.

7. The use to which the monetary award is put shall be left to the discretion of the recipient board of education. The only condition would be that the sum not be merely merged with general funds, but be spent for some specific purpose which will impartially benefit school children of both races. It is felt that the award will confer greater prestige and recognition if its use, within the limits described, is left to the decision of the local school board.

8. The contemplated duration of the program is two years. During the impending school year, 1955-56, the number of Southern communities

actually undertaking school integration will be relatively small and will be concentrated in areas with proportionately few Negroes. Several well chosen awards in this year, however, should help to augment the substantially larger number of communities which may be expected to begin integration in 1956-57. A much wider selection of communities would thus be possible in the second year of the program.

9. The board of awards shall receive travel and maintenance allowance for purposes of conference and a per diem for each day spent in conference.

10. It is estimated that $10,000 will cover the cost of board meetings, necessary travel for investigatory and publicity purposes, clerical expenses, and cost of individual awards. Hence, the amount of the grant should be $110,000.

HCF/eab
8/31/55

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

SEP 8 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: R. M. Hutchins, W. H. Ferry,

DATE: September 6, 1955

FROM: D. F. Freeman
F. S. Loescher

SUBJECT: Father Foley's Workshop in Mobile

I talked to George Mitchell about this September 2.

Mitchell thinks Father Foley's human relation workshop is worthy of Fund support.

I mentioned to Mitchell David Freeman's suggestion that the Fund might assist the workshop through a grant to the Catholic Committee of the South headed by Father Sheehan of Rock Hill, South Carolina. I said Father Sheehan had talked to me in the spring of 1954 and I had encouraged him to make a proposal, but that I had heard no more from him. Mitchell says Father Sheehan has been giving all of his time to resettling Italian farm families. Mitchell said he would get in touch with Father Sheehan.

Attached is a copy of a letter to Father Foley.

FSL: ask
cc: George Mitchell

September 19, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York, New York

Dear David:

I am to be in New York for Clifford Earle of the Northern Presbyterians for September 27th, 28th, and 29th.

At about opening of business on the 28th, I will call your office and hope to find you available.

If you know now that that won't work, you might write me and I will try to adapt my schedule so as to put me at your service any time that would suit you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
(Dictated September 9th)

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

SEP 26 1955

September 22, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter of September 9. I will be very glad to see you at any time when you are in New York.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman

September 26, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

The Fund's Annual Report reminds me that we were the recipients in January, 1954, of a most helpful grant of $5,000 for the preparation and distribution of a summary of the book, The Negro and the Schools. I am further reminded that we have thus far not sent in to you any final summary report on that project.

The publication issued in July, 1954 as Answers for Action: Schools in the South, a thirty-two page pamphlet, with a map in colors. The contents did in fact report the main findings of the Ashmore book, and in addition gave a program of local community action toward implementation of the decision of the United States Supreme Court. The first printing was 20,000 copies. for which the printer billed us $2,919.40. The balance of the grant of $5,000 we regard as absorbed into editorial and distribution costs, plus the cost of our second printing.

The publication was so successful that by October, 1954, we had sold out all but a few hundred copies, and in the next month we reprinted 11,000 copies, (with a sharp improvement in the map and minor textual revisions). Thus the total printing cost of the two issues (making up 31,000 copies in all), was $4,735.44.

At this writing we are down to fewer than a thousand copies of the pamphlet, and it is still in some demand. We have no doubt that virtually all remaining copies will be sold.

As to distribution, the pamphlet went out to all subscribers to New South (about 4,000), to many hundreds of individual purchasers, and to a long list of organizations which bought it in quantity for distribution to their members. A sampling of these organizations is given in our quarterly report to the Fund for the Republic, for the quarter ending September 30, 1954. The list is impressive in the form there given, and it could be extended to include a large number of later group orders.

In summary, the grant neatly covered the editorial and printing costs of the publication, and got into an especially penetrating kind of circulation a notably temperate and factual statement of a workable course of action for Southern communities. And the ultimate popularity of the pamphlet enabled the Southern Regional Council to realize from sales income which probably exceeded $3,000.

So we are grateful all around; the South for some helpful guidance, the Council for the aid without which the guidance could not have been put out; and our budget for help in a time of much need.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. List of purchasers of AFA as shown in SRC quarterly report 9/30/55.

cc: RA

Copy also in "Promotion - Answers for Action" file folder

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

September 28, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue NE., Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

OCT 1 1955

Dear George:

Attached is a copy of Mr. Witherspoon's letter to me and my reply. You might find him useful some day -- and then again you might not.

Sincerely yours,

David

David F. Freeman
Secretary

See Dave's ltr to Alice Spearman 10/5/55

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
—
MURRAY HILL 2-1250

September 28, 1955

Mr. James H. Witherspoon
121 Croft Street
Greenville, S.C.

Dear Mr. Witherspoon:

Thank you for your letter of September 13th in which you express an interest in becoming associated with the Fund.

I regret to have to tell you that at the present time there are no openings with the Fund, and it appears unlikely that there will be. However, should this situation change, I shall be glad to let you know.

We appreciate very much your interest in our program.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman
Secretary

cc: Mr. Harry S. Ashmore,
Executive Editor
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Ark.

Mr. Chester Bowles
Essex, Conn.

COPY

121 Croft Street
Greenvilee, S.C.

September 13, 1955

The Fund for the Republic, Inc.,
60 East 42nd Street,
New York, 17, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

Having read a copy of your report of May 31, 1955, I have become interested in your organization. I believe that I am peculiarly fitted to work in such an organization and should like to have you consider my application for any place or work that you may have available.

I am 48 years old and belongto no organization whatsoever and have belonged to none since leaving Presbyterian College with an A.B. degree in 1928 and N.C. State with a B.S. degree in textile manufacturing in 1930. I spent almost twenty years in the textile industry. However, the things which I believe are incompatible with the principles by which the industry operates and there is no place for me in this industry. I have worked spasmodically in a broad field of sales and industry.

For the past two years I have devoted my entire time to the study of law and now find that there is no opportunity to stand the examination required for admission to the Bar. However, during this time I have fought and won some private actions alone and against the odds which a private citizen meets in court without legal counsel.

I feel that I know as much about the United States, and the South in particular, farming and farm problems, the Negro and his problems, poor white and their problems, the laboring man and his problems, practical politics and the problem of the unsuccessful intelligent man, as anyone. I have made extensive reports for Textile Industry Research, a New York firm, and feel that I could be of service to your organization in some capacity. My personal honesty and physical courage is unquestionable and I could be loyal to a man or organization who operated under some fixed priciple and should like to have such an opportunity.

Thanking you for any consideration shown me, I am

Yours very truly,

/s/ James H. Witherspoon
James H. Witherspoon

CC: Mr. Harry S. Ashmore, Ex. Editor
Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock, Arkansas
Mr. Chester Bowles,
Essex, Conn.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

September 30, 1955

Rec'd

OCT 3 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

This is to acknowledge with thanks your letter of September 26 giving us a final summary report of the preparation and distribution of the summary of The Negro and the Schools.

Sincerely yours,

David

David F. Freeman

DFF:tk

October 4, 1955

Mr. David F. Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

This is to summarize the views on the film script "A City Decides" which we discussed by telephone today. Irena Osborne also read the script, and I am including her specific points in addition to my more general evaluation with which she is in substantial agreement.

The overall approach of the script seems to us questionable in that it is largely violence centered. In communities that are now, or soon will be, considering school desegregation, the great need is for reassurance: this can be done; violence is not the natural response of school children; there are techniques for furthering good schoolroom adjustment once integration is begun; teachers can be integrated with good results; and so on. While some parts of the script obviously are intended to establish several of these points, the dominant mood and emphasis of the story don't serve the purpose. For example:

(1) The film begins with an extremely violent episode. True, it is intended to show that St. Louis has a background of interracial conflict and thus to point up the significance of successful school desegregation there. Psychologically, however, the mob scenes pitch the story on a jarring and anxiety-producing note that is never quite dispelled by what follows. For uncertain community leaders, this is pretty clearly not the right note.

(2) The last part of the film achieves its climax through the build-up of impending violence, which is narrowly averted by accident in the next-to-last scene. Note that the knofe-toting white boy is the villain of the piece, thus suggesting that calculated violence on the part of pupils is a natural response to school desegregation. Nor is the violence averted by any of the elaborate pre-arrangements of the school authorities and the police, but simply by a lucky coincidence. In the last scene, as the pupils pledge allegiance to the flag, the boy still has his knife in his pocket and, as far as we know, murder in his heart. In short, this whole episode provides tension

and excitement but no persuasive evidence that integration can be constructively achieved by sound planning.

(3) On page 12, a point is made of the fact that the schools for the handicapped and crippled are logical schools to integrate first because "these children and their parents wouldn't riot in the streets." Again, emphasis on latent violence.

(4) The play given the police preparations for opening day keeps the audience focused on the threat of violence. The fact that the authorities made careful preparations to put down any disorder belongs in the film, but it shouldn't be a major theme. The important thing, after all, is that no trouble occurred.

To attempt to be constructive for a moment, I think a comparable amount of suspense and human interest can be realized with a more positive theme. For example, the story might center on one or two school children--perhaps one white, one Negro--and the resolution of their inner conflicts over integration. Everybody agrees that grown-ups are the main problem, not the children. It would make sense, then, for the difficulty to originate with the parents or with the other adults intent on stirring up trouble. Then, the resolution could come with the youngsters discovering each other as likable humab beings in the school situation. This would provide an opportunity to show how sound policies and practices, from the school board down to the individual teacher, can contribute to sound adjustment. For example, a Negro teacher in the integrated set-up could be an effective and instructive character in the action. In short, perhaps a better film would start approximately where this one leaves off.

Several smaller points:

(1) Irene Osborne questions the accuracy of the statement on page 6-7 that St. Louis had "the largest segregated school system."

(2) On page 8, the superintendent hears the voice of his evil genius saying, "Protect yourself, man. Call in some outside experts." And later the statement is proudly made that no outside experts were called in. This may have been wise in St. Louis, but we question the evident assumption that outside experts are a Bad Thing period. Many communities have profited by the advice and consultation of knowledgeable outsiders, and xenophobia is already rampart enough in the South without further promoting it.

(3) The question of teacher integration, which seems less feasible than pupil integration to many school officials, is dismissed with the summary statement of Hickey on page 14.

Irene Osborne feels strongly that this deserves more effective treatment, particularly since St. Louis had such good results.

(4) On page 16, Stolar's statement ("For a Jew to be against desegregation is ridiculous!") seems very dubious to us. Sort of a stereotype in reverse, which might be justifiably resented by some.

(5) On page 19 ff, the questions raised by the parents and the answers given are, on the whole, realistic and helpful. However, Irene Osborne feels that more attention might be given to the needs of Negro children rather than merely whether or not whites will adjust all right. She also feels that the answer might stress the goal of good education more.

Since the purpose of this letter is critical, it may seem more negative than it is intended to be. As I said on the phone, a film based on the St. Louis story could be a valuable aid in the South. In fact, we are now distributing several printed versions of the story. We simply feel that the emphasis of such a film should be on the success of the experience and how it was achieved in terms of human relations.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/ys

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-1250

September 29, 1955

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed is a script for a documentary film on integration in St. Louis. We would be most appreciative if you would read it over and give us your reactions. We are particularly anxious to find out from you if this film would serve a useful purpose in the South. We would, of course, like to have any suggestions on the substance of the script which you may want to give us.

Because the people in St. Louis are anxious to go into production on the film, I will appreciate getting your reactions either by phone or by mail at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

David Freeman

David F. Freeman
Secretary

DFF:tk

October 3, 1955

Dear Dave:

This is to summarize ~~in writing~~ the views on the film script "A City Decides" which ~~I expressed in our~~ we discussed by telephone ~~conversation~~ today. Irene Osborne also read the script, and I am including her specific points in addition to my more general evaluation, with which she is in substantial agreement.

The overall approach of the script seems to us questionable, in that it is largely violence-~~oriented~~ centered. In communities that are now, or soon will be, considering school desegregation, the great need is for reassurance: this can be done; violence is not the natural response of school children; there are techniques for furthering good schoolroom adjustment once integration is begun; teachers can be integrated with ~~out~~ ~~uncontrollable~~ good results; and so on. While some parts of the script obviously are intended to establish several of these points, the dominant mood and emphasis of the story ~~do not accomplish this result~~ don't serve the purpose. For example:

(1) The film begins with an extremely violent episode. True, it is intended to show that St. Louis has a background of interracial conflict and thus to point up the significance of successful school desegregation there. Psychologically, however, the mob scenes pitch the story on a jarring and anxiety-producing note that is never quite dispelled by what follows. For uncertain community leaders, this is pretty clearly not the right note.

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To attempt to be constructive for a moment, I think a comparable amount of suspense and human interest can be realized with a more positive theme. For example, the story might center on one or two school children -- perhaps one white, one Negro -- and the resolution of their inner conflicts over integration. Everybody agrees that grown-ups are the main problem, not the children. It would make sense, then, for the difficulty to originate with the parents or with other adults intent on stirring up trouble. Then, the resolution could come with the youngsters discovering each other as likable human beings in the school situation. This would provide an opportunity to show how sound policies and practices, from the school board down to the individual teacher, can contribute to sound adjustment. For example, a Negro teacher in the integrated set-up could be an effective and instructive character in the action. In short, perhaps a better film would start approximately where this one leaves off.

Several smaller points:

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experts were called in. This may have been wise in St. Louis, but we question the evident assumption that outside experts are a Bad Thing period. Many communities have profited by the advice and consultation of knowledgeable outsiders, and xenophobia is already rampant enough in the South without further promoting it.

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Sincerely,
HCF

October 7, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

Enclosed is a draft of a news release announcing the Fund's recent grant to the Southern Regional Council. Please let us know if it is satisfactory or if there are changes you feel we should make.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/ys
Enclosure

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-1250

October 10, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks very much for the draft news release sent with your letter of October 7. We have no suggestions for changes in the release. We would like to receive 50 copies of it for distribution to our Board and consultants if you can spare that many.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman
Secretary

DFF:tk

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

LAMAR SCHOOL OF LAW

October 25, 1955

OCT 26 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Dean Hepburn has passed along to me your request for my curriculum vitae. I have drawn one up and am sending it as an enclosure to this. I hope that it serves your purpose.

The letter to Mr. Freeman will be sent either today or tomorrow. I'll send along a carbon copy for your files.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

ARTHUR S. MILLER
Associate Professor

Encl.

I shall, of course, be happy to furnish any add itional data required.

EMORY UNIVERSITY

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

MEMO TO _____ SUBJECT _____

FROM _____ DATE 26 Oct 55

Dr Mitchell:

This will enable you to complete your file on this matter.

Best regards.

ASMiller

OCT 27 1955

DON'T SAY IT - WRITE IT

October 26, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
Secretary Treasurer
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This is written as a result of a recent meeting between Dr. George S. Mitchell of the Southern Regional Council and Dean William M. Hepburn of this law school, in which the possibility of a study being made on the legal ramifications of desegregation in church schools was discussed. After the discussion Dean Hepburn asked whether I would be willing to undertake it. I replied affirmatively, and am writing this letter to propose to the Fund for the Republic that I be given a grant which would enable me to make the study.

In general terms, the study would encompass a survey of all pertinent state law dealing with the question of what would happen should schools operated by churches open their classrooms to all without regard to race or color. The Supreme Court's decisions on segregation dealt only with public schools. So far as private schools are concerned, at least two general problem areas appear to exist: first, some states have statutes which purport to take away tax immunities presently enjoyed by those schools should they operate on a desegregated basis; and second, some states would cease accrediting graduates of desegregated private schools. Complete research may, of course, turn up additional important legal questions. Furthermore, important but novel constitutional questions may be involved in that the First Amendment's protection of religious freedom may be placed in issue should any state attempt to enforce one of the statutes. This would be difficult to establish, however, and would call for a creative judicial effort. Conclusions of the study will, of course, have to await its completion.

The results would be incorporated into a paper which would be published in a law review of national reputation. Dr. Mitchell has indicated that he would want to arrange for a wide reprinting of all or part of the paper. This would, of course, be acceptable.

I should think that a study of the above nature could be completed in from six to eight months. I shall be able to devote a large amount of my time to the project; Dean Hepburn has indicated that he is willing to make adjustments in my other duties in order to give me enough time. I should think that I would average between fifteen and twenty hours per week; this would be taken up in research, consultations with interested parties, some travel, letter writing and other incidentals, and, of course, the actual writing of the paper itself and its preparation for publication. I also contemplate the need for some research assistance as well as stenographic help, both of which would be on a part-time basis. I am unable at this time to give a precise breakdown of either the time or the expenses which would be involved; but I should think that a grant of fellowship funds of approximately $3500 to $4000 should be sufficient. To be of value the proposed study must be exhaustive in nature, with no relevant avenues of research left unexplored; the time and the care indicated seem to be necessary for that type of job.

Your reaction to this will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

ARTHUR S. MILLER
Associate Professor of Law

October 28, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

One day last week the Attorney General of Georgia, Eugene Cook, made a speech to the Georgia Peace Officers Association. For pages and pages he scandalized the NAACP. Towards the end, he got around to the Southern Conference Education Fund (sic), and us and the Georgia Interracial Committee, and paid his respects as enclosed. We answered as enclosed, and the Georgia Committee's answer is also herewith.

Pending advice by our Executive Committee, which meets this afternoon and tomorrow, the staff has been proposing to play the matter by informing a goodish number of people influential in opinion in the state as to the untruth of the charges. A statement drafted to accomplish that purpose is also enclosed, but because this later statement is subject to revision by our Executive Committee, the present draft is as yet unofficial.

The man, Roy Harris, continues to load his weekly paper with accusations against us, and material calculated to injure the sales of Ford products.

Otherwise, all quiet on this front!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

October 31, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

Here is a more extended manuscript we are circulating to people influential in opinion making in the state of Georgia.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

November 1, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

NOV 2 1955

Dear George:

Thanks for your letter to Dave Freeman of October 28 with copies of the Attorney General's attack, the replies and proposed statement. The SRC and the Fund seem to be in the same boat.

I like your replies, especially the light touch. Thanks for keeping us informed.

We will be thinking of you.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank S. Loescher

Mr. David Freeman,
Fund for the Republic,
60, East Forty-Second Street,
New York 17,
NEW YORK.

November 23, 1955.

Dear Dave,

Our Counsel has prepared this memorandum on the current matters of law.

We have written out to the 21 persons whom we consider to have been libelled by the Journal-American story, and by Fulton Lewis, and their replies are now coming back. At a guess, half or better will be in favour of suing.

Our questions concern methods of suing; though there are still some of our official group who are reluctant to enter the long course of libel litigation. I'm not!

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director).

GSM:rl.
2 encs.

Fund for the Republic -
David Freeman - 1955

Mr. David Freeman,
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.,
60 East Forty-Second Street,
New York 17,
NEW YORK.

December 15th, 1955.

Dear Dave,

Morris Abram is to be in New York December 29th, looking out for suitable lawyers. He'll call you early, and I hope you can advise with him.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.

A CITY DECIDES

A Documentary Film About the Integration

of the Public Schools of St. Louis

Draft of SHOOTING SCRIPT
December 20, 1955

FOR: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

FROM: Fleishman-Hillard, Inc.
211 North Fourth Street
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Charles Guggenheim & Associates
5522 Delmar Boulevard
St. Louis 12, Mo.

FLEISHMAN HILLARD INC PUBLIC RELATIONS

Shooting Script:
A CITY DECIDES
Running time: 29 min. 30 sec.
Spex: 35mm Black and White

- -

A bus going down a city street.

SOUND:

Inside the bus we see negro and white high school students crowded together. A few adults are there, and in the foreground reading a newspaper is the teacher.

Boisterous kids in bus. Much laughter and talking. A kind of deafening sound which adults can't abide and kids love.

TITLES: (to be supered)

1. A City Decides ~~Together -- in Saint Louis.~~

2. written by
   Mayo Simon

3. director of photography
   Victor Duncan

4. production supervisor
   Martin Quigley

5. produced by
   Fleishman-Hillard, Inc.

6. directed by
   Charles Guggenheim

7. A CGA Production

The bus pulls to a stop. Negro and white students pile off. They come toward us, then turn up the steps of the school, where they join other students. We pan with them and watch them going into the building. Some students remain on the steps to talk.

SOUND:

More normal outside sidewalk and street noise. Kids talking and laughing in the background.

8. Saint Louis, Missouri
   March, 1955

The teacher comes to the steps. He looks up at the students going into the school and those who are talking together.

TEACHER:

So now we're integrated ...

We see candid shots of the kids, white and negro together.

... white and negro students going to the same school ...

The teacher turns and leans on the stone baluster at the foot of the steps.

... And the big question is: Can they get along together?

Shots of negro and white kids, talking and laughing, some going in the entrance to the school. One boy is even studying.

Some people are worried about these kids. I'm not. Leave them alone and they're all right.

But I have seen kids like these in trouble -- real trouble.

We slowly pan across faces of kids, talking, laughing, serious and sweet.

Can you picture boys -- and girls -- 15, 16, 17 years old after each other with bricks and baseball bats?

C.U. teacher turning his head back from watching the kids.

When something like that happens, there are reasons. Thank God, we found the reasons, and did something about it.

Teacher turns his head to indicate north Saint Louis.

It happened quite a few years ago ... over at Fairgrounds Park ... in north Saint Louis.

Dissolve to Fairgrounds Park. People walking into the park in shirtsleeves and undershirts; white people.

It was summertime in Saint Louis; June.

Kids riding by on their bicycles. They are wearing bathing suits and no shirts. They are all white.

One warm June day, a decision was made at city hall. It came as a dramatic surprise to community leaders, police, city officials, and the people. They knew what they read in the newspapers ...

We see a sign reading: PARK POOL with an arrow pointing. We pan off the sign to see a crowd of men walk by. They look sullen and angry.

One man throws a newspaper on the ground. The wind takes it and it scatters.

The paper lands against the wheel of a kid's bicycle.

A young white boy, in his bathing suit, tears the paper off the bicycle and is about to throw it away when his eye catches the headline.

We see the headline. It reads: "Pools open to negroes."

We see the reaction on the boy's face; then a moment later a second boy comes into the frame and reads and we see his reaction -- not angry but questioning.

SOUND:

The far off mutter of angry people in a crowd.

The boys hear the sound; they lift up their heads; their eyes light up.

A crowd is gathering at the entrance to the Fairgrounds Park pool. They are all white people.

The crowd noise suddenly becomes quite intense as we arrive on the scene.

A priest is trying to talk to some of the men, but he is pushed aside.

The boys ride up to the edge of the crowd on their bicycles. They jump off and start into the crowd.

From inside the crowd we pick up the boys and dolly with them as they push their way past people and move toward the center of action.

SOUND:

The noise gets more intense. We can pick out phrases and people shout and curse.

We see a close up of one of the boys as he squeezes to the front of the tight semi-circle. He looks slightly upwards. He is very intense.

We cut to three negro faces. They look trapped.

The crowd is established. It is a tight semi-circle around the entrance to the pool. There are a group of scared, tough negro boys in swimming suits, waiting for the pool to open.

We cut to the face of a middle-aged woman with a baseball bat in her arms. She is shouting.	WOMAN: (lip sync) Go back where you came from!
We see a close-up of a negro boy.	SOUND: (a man yelling) Go back where you came from!
We cut to a man yelling.	MAN: (lip sync) You got your own pools. Use them! Don't dirty up ours!
We cut to a close-up of the white boy over the man's line. The boy is looking up.	
We cut to a close-up of another man with a little child on his shoulder. He is yelling.	MAN: (lip sync) They'll be taking over city hall next! Go back where you came from!
C.U. white boy over man's last line.	
C.U. negro boy.	SOUND: (crowd yells) Go back where you came from!
White boy yells.	WHITE BOY: (lip sync) Go back where you came from!
Negro boy yells.	NEGRO BOY: (lip sync) Go to hell!
We cut back and forth to white and negro faces, all tense, all waiting.	SOUND: Sudden silence.
The doors of the pool have opened. An attendant stands at the entrance. No body moves.	
A young man steps forward from the semi-circle. He walks toward the swimming pool door, immediately in front of the negroes.	

We cut to a close-up of the negro faces as the white man passes in front of the negroes.

We cut to a close-up of the negro faces as the white man passes in front of them.

C.U. white shoulder brushing into negro arm.

C.U. fist in stomach.

C.U. white man, grimacing in pain. He holds his stomach and slumps down.

The crowd surges forward.

SOUND:

The crowd yelling and cursing.

The white boy is pushed to the ground. Feet and legs are everywhere. A negro steps on his hand in the confusion. The boy struggles to get up.

He regains his feet and breaks out into the open. There are nen, women and children spectators, watching the event. Also a group of high school kids.

SOUND: (man yelling)

There goes one!

C.U. of the boy as he turns abruptly.

With the boy in the foreground, we see a young negro crossing the park some one hundred yards from the trouble. A gang of white boys and men run off in his direction.

We see the gang approaching with the negro in the foreground. He walks slowly, unaware of the impending violence.

Medium close up of the negro. He is looking at the gang. He turns to see what they are running after.

The gang hits him at full run.

We see the occurence from the white boy's point of view. He is standing in the foreground. In the background we see the negro being lifted from his feet and thrown to the ground.

The white boy turns and walks into a close up, his face filled with excitement, his eyes glittering.

We see the negro boy lying on the ground. The priest from the earlier scene bends down over him. A second man comes and also bends down.

We see a close up of the boy's bruised face.

SOUND:

Police car sirens far off and slowly approaching.

From the boy's perspective we look up at the two faces looking down. Then a third face comes into the picture. It is our teacher. He also looks down and shakes his head.

The men help the boy to his feet. They try to help him walk, but he angrily pushes them away, then walks off by himself, head down, hands in his pockets.

The three men watch him go, then they disperse. The teacher continues to watch.

The boy is a small lonely figure walking away through the park.

C.U. teacher looking.

A second face comes into the frame. It is the white boy. He too is watching, but on his face is a broad grin. The teacher becomes aware of his presence. He turns and looks, horrified.

SOUND:

The sirens growing louder and louder

The sirens go out, abruptly.

The scene fades to black.

We fade up on a bus going down a street. It stops at a corner and several white high school kids get on.

Inside the bus we see the teacher, sitting by a window, looking at the kids getting on the bus.

From the teacher's perspective we see the white boy of the earlier scene coming down the aisle, looking for a seat.

We see a group of negro students in one section of the bus. There is one empty seat by the aisle.

C.U. white boy hesitating

C.U. negro boy.

The white boy turns and stands by a group of white kids sitting toward the front of the bus.

The bus turns a corner and comes down the street, toward Kiel Auditorium where a crowd of people are standing.

C.U. teacher looking out of the window.

Negroes and whites going into Kiel Auditorium doors.

Cut to whites and negroes going in and out of Union Station.

Cut to whites and negroes going up and down steps of public library.

Cut to whites and negroes at the zoo in Forest Park.

TEACHER:

No one was killed that day in Fairgrounds Park. A lot of people tried to forget it ever happened.

But in the weeks and months that followed, there were those who took a serious look at themselves, and their fellow citizens.

What was it that made us hate?

That which we did not know, we did not understand.

That which we did not understand, we feared.

Fear ... the beginning of hate.

And yet there was no reason to hate. Saint Louis was such a quiet city, proud of it's peaceful relations between whites and negroes.

They both used the municipal auditorium ....

And the railroad station ...

And the library ...

And the parks ...

We cut back to the inside of the bus. We see it crowded with whites and negroes, mostly high school kids, with a few adults like the teacher. The bus is not segregated but the whites and negroes are bunched together in groups.

And public transportation ...

We take a closer view and see a group of white kids all together talking with the boy standing up; then we look across the aisle and see a group of negro kids talking. We can see the empty seat.

But what did we really share in common?

We see the white boy talking to his friends, behind him is the negro boy talking to his friends.

These children did not know each other.

We cut to close-ups, first of the white boy talking off in one direction, then the negro boy, talking off in another direction.

They played ball in different fields; went to different movie houses; ate in different restaurants; learned their lessons in different classrooms.

They could get up in the morning and ride the same bus to school, but they would never know each other.

We see in one picture the white boy talking to his friends and behind him the negro boy.

They were strangers.

The bus pulls up in front of a high school building.

They had only one natural meeting place.

Inside the bus we see the negro kids getting up and leaving, passing in front of the white kids.

From the window of the bus, looking over the shoulder of the white boy, we see the negro kids going into the school building.

And that meeting place -- the public school -- was denied them by a law that divided school children ...

The boy turns his head. We pan and see that now there are only white kids left in the bus, with a few other white passengers.

... by their color ...

Over the shoulder of the negro boy we see the bus going off; then he turns and looks up at his school.

What goes through a child's mind when he learns he is 'equal' but 'separate', separate from the normal, the accepted and the best?

We see negro kids going into the high school building.	What does he think when he goes into his segregated school established by our democratic society to educate him for democracy?
Dissolve to negro high school teacher talking at the blackboard, on which he is finishing writing the phrase from the Declaration of Independence. "We hold these truths to be self-evident..."	And for the teacher of the segregated class, there were other problems.
We see negro students coming in the door of the class and taking their places in a class room completely filled with students.	Some classes were overcrowded ...
We cut to a medium close up of a negro kid squeezing into his desk in between two other students.	Too many kids to teach ...
Dissolve to a white high school class with few students and many empty desks.	A few blocks away there were classes that didn't have enough students.
We cut to our teacher at the board talking. He is pointing to the phrase he has just written on the board: "All men are created equal."	We could talk a lot about good citizenship.
We cut to the class listening.	We could study the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.
We dissolve to the negro teacher pointing to the writing on the board.	We could talk to our segregated classes about equality and the rights of man.
Negro class listening.	But what could we say that would bring children together, help them to understand each other, break down the barriers that led to violence?
Dissolve to our teacher talking.	What could we say to segregated children that would correct the injustice we did when we cut them off from one another?
C.U. faces of white kids in class, ending with the face of the white boy from the riot.	
The scene fades to black.	

We fade up on the entrance to the high school we saw at the opening of the film. White and negro kids are going through the doors.

SOUND:

High school kids talking and laughing.

We pan right to pick up the teacher, leaning against the baluster, looking at the kids.

TEACHER:

So now we're integrated ... How are we doing? The record so far: Eleven Saint Louis high schools -- no problems. The twelfth -- our school -- one 'incident.'

He indicates the newspaper in his hand.

At least that's what the newspapers are calling it.

We see the small head: "Racial incident at Saint Louis high school."

Teacher turns and nods up the street.

There's the boy who got hurt.

We see a white student walking alone through groups of students. He has been in a fight and shows the marks on his face.

From the teacher's point of view, and over his shoulder, we see the boy start to climb the steps to the entrance. The teacher walks to his side and goes up with him.

At the top of the steps, the teacher and the boy walk into the frame. The boy opens the door. The teacher turns to him.

TEACHER: (lip sync)

How are you feeling, Vincent?

BOY: (lip sync)

OK.

Boy walks through the door. The teacher hesitates for a second.

Inside, the boy walks slowly down the hall. We dolly with him. We see in the background the teacher coming through the door. He looks at the boy, then walks quickly until he catches up with him. There are other kids walking in the hall.	SOUND: Echoey corridor noises. Kids are much quieter inside.
We cut to a medium close-up of the teacher catching up with the boy. They stop.	TEACHER: (lip sync)
The teacher talks. The boy hardly looks at him. Then the boy walks out of the frame leaving the teacher, who takes one step into a close-up and then stops, deciding not to follow him.	Vincent, would you like to ... talk about it at all? (no lip sync) I don't blame him for being mad. No one likes being jumped by a gang.
We see the boy disappearing down the hall.	One angry kid can cause a lot of trouble.
We see the teacher walking along the corridor and stopping at the door to the school office.	I hope we're ready for it.
From inside, we see the teacher open the door and come in. He stands in the doorway, looking.	At least we didn't walk into this thing with our eyes closed.
A white woman teacher is looking at a sign on the bulletin board. A negro woman teacher joins her. They talk.	Our teachers can set a good example.
C.U. sign: "All School Assembly -- 9:30 Wednesday."	And when something happens, we're ready for it. The superintendent' coming down to talk about our incident. And the basketball coach. And the student council president.
MCU white and negro teacher talking.	But most important, we knew integration was coming, and we planned for it. These teachers didn't meet last month. They knew each other long before the Supreme Court outlawed segregated schools.

Dissolve to same two teachers sitting at a table talking. We dolly back to see eight or ten teachers around a round table. Books are stacked on the table.	For years our textbook committees had met together, and worked together.
Cut to negro teacher talking with book in her hand. White teacher listens.	Teachers, who had been trained in similar teacher's colleges; who taught similar courses.
Cut to white teacher talking. Negro teacher listens.	When they came together to talk about common school problems, they met as equals.
We see the whole group around the table.	White and negro teachers in Saint Louis met around common tables in human relations workshops, in committees of their teacher's associations; and in other professional organizations.
	All these years before the Supreme Court decision.
Dissolve to C.U. of the United States Constitution, framed on a wall. Then we pan to a table around which sits a group of negro and white high school students. In the background there are four or five other tables of students. Also in the background are teachers, and adults. Some kids are still arriving and taking their places.	And while the Supreme Court studied the Constitution to see if segregation was legal, high school students in Saint Louis were meeting to find out if integration could work.
We see two kids coming through the aisles between the tables and we follow them to their table where they sit and complete the circle. They sit at the table near the framed picture of the Constitution.	Sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Intergroup Youth had delegates from all public and private high schools in Saint Louis. They met in church basements on Saturday mornings -- away from the segregated schools. And they talked about the real issues.
We cut to a white boy at the table.	BOY 1: (lip sync)
	All I know is we've got some kids in our school who don't like colored people.
Cut to negro boy.	BOY 2: (lip sync)
	Heck, we got lots in our schools who don't like white people.

Cut to white girl.	GIRL 1: (lip sync) I know kids who don't like anybody.
We cut to a medium close up of three or four of the kids laughing.	SOUND: Kids laugh.
The first white boy.	BOY 1: (lip sync) Well, I don't mean to say anything about anybody, but we hear stories about what happens in negro neighborhoods -- delinquency -- and things like that.
The third white boy.	BOY 3: (lip sync) Well, my school is in a pretty fancy neighborhood and we had some kids who broke in one night and wrecked the place.
The negro girl.	GIRL 2: (lip sync) Well, I think it's the individual that counts, and how are you going to know anything about people if you never get to meet them?
The white girl.	GIRL 1: (lip sync) I think <u>we</u> all get along fine.
A group shot of the kids talking around the table.	TEACHER: When the Supreme Court looked at the law of the land and ruled that it was illegal to separate black children from white children in the public schools, these children were ready.

Newspaper headline: "Supreme Court Outlaws School Segregation."

And the school administration was ready.

The paper is slapped down on a desk. Behind it is Hickey.

Superintendent of Instruction, Philip J. Hickey.

We see Hickey's hand reaching in a drawer for a folder.

The folder goes on the desk, over the paper. We see the folder being opened. First we see news clippings of the Fairgrounds Park riot.

The schools could learn from the mistakes of the past.

Once we had a riot ...

Hickey's hand turns the clippings aside and we see a sheaf of papers entitled: "The Mayor's Committee Report on the Fairground Park Riot."	... the immediate cause...lack of information, lack of coordination between city, community and police...lack of planning...
Hickey's hand turns this aside and we see another sheaf of papers: "Integration Public Schools -- Tentative."	Now the schools were to integrate, and the schools had learned their lesson.
Dissolve to long shot of Saint Louis Board of Education meeting. They are seated around a conference table but they are all looking off.	The Saint Louis Board of Education met to consider the Superintendent's plan.
Hickey at blackboard talking about the plan	The question was not 'whether to integrate' -- the Supreme Court had settled that. The question was 'how' and 'when.'
We cut to the board and pan down at the dates and the classes of schools to be integrated: "September, 1954 -- Teacher's Colleges ... February, 1955 -- High Schools ... September, 1955 -- Elementary Schools.	Hickey proposed a plan in stages: First, the teacher's colleges and the special schools; then the high schools; then the elementary schools.
C.U. September, 1954	This was June. The plan could start in three months, with the opening of the fall semester.
MCU three or four board members.	There were some who wanted a longer waiting period.
C.U. Hickey talking.	The Superintendent pointed out the inefficiency of running two separate systems, inefficiency which was keeping Saint Louis from having first class schools.
MCU three or four board members.	Then why not integrate all schools at once?
C.U. Hickey	The easy job of integrating future teachers and crippled children would give us good experience before we tackled the high schools and elementary schools.

MCU three or four board members. We look over their shoulders and see Hickey at the board.	Perhaps a special citizens committee was needed...to study the proposition.
C.U. Hickey.	Committees and studies were fine. But the Board must make the decision, and the decision, if it was to work, must be firm.
We pan across faces of board members.	The community was looking to the Board for leadership. The board could not duck its responsibilities.
Hickey sits down at the table, next to Oscar Ehrhardt, the President. We dolly back to reveal the whole table and the board members.	They took a formal vote... Eleven citizens, representing the people of Saint Louis, a border city, with southern traditions...
We cut to a close up of Ehrhardt.	...took a formal vote on the plan to desegregate the schools.
Ehrhardt speaks.	EHRHARDT: (lip sync) Mr. Antoine...
Cut to close up of Antoine	TEACHER: (softly) Harold Antoine...Insurance Executive...
Antoine speaks.	ANTOINE: (lip sync) Yes.
Cut to Ehrhardt who speaks.	EHRHARDT: (lip sync) Mr. Schlafly...
Cut to Schlafly.	TEACHER: (softly) Daniel Schlafly...Businessman...
Schlafly speaks.	SCHLAFLY: (lip sync) Yes.

Ehrhardt.	EHRHARDT: (lip sync) Mr. Stolar...
Stolar.	TEACHER: (softly) Hyman Stolar...Lawyer... STOLAR: (lip sync) Yes.
Cut to Ehrhardt, talking.	(SOUND: Ehrhardt continues calling the names of the board members at intervals in the background -- Mr. Christel, Mr. Dyer, Mrs. Friede, Mr. McCaffery, Mr. Morrell, Mr. Storckman, Mr. Whiteside. After a pause, each member answers "yes.")
Cut to Christel. He thinks, then nods his head "yes." Cut to Dyer. He thinks, then nods his head "yes."	TEACHER: A vote which breaks tradition is not an easy vote...It takes a sense of what can be done at this time in this community. And also a sense of what is right and wrong. Each citizen on the Board had his own reasons for his vote.
Cut to Mrs. Friede. She thinks. Then nods her head "yes."	Some thought of the inefficiency of the Saint Louis segregated school system, in which there were two teacher's colleges where one would be sufficient.
Dissolve to Cote Brillant school, an establishing shot. Dissolve to a series of shots showing various deserted rooms, from the point of view of an observer looking through the windows.	Some remembered a deserted school...classrooms, gymnasium, lunchrooms...all empty because no one could decide whether this should be a white or a colored school.

	Some thought of the Catholic parochial schools, integrated in Saint Louis since 1947...
Dissolve to Catholic elementary school. Nuns leading in children.	
	Saint Louis University, integrated since 1949...
Dissolve to whites and negroes at Saint Louis University.	
	Washington University, integrated since 1952...
Dissolve to whites and negroes at Washington University.	
Dissolve to scene at riot, negro boy lying on the ground.	Some remembered a riot...
	And some may have remembered the words of Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court...
	SOUND: (Earl Warren speaks)
We see the negro boy walking alone in the park. We are looking over the shoulder of the white boy.	To separate children from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their state in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.
	TEACHER:
We see a close-up of the white boy, grinning.	...that may effect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.
Dissolve back to Ehrhardt at the meeting of the Board.	EHRHARDT: (lip sync)
	Mr. Whiteside...
Cut to C.U. Whiteside.	WHITESIDE: (lip sync)
	Yes.
Cut to Ehrhardt.	TEACHER: (softly)
	The President of the Board... Oscar Ehrhardt...Secretary of the CIO Industrial Union Council...

	EHRHARDT: (lip sync)
	The President votes "yes."
Ehrhardt turns and smiles at Hickey.	
	TEACHER:
The members of the Board shake hands around the table.	The vote of the School Board was unanimous...Now it was up to the community...
	Support came from organized groups.
Woman speaker at a podium.	The League of Women Voters...
Speaker at union meeting.	Organized labor.
Negro man talking to group.	The Urban League...
Minister talking in church.	The Metropolitan Church Federation...
Priest talking from pulpit.	The Catholic Church...
	Support for integration also came from unorganized groups.
Negro boy about to pitch a soft ball.	SOUND: (kids' voices yelling)
	All right, you got 'em, you got 'em!
We see a white boy with a bat in his hands ready to swing.	
The negro boy pitches the ball.	
The white boy swings and misses.	
White and negro boys run up from infield positions to pat the negro boy on the back.	TEACHER:
	But there was one group still to be heard from...

We dissolve to close ups of white and negro men and women. Some of them look quite uncomfortable sitting together.

The meeting is not segregated, but whites and negroes sit in fairly large groupings.

Parents...

They've never met each other... never sat down in the same room together...never ate a meal together...went to a movie together...played cards together ...drank tea...or beer together.

But in the weeks before integration was to begin, they came together in school rooms all over Saint Louis...to talk, about their children.

We see the moderator, sitting at a table at the head of the classroom.

Medium shot of the people, who are sitting in classroom chairs. They laugh nervously.

MODERATOR: (lip sync)

No questions? Don't tell me you don't have any?

Moderator.

Now I think you all know why we're here. The decision to desegregate the Saint Louis public schools has been made; what we do in our own neighborhoods will determine how well that decision will work. That's why your PTA and Patron's Association called you together -- you people who are parents, teachers and leaders in this community -- to talk over what we should be doing about the coming integration in our high school.

We see back of man coming down line of chairs in front of people. He turns and sits -- It is our teacher.

Over the heads of the audience we see the moderator and the guests on either side of him.

We have some guests here -- they don't like to be called experts -- to help answer your questions:

MCU Virgil Border

The head of our local National Conference of Christians and Jews...Mr. Border...

MCU Leo Bohanon	The head of the Saint Louis Urban League...Mr. Bohanon...
MCU Mrs. Morris	The chief psychologist for the Board of Education...Mrs. Morris...
MCU Dr. Bukantz	Dr. Bukantz, one of our local physicians...
MCU Principal	And the principal of our school...Mr. Teeters...
Moderator	Now, who's got the first question...
	TEACHER:
Teacher in audience.	The real questions are the ones people don't like to talk about in public.
We pan left to see the faces of the parents. We stop on the face of a white woman who obviously wants to talk.	But they come out, one way or another. The majority group has its questions.
	MODERATOR'S VOICE: (off)
	Mrs. Soames?
Woman stands.	WOMAN: (lip sync)
	Well...I'm just wondering about things like health standards... Are we going to have any problems there?
	TEACHER'S VOICE: (softly)
She sits.	She's worried about 'communicable diseases.'
We cut to a white man, who stands.	MAN: (lip sync)
	I'd like to know what percentage of white and colored students we're going to have here?

Man sits down.	TEACHER:
	He's heard that negroes are taking over the neighborhood.
We cut to white woman, who stands.	WOMAN: (lip sync)
	Is our school going to be able to keep its high standards?
Woman sits.	TEACHER:
	She's been told that negroes are less intelligent than whites.
Cut to a white man, who stands.	MAN: (lip sync)
	What's the new school going to do about things like social dancing?
Man sits.	TEACHER:
	He's worried about intermarriage.
We see the group at the head of the room. Dr. Bukantz speaks.	BUKANTZ: (lip sync)
	I think I can answer the medical question. All students take physical examinations before entering schools and we don't let sick ones in.
C.U. Principal	PRINCIPAL: (lip sync)
	I can't give you the percentages of whites and negroes who'll be in our school next year. Let me tell you the plan. All schools are being redistricted, and all mention of race is being taken off the school records. Students will go to the school in their district.
Audience reaction shot.	Now if a student wants to stay at the school he's been going to until graduation, that will be permitted. But there won't be any transfer students and all new students will have to attend the school in their district.
C.U. Principal.	

Man in audience.	MAN: (lip sync) Well...I don't like to be spreading any kind of rumors... but I've heard it said around here that some people aren't going to send their kids to mixed schools.
Principal, over the heads of people in the audience.	PRINCIPAL: (lip sync) Anyone who wants to move out of one district into another can go right ahead. The newspapers have published all the Board of Education plans, so everyone will know just where he is. But the board has ruled that children in a district will go to the district school, and I'm sure the Board is going to enforce that rule. It's up to us to make our school a school worth attending...I'm sure we will.
C.U.Principal	
C.U. Mrs. Morris.	MRS. MORRIS: (lip sync) On that question of standards... As a school psychologist I've tested many children and I have found the same range of intelligence among both whites and negroes. Now among your new students you will find some who are slow learners, some who are brilliant, and many who are good, ordinary students. In other words, if there are problems, they will be the same problems you have now, the same problems you are solving now... without lowering your standards.
C.U. Bohanon	BOHANON: (lip sync) You mentioned social dancing. If you're thinking that kids who go to school together may grow to like each other, you're probably right. But perhaps

(BOHANON -- CONTINUED)

Reaction shot of man who asked the question.

C.U. Bohanon.

what you really want to know is will students who like each other end up marrying each other. My answer is that the rate of intermarriage in integrated schools in the north is actually lower than in segregated schools in the south. Of course, it isn't very high there either.

C.U. Border.

BORDER: (lip sync)

Can I add one thing?...It seems to me that the role of the school is to educate the mind; the role of the home is to supervise morals. It's always been that way and integration isn't going to change it.

Reaction shot of man who asked the question. He is not convinced.

C.U. Border

MCU man who asked the question and his wife. The man turns to his wife, questioning. She shakes her head. Whispers. She shakes her head.

TEACHER: (softly)

He wants to know if these men want their children to marry into other races.

C.U. Bohanon.

BOHANON: (lip sync)

I'd like to say one more thing... speaking as a parent. I decided on a wife over 25 years ago and I've never regretted my choice. We have a son, and we hope he will marry within his own social and economic group because we think he has the best chance of being happy there. I hope that answers your question,

Mrs. Bohanon in audience.

C.U. Bohanon.

Parents in audience listen seriously, both white and negro.

C.U. Bohanon.

A negro woman in the audience.

She stands.

TEACHER:

The minority has its questions...

WOMAN: (lip sync)

Do you think all the teachers will be able to understand so many different kinds of children?

Woman sits down.

TEACHER: (softly)

She wants to know if white teachers will be fair to negro students.

C.U. negro man, who stands.

MAN: (lip sync)

Are there going to be any discipline problems in the new school?

As man sits down, we dolly back reveal our teacher sitting in front of him.

TEACHER: (softly)

He's heard a rumor that white boys are planning to beat up negro boys when school opens.

Our teacher stands.

(lip sync)

I'd like to answer those questions. I'm one of the teachers in this school, and I think we all have questions about desegregation. But most of them come down to this: "Are we moving too quickly? Should we wait?"

Well, I don't have a real good answer to that one. All I can say is I've been a teacher for 12 years. I've taught all kinds of kids. I keep pretty good discipline and I think I'll continue to keep pretty good discipline.

Reaction shots of audience.

C.U. teacher

I'm not saying we won't have our troubles. Kids wouldn't be kids if they didn't get into scrapes -- that's normal.

But my job is to teach -- as fairly and honestly and as well as I can. And I just want to assure you, I'm going to do my job.

Dissolve to sign: "All School Assembly -- 9:30 Wednesday."

We dolly back from the sign to see our teacher looking at it. We are back in the high school office.

A second teacher comes into the frame and looks at the sign.

2ND TEACHER: (lip sync)

He turns to our teacher.

More brotherhood speeches... (Turning to our teacher)... Did you see the papers? I hear you've got a boy in the hospital.

Our Teacher.

TEACHER: (lip sync)

No, he's not in the hospital.

Our teacher starts for the door. We look over the 2nd teacher's shoulder.

2ND TEACHER: (lip sync)

We weren't ready for it. I could have told them.

MCU our teacher coming to the door. He looks troubled.

Couldn't they have waited a year or two?

2nd teacher turns back to sign.

(Turns back to the sign) Brotherhood...

Our teacher walking in the noisy hall now filled with students at their lockers. He comes toward us, we pan as he moves past us and watch him disappear down the long corridor...

Dissolve to the inside of a classroom. Our teacher opens the door and enters.

He goes to his desk and puts his books down.

C.U. his troubled face.

TEACHER:

Twelve high schools integrated and one angry boy who's been hurt.

He walks to the window.

We should expect a little trouble. Kids are kids...they're not angels.

He looks out of the window, MCU.

The time for trouble was the day school opened, the first day of integrated school.

We see from the window, kids coming to school.

C.U. teacher's face, looking.

We were ready for trouble then.

We dissolve to a car coming down the street.

There were private cars...

We see into the car as it goes past. There are two policemen inside. They nod imperceptively.

...with policemen in them...

Cut to man lighting a cigarette inside the window of a drugstore.

Detectives, out of uniform...

Cut to the coffee counter inside the store. A man is reading a newspaper.

The newspapers cooperated by avoiding scare headlines...

He turns the paper over and we see hidden under it a camera.

...and by keeping their cameramen...and their cameras...

We show a close up of the camera and the paper coming down over it.

...out of sight...

We see a bus coming to the corner. It stops. We see white and negro students get out.

All these preparations for the most natural sight in the world ...kids arriving at school in the morning.

Men in police car look up.

Detective looks up.

Newsman reaches for his camera.

Kids going up the steps of the school.

We cut to police car moving. We are inside the car. The kids going into the school.

C.U. policeman talking into car radio.

POLICEMAN:

Car 57. There's nothing doing here. We'll cruise on over to McKinley...

We see car pull away from school as the kids go up the steps into the building.

We dissolve to last of kids coming in the door to the classroom and we follow them as they take their seats.

No violence the first day...no stories for the newspapers... Now the real problems began.

The teacher looks over his class.

An integrated class...

We see blocks of negroes together and blocks of whites together.

...with the worst kind of segregation...self segregation.

C.U. teacher.

What do you do? Mix them up? Seat them alphabetically?... Lean too far forward, or too far backward?

We see the class waiting for the teacher to begin.

Teacher sits on the edge of his desk.

TEACHER: (lip sync)

This is Civics 1. We're going to be studying government -- local, state and national. We're going to look at the rules under which we govern ourselves in a democracy.

He holds up a book and continues talking. Then he picks up a second book, and continues talking.	These are your texts...
	(no lip sync)
	It takes a week for the teacher to forget whether he is talking to a white student or a colored student...
We look at the class. The knots of black and white have disappeared. The negro students are distributed among the white.	...and then they forget too...
We dissolve to shots of kids working and studying.	...and become individual human beings, come to learn...
One girl writing in her notebook. (White)	There's a hard worker...
One boy talking and fooling around. (Negro)	A bright one, but he doesn't lack incentive...
One boy staring at the ceiling.	A dull one...
Teacher, at his desk. The bright boy comes up to him and asks him something and the teacher talks to him.	But each of them an individual ...to be worked with... stimulated...
C.U. the boy listening with interest.	...encouraged...
	SOUND:
	School bell rings.
We dissolve to an empty school desk. We dolly along a line of empty desks until we come to the teacher's big desk and pan up to see him sitting there.	TEACHER:
	But that was all before our incident.
He opens the desk drawer and pulls out a water pistol.	One boy shoots another boy...

He presses the trigger, water spills out.

...with a water pistol...and a girl gets wet.

Teacher at the desk, holding the water pistol, which he puts back in the drawer.

And a gang of hoodlums, who don't go to this school or any school, come around and beat up a boy who wasn't even there.

He slams the drawer shut.

Kid stuff!...

We see his face.

But if the boy was white and the girl was colored...This makes a racial incident...And where do we go from here?

He looks up and turns.

Over his shoulder we see students coming into the class. The students smile and say good morning and take their seats. We pan with them as they sit down at their seats. Other students enter the frame and sit down.

SOUND:

Students saying "Good morning."

Classroom noise of students talking in low tones.

The teacher is at the board writing down assignments.

We see the bruised white boy taking his seat.

The teacher comes to his desk.

The last students take their seats.

SOUND:

Class bell rings.

The teacher looks at the class.

We see individual students, including the bruised boy. They are all very quiet.

SOUND:

The class has become very quiet.

We cut to the clock on the wall. We can hear it ticking.

SOUND:

Clock ticking.

We cut to the teacher.

TEACHER: (lip sync)

Before we start today, I want to say something...about an... incident...

The class, attentive.

C.U. teacher.

No...we'll all be hearing more about that at our assembly tomorrow morning. Our job is to get on with our class work. We better have our committees first. Jorden, is your committee ready to report?

to self?

We see a negro boy in the class stand.

BOY: (lip sync)

Yes sir.

A group of students, including Vincent, the boy with the bruised face, get up from the seats.

We see the group assembling at the conference table to the left of the teacher's desk.

The teacher takes a seat in one of the vacated desks.

The chairman of the committee speaks.

BOY: (lip sync)

First report is on the Board of Aldermen. That's you, Vincent.

The bruised boy speaks, reading from a paper in front of him.

VINCENT:

In our city there is a Board made up of 28 Aldermen. They are elected every two years... (he continues under)

The teacher.

C.U. bruised boy talking

We dolly down a row in the class of white and negro students taking notes and listening.

(Super)

A CGA Production.

TEACHER:

A teacher's job is to teach, and the test of school integration -- in Saint Louis or any place -- is what happens in the classroom.

And my kids are going to pass that test.

MUSIC:

Up to climax.

December 29, 1955

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd St.,
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

Here is a cheerful Christmassy note, struck among the various our ones.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

December 29, 1955

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

You may want to discuss this script with Frank Loescher when he's in Atlanta next month.

Sincerely,

Dave

David F. Freeman

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

January 2, 1956

RECEIVED JAN 4 1957

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Many thanks for your letter of December 28, summarizing the activities of SRC for the past three months. The color and lucidity of your prose is matched only by the record of substantial accomplishment contained in the report. All of us here will miss you, as, I am sure, will many many more throughout the South.

I hope that when your peat fire is smoking brightly, you will drop us a card from an address at least as picturesque as that given for your visitor Mr. Cross. Meanwhile, be sure to see the movie Wee Geordie if you can find it in your area. It is based on a book by a great friend of mine, David Walker, and is replete with wonderful views of the country for which you are bound.

With all best wishes for the New Year to you and Mrs. Mitchell,

Sincerely,

Dave

David F. Freeman
Vice President

DFF:tk

January 30, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd St.,
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

I hope to be in New York Wednesday and Thursday, February 8 and 9 and shall of course come to see you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

FILE COPY

January 31, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

I have had to call off this trip to New York so won't be coming February 7 and 8. But I will come later on in the month.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

RECEIVED ~~JAN~~ Feb. 4 1956

February 2, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you for your notes of January 30 and 31. I will of course be delighted to see you whenever you are in New York.

Sincerely,

Dave

David F. Freeman

7 Jan Freeman 1956

February 7, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

As you perhaps know, at the last meeting of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council serious consideration was given to attacks upon the Council by the Hearst newspapers and Fulton Lewis, Jr. - attacks which continue to be circulated in the South to the embarrassment of the Council. Such attacks were obviously aimed at the Fund for the Republic, though in the instances under consideration, the technique was to attack individual members of our Board as having Communist sympathies. These are persons of character and standing whose only offense has been that they served well an organization devoted to compliance with the Supreme Court's rulings in the segregation cases.

Since the attacks were made on the individuals because of their service to this organization, we feel that we have a grave moral responsibility to assist them in clearing their names. The necessary and approved method is by the institution of libel actions.

This afternoon a committee from the Board charged with the responsibility for advising the Council as to a proper course to pursue unanimously concluded that it should seek authority to allocate an amount up to but not exceeding $15,000 for the purpose of financing such actions.

It should perhaps be made clear that the sum as to which approval is sought would be used only for necessary research preliminary to institution of actions. It should also be made clear that the use of any part of our funds for such purpose will present to us such serious financial problems that the idea may have to be abandoned. We wish, however, to make such decisions as we may reach in the light of your expressed attitude.

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

February 7, 1956

We feel that it would be entirely proper, if not, in fact, necessary, to secure the approval of the Fund for the Republic for such use of a part of the grant made by the Fund to the Council. Indeed, we would not proceed in the absence of such approval.

Would you be kind enough to advise us of the attitude of your Board on this matter in order that we may plan future steps?

Yours very truly,

M. A. Wright, President.

MAW:mf

February 24, 1956

Mr. David Freeman, Secretary
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

We are most grateful for your letter of February 21 and for the grant from the Board of Directors of The Fund for the Republic for fifty-thousand dollars for the fact-finding program on race relations problems in the South.

We will be reporting to you regularly on it.

We have considered carefully whether we should offer a news release on the new grant. We think public announcement of our purpose to gather detailed facts in sensitive areas of race relations would create obstacles for the fact-finding effort. Therefore, we prefer not to publicize the grant ourselves. But we expect and hope that in your own reporting program you will carry the grant regularly.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Copy: Frank Loescher

March 23, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

For Guy Wells about whom I sent you earlier clippings a happy issue out of all his afflictions.

In a telephone-in radio program about the kefauffle some plain member of JQ phoned in and said: " I told you what. Let him keep his pension and keep his mouth shut!"

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encls.

FILE COPY

Copy + Frank Loescher

April 7, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Here is some account of the months of January, February, and March, 1956.

TROUBLES

This has been the period of the flowering of the counter-attack from some layers in the South. The campaign was touched off by the article in the January, 1956 issue of Harper's by the Charleston editor, Tom Waring. The argument there was that the South's side of the argument had not been put. One by one considerable organs of national opinion began to hint that the Court had gone too far and that the South was not ready and that the nation ought to ease up and be considerate. Meanwhile the Southern campaign against the NAACP which had thitherto been confined to muttered abuses in the vein of Gerald L.K. Smith and Co. went respectable. The best papers began to say that the South was caught between the two extremes of the Citizens Councils and the NAACP and needed cessation of activity of both. Then the leading political figures of the day said what was called for was moderation.

All of which adds up to pushing the point of view that the Court's decision is unenforceable - at any rate now.

We have done what we could to steer the South and people from Northern journals toward progress instead of toward inaction.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE LETTER

It has been for some time our view that compliance with the Supreme Court's decision would bring economic growth to the South and that defiance would bring industrial doldrums. As defiance mounted in pitch we thought it time to get our doctrine more widely into circulation. Accordingly we released on March 5 an open letter to State Presidents of Chambers of Commerce in the seven Southern States that seemed to us more recalcitrant.

We spoke of the absence of leadership on the side of calmness, considerateness and good will.... of public policies on segregation dictated by fear and hysteria.... of defiance, resistance, nullification, repression, and intimidation. We went on to praise industrialization and questioned whether new industry sought by the South would be eager to build expensive plants in areas where the existence of public schools was in doubt, where tension and violence existed...., etc.

"Can the South hope to take its rightful place in economic, religious, cultural, and political councils while our leadership seeks to isolate us from the rest of the nation and the world?

"If the South is to continue to progress as a modern industrial society, we must meet the great question of our time with maturity and responsibility. We must, as a reasonable people, weigh the alternatives before us calmly and realistically, giving full consideration to their consequences.

"For each Southern community there is a wise, workable program, neither rebellious nor precipitate, which sensible local people can agree upon. They will need to work together to find the facts, and then they will reach a decision together."

The release timed for March 5 got good play in the Southern press and started a ripple of interest in that point of view. At any rate only a few days later the New York Times came out with an important story about industry which had thought of branching out in the South, holding off; and a few days after that a widely-read columnist, Sylvia Porter, spoke quite vigorously of the economic stagnation involved in the course the South was charting. Here or there business people have counter-grumbled that Northern industry seems more anxious to come than ever!

 omit page

WHO ARE THE EXTREMISTS?

So far as we have been able to have any influence it has been on the side of upholding change. We have had a good many chances to join the clamor against both the Citizens' Councils and the NAACP and have pointedly refrained from painting the NAACP as extremists. We think an admirable way in America to pursue change is through the Courts and the Legislatures. When this has duly been done we think it is the part of all Americans to obey.

We are able to recognize (as we have all along) that in some parts of the South change will most likely be slower than in others. But we think no one extreme who asks for his lawfully established rights. Indeed, it is clear that opposition centering in the Citizens' Councils is subversive.

EMERGENT FACTOR - POSSIBLY CURATIVE

It has been my experience that in this world you don't get much unless you organize to get it. And one considerable reason why Negro people have never gotten much in the way of recognition is that they have not been organized. True their uppermost classes have sustained a notable legal effort. But always in the South in the past white people needing the services of Negroes could trot out the old methods of "Handling" Negroes and could succeed with what they were after. Which was to say always enough Negroes would be obedient under disdainful methods to enable those methods to be customarily employed. The business at Montgomery, Alabama, and at Orangeburg, South Carolina, coupled with responses in hundreds of localities to minor degrees of similar pressure, means that for the first time the new purpose to be treated with equal human dignity reaches into humbler walks of Negro life. And this thing fattens what it feeds. The more the City Council goaded by angry white people resorts to petty oppression, the more solid becomes the Negro purpose not to give in to unfairness and disdain.

On this point there is a nice story out of Montgomery. A young Negro Methodist minister, high school graduate only, went a month ago to Dallas,Texas. Fell into conversation with a Negro college president in Dallas. Texas man wanted to whether real trouble was to be expected out of Montgomery. "Well," said the minister, "It's right bad. The white people have run out of arguments. They have got no more legal argument; they have got no more moral argument; they have got no more religious argument; and they have taken to violence. But, Reverend, "he said, "we haven't run out of argument, and there's not going to be any violence."

omit page

Perfectly true that the Negro determination to resist is pervasively (though not completely) non-violent.

My guess is that before so very long it will be discovered here and there that the way to get Negro people to cooperate in getting the show along is to concede dignity, courtesy, and stature. And in this place or that 'twill be conceded, and there peace and production will reign. From some town that is tied up in a knot emissaries will go to the town of peace and ask what they did. And the answer will be: We just began to treat people human and everything is straightened out.

This seems to be a lesson that comes hard.

TOWARD A FORMULA ON THE SCHOOLS

There is more to that map in the back of Answers for Action than meets the eye. We have always known that a simple calculation of the ratio of the Negro and white population is meaningful fortuitously only. It would be best to make some index of the degree to which the institutions of liberty exist county by county. And on such a map it might be best to reduce to mathematics the answer to the race question of "When?" That is to say a county in which the index of personal liberty went above a certain figure would be required or expected to put their schools together by a stated date; and other counties at other figures on other dates.

This is open to the grave objection that it is the business of no sociologist to tell an American citizen when he shall enjoy rights granted him by the Constitution of the country.

Wherefore what we have been saying is that the best available solution is for white and Negro in each Southern community to meet and find the facts together and reach what agreement they can on when and how with the schools. And we have been confident that in such matters Negro persons will be considerably more reasonable and constructive and tolerant than the white leadership expects.

Still one cannot help being teased by the usefulness of a formula.

TOWARD A GENERALIZATION

In thinking back these last few weeks over what Will Alexander told me and over what I have seen myself I have reached a conclusion which I daresay is not down in the books (maybe quite rightly because it may not be true!). I say that in situations of racial tension your amateur always says to himself, "The white people certainly seem excited. I must go and fan them down." I think the basic excitement is among the Negro people and the way to cool the situation is to answer their grievances. This can

be put more dramatically by saying that the Negro people are trudging through a tunnel. As long as those at the head of the column continue to send back word, "Boys, we still see daylight," everybody will keep trudging through the tunnel. But if an avalanche blocks the front end of the tunnel everybody comes piling out the back end. Whereupon the white people say, "Boys, there is something up amongst the colored. We had better get our guns."

In which situation the thing to do is not to fan down the white people but to go and dig out the rocks from the front end of the tunnel.

omit

HERE AND THERE

In the travel line, we have serviced toward desegregation Bluefield, West Virginia; a major gathering of Methodist ladies at New Orleans; a large local of Steelworkers in East Tennessee; local Church groups in Atlanta, and some other cities; our own Texas State annual meeting; and similar meetings at North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, Alabama, and Mississippi; and an advisory group at Highlander Folk School.

Mrs. Tilly has been at her most diligent and effective these last three months, in a time of special strain across the South.

With careful planning ahead-of-time she has met with selective groups of Church women in Florida, Georgia, Virginia, Texas, South Carolina, and Alabama. In all these meetings she got to well over 1500 people.

And some of the meetings were specifically to plan numbers of local meetings which would follow up ideas brought out at the Statewide meetings.

The Alabama meeting was at Montgomery and leading personalities in the bus boycott were participants. The theme of the meeting was building bridges of understanding across racial lines. Mrs. Tilly said that as you listened you felt you were in the presence not exactly of Christians in the first century but of "the first Christians of this century." These were meetings and travel enough; but she squeezed in a Tennessee meeting of the United Church Women, a Brotherhood meeting at Emory University in Atlanta, a retreat at a white college in Northern Georgia, and heavy shares in a couple of denominational conferences in Atlanta. And in addition taught ten classes at local Churches, in World Peace.

We have all along said that when integration occurs it will be because the Church women of the South want it. Mrs. Tilly is doing more than anybody else to get them to want it.

Irene Osborne in this three month period has done carefully pre-arranged travel to our State people in Virginia, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Alabama. In most places local friends make arrangements for her to be in touch with leaders of public opinion and in quite a few places with school officials. Everywhere she was eagerly accepted and she gave a straight practical message on how you get schools together. I think that one of the best things we have done is to get her sent around and heard.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

At long last we have got the groundwork for a Finance Committee of the Board of Directors of the SRC. Those members from the Southwest met in New Orleans, March 9. Those from the Southeast in Atlanta, March 16. They all agreed that in each State something around two thousand dollars should be fetched together by them - one thousand for the office in Atlanta and one thousand for their own State organization. Performance is another matter, but we shall hope for the best.

WHAT THIS OFFICE DOES

An old friend came in. District organizer for the Steelworkers. Trouble on his hands in Chattanooga and Charleston. The viewpoint of the White Citizens' Council has got into the locals. How can he rescue the locals?

By showing him analogous situations on a good many other fronts we brought him around to where he could see daylight in his own two situations.

* * *

Same day came in a man from the National office of the Urban League. Word is being put around in Southern city after city where local Urban Leagues depend on the Community Chest for support, that the Urban League helps get colored people into white people's jobs and that nobody should give to the Community Chest and expressed view that workers should refuse to solicit funds. Man wanted to know what to do.

Mostly on that we could only commiserate. But obviously the time will come when the nation will want to know the truth about the rabble rousers who spread this sort of thing.

* * *

A good friend writes in from Kentucky. "What time schedule should we propose for desegregation?" Wrote the man that it is no business of ours to say when American citizens should enjoy their rights. All we can do is contrive local meetings of white and Negro persons. Two weeks later get a letter from the man. Had been to a conference of his

friends. "We decided that rather than talking about a time schedule.... the better approach is to consider the methods that are used. Consequently I must agree with you that a time schedule is the wrong approach."

* * *

An agency having supervision of important foreign visitors had steered a group to a Southern State and was having difficulty in arranging with local authorities any contact with the Negro community. Called us for advice. Arranged satisfactory contact in the next city to which the group went.

PEOPLE WANT INFORMATION

Naturally we get a steady stream of letters asking for facts. Nearly half from students. The rest from teachers, Church people and human relations agencies, or just plain individuals. Most of the high school inquiries come out of the Northeast and Northwest.

Here is a not too learned postacrd from Brenda Yoes on East 169th Street in New York:

> Dear Sirs: our class 6-2 is having a debate on segregation I would like to know how you feel about it.

Or another from Brooklyn:

> Dear sir: May I please have some information on the Negroes?

A nice young lady sends information to all and sundry.

Ten or twelve people come by each week to pick up items of literature.

Two or three quite special letters every month. Here was a minister in Little Rock who wanted to know every town in the South which had bi-racial advisory committees on schools. We are much used as a source of information on how far things have gotten elsewhere in the South.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

I asked Mr. Alexander to make a list of the sort of things he has been doing.

He helped with getting up regional budget figures for meetings of the Executive Committee. Put together a batch of letters for Mr. Rufus Clement to send out to ask Board members to chip in and help with money. Took entire charge of servicing the Nominating Committee; and did most of the work of inviting the newly elected persons to come onto the Board. Makes all arrangements for meetings of the Executive Committee. Ditto the Finance Committee. Permanent opposite number in Atlanta for John Hope who runs the new training program - that is to say, the Administrative Assistant does all the chores for a program proceeding right across the South.

IN THE STATES

ALABAMA

Staff worked closely with national press in Miss Lucy affair and Montgomery bus boycott. Helped activate student religious organizations at University of Alabama to maintain law and order.

ARKANSAS

Staff and Board working on lost economic opportunities due to activities of pro-segregationists; State Board of Economic Development shows interest. SRC consultant team held workshop with staff and Board.

FLORIDA

Board working on grass roots membership drive. Open letter written to Florida Congressional delegation regretting signing of "Manifesto." Staff working with ministerial groups toward integration of same.

GEORGIA

Guy Wells, Executive Director, under fire from two State agencies. Title of President Emeritus of Georgia State College for Women lifted without hearing by State Board of Regents; State Department of Education moved against his retirement fund, foiled by ruling of State Teachers' Retirement Fund Board upholding his right to freedom of speech. Atlanta Committee taking on new blood and new life.

KENTUCKY

Galen A. Martin, formerly Assistant Coordinator of the Electrical Consumers Information Committee (Washington, D.C.) employed as Executive Director. Extensive use of consultants with desegregating school systems underway.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans Committee issued statement following decision of District Federal Court holding State segregation laws unconstitutional; called for sober thought and honest action. Lake Charles local unit activated.

MISSISSIPPI

New President elected, Mrs. W.H. Ratliff, widow of prominent Delta planter. Rough situation in State has necessitated quiet action by staff and Board in contacting key people.

NORTH CAROLINA

Staff seeking cooperative effort with AFSC in western counties. Putting out topnotch newsletter. Interviews with school superintendents and advisory committees continuing. Dr. Frank Graham to speak at annual meeting.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Staff doing excellent job of documenting economic reprisals. Board member acting as conscience of S.C. through Letters-to-the-Editor. Work with women's groups continues. Second most difficult State in the South.

TENNESSEE

In process of reorganizing Board; seeking Executive Director; will continue consultant program. Local units active in Chattanooga, Knoxville, Memphis and Nashville.

TEXAS

Edwin J.

~~Rev. Edward J.~~ Kloppe employed to replace Tom Sutherland who resigned as Executive Director. Rev. Kloppe on half-time basis. Working closely with organized labor and Texas Council of Churches.

VIRGINIA

Staff and Board recuperated from Gray Amendment fight. Working closely with Virginia Council of Churches and Labor. Executive Director writing for national publications. Local affiliates being organized.

WHAT GETS CALLED TRAINING

Apology for the name; we don't like it, but we don't know what else to call it.

We explained a long time ago that one of the next major moves is to bend social science people, Negro and white, in the South to the task of putting the schools together.

And we wanted to do this wherever we could in the presence of leading ones of our State people. That would be a device for getting skills into the hands of lay people. We always knew, on the side, that doing this would sharpen the skills in the hands of social science people.

The Fund for the Republic couldn't help us on getting this launched. We commandeered what was left of last year's State balance and set up $12,000 for giving this a try. To date we have spent six or seven thousand and can run it through May.

Mr.

We got hold of John Hope to be a part-time Assistant Director of SRC and to run this program. ~~John~~ He has been hooked to Fisk University for a good many years and most lately has been compiling for a Southern wing of

the National Planning Association a notable series of reports on the degree to which integration had penetrated industrial employment in the South. (No great degree I may say). John's father was the first president of Atlanta University and John himself is a judicious man who gets things done. John got to work in December, 1955, and built a panel of consultants. Here they are:

He

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, Assistant Professor of Psychology, City College of New York; Associate Director, Northside Center for Child Development, New York.

Dr. A.Lee Coleman, Department of Sociology and Rural Sociology, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

Dr. Robert Johnson, American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Dr. William Jones, Department of Sociology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Dr. Lewis M. Killian, Department of Sociology, The Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.

Dr. Hylan Lewis, Department of Sociology, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia.

Mrs. Bonita Valien, Department of Sociology, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Dr. Harry J. Walker, Department of Sociology, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Dr. G.D. Wilson, Department of Education, Kentucky State College, Frankfurt, Kentucky.

Mr. Whitney Young, Jr., Dean, Atlanta University School of Social Work, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia.

Miss Irene Osborne, American Friends Service Committee, 104 "C" Street, N.E., Washington, D.C.

These people are available to us at thirty-five dollars a day, plus expenses.

The first purpose is to use them in panels to interchange ideas with our State people.

We have had three such meetings: Virginia, Arkansas, Texas. Total of fifty-five Board members came to the three meetings. Three such panels of consultants were used. Of the six consultants, five were Negro, one was white. From compressed accounts of those meetings I lift a phrase here and there... Chemical-like change took place when specialists and lay persons sat down together.... The consultants never said what to do but would ask, "Have you thought of trying this...." How do you work in a rural area where there isn't regular community organization structure....? How do we know when publicity is helpful, hurtful?.... Consultants deftly queried the group ostensibly for clarification but also to break the problem into manageable parts for constructive and systematic discussion next day.... It was a difficult meeting to close..... So you can see what goes on.

Then for a further thrust of the same thing we fetched together late in March Board people and the State paid staffs from the toughest States: Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina. This we called the "Hard Core Conference."

A most instructive occasion. The pith of the argument came down to whether in pursuit of conciliation of disputes racial in character our State staff would be well advised, in denial of any purpose to destroy segregation, to conciliate at all costs. Some said, "Never deny your principles." Others said, "Well, you don't have to go around with a six-inch button on your coat which says: 'Jim Crow Must Go.' Your task is to take what you have and make what you need. Without denying one's principles one can build the new society."

That wasn't quite as far as I and some others would have gone, but you see the tendency. And the beautiful thing about this meeting and the other meetings of the consultants we have had in Atlanta (and elsewhere) was that these eager, sensitively-trained consultants sensed from afar workable, practical solutions. One or two in their number said in effect, "You speak of compromise. There can be no compromise. The law is the law and people must obey." Such statements were met with stony glances. Delicious to see unfolding purpose to take away the rocks.

HAROLD C. FLEMING

January-March, 1956

Press Relations

During these three months, the SRC's work of assisting newsmen, magazines, radio and TV was the heaviest in its history. Tension and conflict in the South have given "outside" reporters an incentive to understand and interpret the region in more depth than in the past. Hence, we have had increased opportunity to get helpful background and analysis into the mass media.

We consulted and advised on the overall project.

New York Times Survey

SRC staff contributed to both the initial planning and final evaluation of the Times' nine-man survey of the South. We were in close consultation throughout with John Popham, who quarterbacked the effort. Each of our State affiliates was alerted in advance and cooperated fully with the Times man assigned to the respective State. Although the resulting special supplement underplayed (by design) the political determinants of the Southern situation, we think it was an important and useful treatment and are glad to have had a part in shaping it.

Montgomery and Tuscaloosa

The Alabama Council on Human Relations (most particularly its Director, Robert Hughes) played an invaluable part in aiding sound press coverage of the disturbed Alabama scene. Hughes was on the spot during the crucial developments in Montgomery and Tuscaloosa; put newsmen in touch with bona fide Negro leadership and interracial activities. He also quietly assisted student religious groups at the University in organizing and expressing positive campus sentiment. During the height of the disturbances, the central staff was in frequent communication with Hughes. One of the Alabama Council's leading members, the Rev. Thomas B. Thrasher, wrote an excellent article on the Montgomery situation for the March 8 issue of The Reporter.

New York Trip

The Assistant Director for Information spent three days in New York in mid-February, on various missions. Most useful perhaps were background conferences on Southern coverage with the editorial staff of Life, Edward R. Murrow and Fred Friendly for See It Now, Phil Horton of The Reporter, and the education editor of Time.

The Economic Factor

SRC has long been aware of potential economic restraints on Southern resistance and has sought opportunities to call them to public attention. The current focus on the South provided a good chance. On March 5, the SRC issued a publicized statement addressed to Southern Chambers of Commerce pointing out the danger to the South's economy of the present defiant course. This danger, in terms of industrial recruitment, school-bond marketing, and business boycotts, has since been spelled out in the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, Business Week, and Sylvia Porter's syndicated column. SRC worked with correspondents for these publications and is now disseminating articles in an effort to mobilize constructive leadership in the business community.

Wells Case

As reported elsewhere, Dr. Guy Wells of the Georgia Committee was the object of a major attack by Georgia's pro-segregation leadership. SRC's information staff worked closely with Dr. Wells on press relations, with generally gratifying results.

Other major briefings included representatives of the Associated Press, United Press, AP Newsfeatures, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, McNaught Syndicate, Minneapolis Tribune, Newsweek, Time's Southeastern Bureau, New Republic, Southern School News, CBS, London Economist, Look, and several Southern dailies. George Martin of the Fund for the Republic's Newsfilm Project spent several days here and in Alabama, assisting and being assisted by us. We are in frequent communication with Martin and his assistant regarding race-relations developments in the South.

Special Fact-Finding Program

The program assisted by a grant of $50,000 from the Fund for the Republic on February 15, 1956, is under way. It was decided that a speedy inventory of desegregation in the seventeen Southern and border States should go forward before the basic machinery of the program was perfected. Accordingly, the Assistant Director for Information and the Research Assistant have given this effort top priority, and a temporary staff member has been added to assist in it. She is Mrs. Bem Price, now of Washington, D.C., formerly with the Associated Press bureau in Atlanta. Mrs. Price's years of experience as a wire service reporter and in public relations work have equipped her well to help us assemble this information. In addition to her field work, we have sent mail queries to each of our State affiliates and to other likely sources.

Central staff conferred in February with Mr. David Loth, who has received a Fund for the Republic grant to do a comparable desegregation inventory for the Non-South. We worked out with Mr. Loth a fact-finding schedule which we believe will make possible ultimately a joint publication of the two reports. It is already clear, however, that some of the Southern data will have to be summarized without using names and places, since the principals involved feel that publicity would jeopardize the success of their efforts.

The desegregation inventory and the recent extraordinary demands of press relations have made it impossible to proceed at full speed on the setting up of the fact-finding machinery in the States. However, we have assembled the names of likely social analysts and, in several cases, have had preliminary discussion with them. Late in March, the Assistant Director for Information held a two-day conference with Prof. Nicholas Demerath of the University of North Carolina, Prof. Mozell Hill of Atlanta University, Prof. C.H. Parrish, and other SRC staff members on the fact-finding program. We are now going forward with the plans developed: (1) Southwide survey of Negro suffrage as priority number one; (2) selection of six strategically located social scientists to serve as coordinators for their areas; (3) a top-flight specialist on suffrage in the South as a central adviser. Demerath has agreed to channel the views of his colleagues in the research field to us and to serve, from time to time, as a consultant to the program. The suffrage project should be well advanced by the time of the next quarterly report.

Publications

The normal flow of materials from SRC to the State groups and key persons in the South continues. New South shows a steady rise in circulation; approximately 5,000 copies are consumed in a normal month. The article by Howard Grimes describing integration in the SMU Theological School (February issue) won particular plaudits; it was distributed by the Friends Service Committee to two-hundred selected educators in the South, and rated a special story in the New York Times. In response to requests from our State groups, a pamphlet has been issued reprinting the two Supreme Court school decisions, with an analysis by Robert Leflar. Other materials of special interest or program use continue to be distributed through out State groups and otherwise.

foreign investors

THE MONEY

Mrs. Alexander's finance figures will be on their way as soon as the auditor can be got in.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

May 29, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
Sixty East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear David:

I got Fred Routh to do this report on how the state outfits are doing in this fiscal year.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Encl. - Progress Report Card

May 30, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear David:

Frank Loescher sent me down May 22nd the proposal from Mr. Edward S. Overman at the University of Tennessee.

I had written Loescher May 24th some comments composed in the absence of the specific proposal.

Now that I have read the specific proposal, I see no reason to alter the comments.

The statements of the various denominational bodies have been collected. They are pasted up in a big scrapbook in this office. Mrs. Tilly did it.

I am satisfied that the most successful way to work is to get the church women agreed and purposed to make things move. They needed the formal approval afforded them in the various denominational pronouncements. With that backing them and with opportunity to meet and discuss and encourage one another, they will make things move.

So I am saying that I don't see any advantage in a two-year inquiry into what it would be nice for the churches to do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - Edward S. Overman proposal

May 30, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear David:

Clearly everybody got their money's worth out of the six months that Irene Osborne was assigned to SRC by the American Friends Service Committee and traveled around the South. Here is a skeleton report of what she did.

The flesh on the skeleton is that in each of these states she got some thoughtful and influential people to see that good planning would yield workable and helpful compliance with the Supreme Court's decision.

This that I send for your inspection is the original of Irene's report. It belongs in SRC's files.

Mademoiselle, thy secretary, is requested to concern herself to run a tickler to you and draw the report back and mail the report to me.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

cc: HCF
FBR

Mr. Harold Fleming

REPORT OF WORK WITH SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
AND AFFILIATED STATE ORGANIZATIONS

October 1955 to May 1956

Irene Osborne

ALABAMA

Muscle Shoals.
Speech and discussion with leaders in the tri-city area. 3-19-56

Birmingham.
Conference. Superintendent of City Schools. 3-20-56
Conference. Superintendent of County Schools. 3-20-56
Conference. President of local Council. 3-20-56
Meeting with several members of the local Council. 3-20-56

Mobile.
Speech to Mobile Council. 3-20-56
Workshop session with leaders of the local Council, on community action. 3-21-56
Conference with the Mayor on plans for an official committee on human relations. 3-21-56
Conference with leaders of Negro teachers' associations. 3-21-56

ARKANSAS

Little Rock.
Speech to State-wide meeting of membership, on Community Planning for School Desegregation. 10-17-55
Workshop session on how citizens can work. 10-18-55
Meeting with Urban League Education Committee. 10-20-55
Speech to student body and to a class at Philander Smith College. 10-20-55
Conference with several leading citizens. 10-21-55
Informal meeting with PTA members interested in developing PTA interest in desegregation. 10-21-55
Meeting with Little Rock Council members. 10-21-55

Hoxie.
Talks with Superintendent of Schools, local ministers and several citizens. 10-19-55

Pine Bluff.
Speech to Council group on the school desegregation process. 10-20-55

FLORIDA

Jacksonville.
Meeting with several organisational leaders to discuss how citizens can work toward desegregation. 1-30-56

Miami.
Conference with Rev. Caxton Doggett of the Florida Council Board. 1-31-56

Miami. (continued)
Conference with several organizational leaders to discuss means of activating Miami organizations toward planning on school desegregation. 2-1-56
Address to annual meeting of the Dade County Council on Community Relations. 4-10-56
Conferences with several leaders of Dade County Council and other organizations. 4-10 and 4-11-56

St. Petersburg.
Speech and discussion with Executive Board of the St. Petersburg Council on Human Relations. 2-2-56

Clearwater.
Speech to Pinellas County Advisory Committee on School Desegregation. 2-2-56

Tampa.
Meeting with Urban League Board and staff members. 2-3-56

Daytona Beach.
Speech before annual meeting of Florida Council. 2-4-56

GEORGIA

Atlanta
Speech to Friends meeting on integration in Washington. 10-9-55
Spelman College. Resource person for sub-group of YWCA conference on Tensions in Our State and Region. 2-11-56
Atlanta chapter of American Veterans' Committee. Speech on how citizens worked in Washington. 2-21-56
Atlanta University School of Social Work, speech to the student body on the nature of social action. 2-28-56
Work with the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations.
Meetings with officers to report how citizens worked in Washington and make plans for Atlanta Council. 2-8-56, 2-21-56 and 2-28-56
Meeting with Georgia Consultants. 2-28-56
Meeting with Activities Committee. 4-12-56
Conference.
Mrs. Drake, Vice-President. 2-22-56
Rev. Williams, Vice-President. 2-24-56
Mrs. Drake and Dr. Hill. 2-29-56

Athens.
Meeting with a group of women leaders in organizations. Participation in meeting of clergymen related to organizations at the University of Georgia. 2-23-56

Savannah.
Speech to inter-racial group on the experience of school integration. 2-26-56
Meeting with newly integrated Interdenominational Ministers Alliance. 2-27-56

KENTUCKY

Hopkinsville
Speech and discussion with citizens and school officials in the area. 11-3-55

Louisville
Speech on school desegregation to group including school and city officials and Council members. 11-4-55
Interview, on radio program, about our work and school desegregation. 11-4-55
Meeting with interested faculty members at University of Louisville. 11-4-55

Lexington
Speech and discussion with group including school officials, University faculty, the race relations committee of the YWCA, and other Council members. 11-6-55
Discussions with Kentucky consultants and other interested faculty at University of Kentucky. 11-7-55

LOUISIANA

New Orleans
Meeting with group to train leaders for discussion groups on school desegregation. 4-16-56
Meeting with Coordinated Conference, a joint committee of organizations, to tell of work in Washington and how citizens can work toward desegregation. 4-18-56
Dillard University, Conference with several faculty members. 4-19-56
Conference, Mr. McPherson of Urban League. 4-19-56
Conference, Monsignor Bezou, Superintendent of Catholic Schools. 4-19-56
Conference, Mr. Derby of American Federation of Teachers. 4-20-56
Conference, Rabbi Bergman of Louisiana Council. 4-20-56
Conference, Several members of Friends Meeting. 4-20-56
Conference, Mr. Rousseve of New Orleans Council and Mr. Laues of the NAACP. 4-21-56
Visit to Caritas, Catholic House for Parish work organized on an interracial basis. 4-21-56
Speech to Friends meeting and informal discussion with local Friends. 4-22-56
Conference, Mr. Fegenbaum, New Orleans ADL. 10-22-55

Lake Charles
Address to State-wide annual meeting, leading session on working for school integration. 4-17-56
Conferences with several Lake Charles leaders. 4-17-56

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson
Conference, Mr. Evers of the NAACP. 4-23-56
Meeting with Mississippi Council Board. 4-24-56
Conference with Rabbi Mantinband and Msgr. Brunini. 4-24-56
Speech to Negro physicians. 4-25-56
Speech to Social Science Forum of Tougaloo College. 4-25-56
Speech to Negro physicians' wives. 4-26-56
Conference with several white members and friends of the Council. 4-26-56

Rust College, Holly Springs
Address to a student body. 4-27-56
Speech to a class in social ethics. 4-27-56
Discussion group of students. 4-27-56
Discussion group of faculty. 4-27-56
Conference, local Episcopal minister. 4-27-56

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte
Speech and discussion with executive committee of Charlotte Council on Human Relations on how to work at the local level. 3-5-56
Speech to membership of the Council on the Washington story. 3-5-56
Conference, Associate Superintendent of Charlotte schools on planning the desegregation process. 3-6-56
Meeting with PTA leaders on how PTA's can help. 3-6-56
Informal meeting with key people in the Charlotte Council. 3-6-56
Conference with a leadership group of the Council of Church Women. 3-7-56

Salisbury
Conference with leaders of the Salisbury Council. 3-8-56

Raleigh
Conference with leaders of local Committee on school desegregation. 3-8-56
Speech and discussion with informal group of citizens. 3-8-56
Conference with Governor Hodges (with Tartt Bell) 3-9-56

Winston-Salem
Background press conference with editor and editorial writers of the local papers. 3-9-56

SOUTH CAROLINA

Sumter
Morris College. Address to student body. 2-13-56
Conference with the President and several local leaders. 2-13-56
Leader of seminar group of faculty and students. 2-13-56
Meeting with the Mayor and several Council members. 2-13-56
Speech to local Council group on working toward school integration. 2-13-56

SOUTH CAROLINA (continued)

Florence.

Conference, Mrs. Jones, a social worker, to discuss the local situation. 2-14-56

Meeting with a group of white ministers. 2-14-56

Speech to a Negro group in Florence and surrounding towns. 2-14-56

Columbia.

Speech to local Council members and other interested persons on the experience of school integration and how citizens can work. 2-15-56

Benedict College. Address to the student body. 2-15-56

Meeting with some members of the Board of the South Carolina Council and invited guests. 2-15-56

Conference, Rev. Howard MacLean, Board member and executive of Christian Action Council. 2-15-56

Rock Hill.

Conference, Father Shean of the Southern Regional Council Board. 2-16-56

Conference, the Mayor and Mr. and Mrs. Surits, Board members. 2-16-56

Speech to the South Carolina affiliate group and invited members of the Mayor's Committee. 2-16-56

Speech to Methodist Student group. 2-17-56

Greenville.

Conference, YWCA leaders. 2-17-56

Speech to inter-racial group of local citizens. 2-17-56

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga.

Participant in Workshop on school integration, called by Tennessee Council, for representatives of community groups. 11-14-55

Memphis.

Conference, Rev. Carnes of the local Interracial Council. 3-12-56

Conference, Mrs. Coe of the Board of Education. 3-12-56

Conference, Urban League executive and other Negro leaders. 3-12-56

Conference, Lucius Birch of Tennessee Council Board and "The Moderation Committee" on the plans of the latter. 3-13-56

Conference, Nat D. Williams, Columnist of the Pittsburgh Courier, disc jockey and local teacher. 3-13-56

Speech and discussion with local Interracial Council. 3-13-56

Nashville.

Conference with Bonita Valien, Tennessee Consultant, and three leaders of the newly formed Council on Human Relations, on Nashville's desegregation plan. 3-14-56

Conference. Bonita Valien, John Hope and E. Lewis (of Tennessee Council Board) on plans for Nashville. 3-14-56

Conference. Mrs. Charles Johnson. 3-14-56

Conference. Mr. Ennix of the School Board. 3-15-56

Conference. Mr. Looby of the NAACP. 3-15-56

Conference. Mrs. Todd and Mrs. Fensterwall of the Tennessee Council group. 3-15-56

Nashville. (continued)
Conference. Member of the County Commission and Tennessee Council Board. 3-15-56
Conference. Education Co-Chairman of the League of Women Voters. 3-15-56

Newport.
Meeting on local race relations called by local leading citizen and attended by interracial professional group. 3-16-56

Knoxville.
Participation in workshop for teachers sponsored by Knoxville Fellowship. 3-17-56

TEXAS

Austin. 10-24-25-55
Conference. Ed Kleppe, of Evangelical Reformed Church.
Conference. State Education Commissioner, Edgar.
Conference. F. E. Hutchins of AFSC
Conference. Several organizational leaders.
Visit to Austin High School, newly integrated.
Speech to Austin members of the Texas Commission.

Waco.
Meeting with several members of local group of Texas Commission. 10-26-55

Dallas.
Speech to representatives of community organizations interested in school desegregation. 11-27-55

Fort Worth.
Speech and round table with local group of Texas Commission. 10-27-55

VIRGINIA

Richmond
Speech to members of the Council and of other organizations. 1-11-56
Conference with Mr. Mellette of NCCJ. 1-11-56

Petersburg.
Speech to faculty of Virginia State College and visiting clergymen. 1-12-56

Charlottesville.
Speech to group including faculty of University of Virginia, residents of Charlottesville and a group from Fredericksville. 1-12-56
Conference with Sarah Patton Boyle and Dean of University of Virginia. 1-12-56

Arlington.
Workshop session with organizational leaders in Arlington, Alexandria, and Fairfax County, to discuss continuing efforts toward desegregation in Northern Virginia. 1-18-56

MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES

Work with Southern Regional Council

Meeting with Board of Southern Regional Council, Tuskegee Institute. 11-9-55
Meeting with Southern Regional Council consultants to plan Consultant program, Atlanta. 1-14-56
Southern Regional Council Conference on the Hard Core States, Atlanta. 3-23-24-56
Highlander Folk School. Executive Committee and Advisory Committee on School Desegregation. 10-14-16-55

Washington, D. C.

American Public Relations Association, member of panel on Public Relations Techniques for School Desegregation. 4-5-56
Conference, Dr. Fischer of Baltimore Public Schools. 4-5-56
Conference, several Washington school officials and organisational leaders. 4-6-56
Speech to Unitarian Church Social Problems class on The Conditions of the South Today. 4-8-56
Conference, Mr. Stoney and Mr. Read of Potomac Film Producers on plans for a film on school desegregation. 4-9-56

June 26, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear David:

I feel some ghost of an obligation to keep you and Loescher informed of the use made of such sums allocated to SRC in fiscal 54-55 for state organizations as were in that year not used for state organizations.

Here is an account, in round numbers, of where the balance went: total sum unused (states in fiscal 54-55 = $24,474).

The only reason for my getting these figures together is that I remember very clearly sitting in Loescher's house and saying that we would not take money allocated to states and put it into the central office budget. And I feel an obligation still, at least to report whatever (clearly legitimate) transfers have been made.

There will be some similar transfers during and at the end of the current fiscal year. But as to this fiscal year, your letter of grant made no mention of separate allocations by states and by central office, and therefore we feel free to do what seems reasonable and right.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

UNALLOCATED STATE FUNDS
1954-55

1.	Expenses of professional staff members of affiliated state councils and central office to attend Race Relations Institute at Fisk University (July, 1955)	$ 2,236.00
2.	Legal fee and expenses in connection with tax-exempt status of affiliated state councils (August, 1955)	572.00
3.	Conference of consultants for specific program aids and plans for working with state organizations at Atlanta University under direction of John Hope (January, 1956)	27.00
4.	Evaluation report to Executive Committee by Mrs. G. T. Hamilton (August, 1955)	350.00
5.	Meeting of Executive Committee and staff members at Mammoth Cave (August, 1955)	605.00
6.	Travel and services of Irene Osborne for special work with state organizations (October, 1955 - May, 1956)	9,084.00
7.	John Hope Consultant Program for state organizations (December, 1955 - Present)	10,800.00
	TOTAL	$24,474.00

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

June 12, 1956

GSA:

I think this could be improved if dates could be added to each item. Some things are pin-down dates. Others ran along for quite a period (Irene Osborne, for instance). On the pin-down dates, I wouldn't pin down to numerical dates, but only to months in the year. In the run-along things, I would try to say something like June-July '55, or whenever it was.

Dates added
GSA
6/18/56

eab/

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

June 8, '55

Dr. Mitchell:

The attached as returned to me by GSA.

DRAFT

Mr. David Freeman

Dear David:

I feel some ghost of an obligation to keep you and Loescher informed of the use made of such sums allocated to SRC in fiscal 54-55 for state organizations as were in that year used for state organizations.

Here is an account, in round numbers, of where the balance went: total sum unused (states in fiscal '54-55 = $24,374.00).

The only reason for my getting these figures together is that I remember very clearly sitting in Loescher's house and saying that we would not take money allocated to states and put it onto the central office budget. And I feel an obligation still, at least to report whatever (clearly legitimate) transfers have been made. ~~And I further state that I regard these transfers as having been made with your tacit~~ approval.

There will be some similar transfers during and at the end of the current fiscal year. But as to this fiscal year, your letter of grant made no mention of separate allocations by states and by central office, and therefore we feel free to do what seems reasonable and right.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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Total $24,474.00

FILE COPY

June 29, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Here is some report for April, May, and June, 1956.

BACK AND FORTH

Harold Fleming has been to New York a couple of times, conferring variously and about the special fact-finding program; and generally making friends for us.

Fred Routh has been out to meetings of our state people in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Kentucky. Along with John Hope and the consultants' service program, he has been also to South Carolina and Florida.

People have got on to Fred Routh for a speaker: Southern Sociological Society, Spelman College, AAUW at Birmingham, ADL in Atlanta, Oglethorpe University, the ADL Conference in Oklahoma, Clark College in Atlanta, etc. In addition, he went up to the Board meeting of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials at Detroit; and made a swing to the West Coast, mainly for the Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco. That let him get on to Los Angeles and Seattle for appearances with similar groups. Whereby our gospel has been carried to the West Coast.

Mrs. Tilly has attended meetings of the church women in six states.

George Mitchell met with labor groups at the International Ladies Garments Workers training institute, in New York; with an AFL-CIO luncheon in Washington; and taught again at the Kentucky Labor School. For church-related bodies he spoke to the Presbyterians (U.S.) in Charleston; to a body of Baptist ministers (National Baptist Convention) in Atlanta; to

the New York Chapter of the American Jewish Committee; to a Convention of the American Jewish Congress; to the Methodist Settlement Workers; for a retreat for the Catholic St. Peter Claver Center (Washington, D.C.) near Charlottesville; and for the Ecumenical Conference for the Southeastern area of the National Council of Churches. Other groups reached included Bennett College at Greensboro, the Kansas Conference of Social Work (for good pay), the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission (which handsomely awarded Mrs. Tilly and George Mitchell), the National Federation of Settlements (St. Louis, and again for good pay), and the Alabama Federation of Colored Women's Clubs.

A new line of business begins now to pop up. We get visited or written to by perplexed local groups, on how they can plan wisely for the future. Quite an interesting such visit from an Asheville, North Carolina delegation. The college at Wadley, Alabama, similarly needed advice. And most remarkable, the City Administrator of Orangeburg, South Carolina, wrote in for advice on what Orangeburg should do. We hear from our state people that this is a spreading trend; notwithstanding the noises made at the tops of several states, the local city officials are trying to figure out how they can comply!

Still another new need. People begin to write memoirs, and ask us for help in recalling things past. Somebody is doing a life of Lucy Mason; and Jack Woofter is doing his story.

And the usual run of visitors from the ends of Creation; and the mail, and the telephone. What makes it all possible is the efficiency with which the staff do their jobs, and the wisdom and care of the state organizations in so conducting their affairs as to give us only two or three chronic cases of worry!

THE TREND OF THE TIMES

Last time I reported good causes were embattled. An introduced yeast had caused visible Southern public opinion to rise up against desegregation.

This time I think the puff is out of the risen dough. There is still noise, mostly from Governors, politicos, and legislatures. But there is a pleasing tendency for local officials to adjust their minds and their plans to opening the schools. The undertone, "it's coming" is heard more often. We have had evidence that quite a string of cities is trying to figure out the next step in the direction of compliance: Norfolk, Richmond, Asheville, Greensboro, Knoxville, Nashville (even Memphis!), Atlanta, etc. And Texas continues to do well. Kentucky has about decided that behaving is to its liking. In Oklahoma the problem is nearly over. Significant that Thurgood Marshall at the San Francisco convention of the NAACP at the end of June divided the Southern states into those where leadership had shown good faith (where the NAACP would continue to negotiate for further compliance); and those where resistance was emphatic (where the NAACP would sue). Nine for negotiation; eight to be sued.

And Vann Woodward has lately been saying that in the Reconstruction period the whole South, even the border states, bucked the United States; while this time it is only a few. That's a bull point.

Conclusion: now that both sides have been noisily put, sensible people are beginning to ask how to get on with what has to be done. That is where SRC shines! We think we know what to do!

THE CHURCH WOMEN

Mrs. Tilly's help has gone mainly to Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Georgia. Alabama had a workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned. They needed such a meeting because communication between the races has been all too infrequent in Alabama latterly.

In Louisiana she checked matters over with the principal officers of the United Church Women and spoke at a gathering at Baton Rouge. The local version of Citizens' Councils -- there called the Southern Gentlemen -- were on hand. One or two essayed to worry Mrs. Tilly with Bible texts. But they soon got back better than they could give, and ended by apologizing for some portion of their rudeness. One of the men told Mrs. Tilly that she was too nice to be on the wrong side. She said that was what she thought about his being a member of the Southern Gentlemen.

In Georgia she went to the regular annual meeting of the North Georgia Conference of the Woman's Society of Christian Service; met later with a segment of the leadership of the Woman's Society to discuss integration in the schools; and taught a course every day or two for a couple of weeks in seven Methodist churches in Atlanta. Thus described, the teaching looks routine. But these were churches in areas where the women's husbands are quite apt to belong to the KKK!

In Mississippi, Mrs. Tilly gave a week in June to teaching at the School of Missions of the Central Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church at Gulfside, which is to say she spouted decency to and with Negro Methodism in the South.

On top of these entirely Southern things, she went to Philadelphia in April and got handsomely awarded by the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission. Went on to New York and conferred extensively with the United Church Women, the YWCA, and the Methodist Church. Also spoke at a meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union in Washington.

The Council has been appealing here and there for further funds for what Mrs. Tilly does. Thus far we have found listeners who seem likely to find two, three, or four thousand dollars, but not the fifteen or eighteen thousand dollars a year that she should have. What Mrs. Tilly does is valuable beyond price, and one would think that somebody could see it.

IN THE STATES

Fred Routh's notes:

ALABAMA: Working quietly with seventy ministers across the state to stand for integration. Working with student groups at the University of Alabama for a peaceful September, 1956.

ARKANSAS: Quietly working with more school districts to bring about a policy of desegregation. State Commission on Industrial Expansion Director used ACHR material in speech warning of growing threat to industrial expansion because of non-compliance.

FLORIDA: Board assuming responsibility for fund-raising. Staff working with "locals" and ministerial groups. Dade County Council on Community Relations (five years old and 400 strong) voted to affiliate with Florida Council.

GEORGIA: Atlanta Council on Human Relations formed; has potentialities. Full day work-session on school problems held in Macon. Director speaking before status organizations.

KENTUCKY: Working on problem of keeping teachers by merit not race. Cooperation from State Board of Education. Consultant service to desegregating districts. New Director good choice.

LOUISIANA: Joint Committee, similar to one in Washington, D. C., formed in New Orleans. With NAACP presently outlawed new responsibilities falling on Louisiana Council.

MISSISSIPPI: Conditions in the state make work all but impossible. Resignation of state chairman calls for "agonizing reappraisal" of SRC support of state organization. This underway.

NORTH CAROLINA: Closely working with Charlotte Council and local school authorities. Interview with Governor disclosed a policy of "hands off" local decisions but the Governor still hopes for "voluntary" segregation.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Staff helping get the story out on WCC activities. Work in Orangeburg area to keep lid from blowing off.

TENNESSEE: Office moved to Nashville; new state Chairman, Mrs. Mollie Todd, civic leader. Consultant program active; seeking Executive Director.

TEXAS: A study, "Texas Schools in Transition" underway. Ed Kloppe, a pusher, made full-time Executive Director. Advisory Committee in Austin more active in working with staff and board. Organized labor and Negro teachers still cooperating with Texas Commission.

VIRGINIA: Working with several communities which may move to desegregate this Fall. Organizing more "locals." Publishing highly informative newsletter. Cooperating with other organizations of like mind.

MOVIE OF THE MAP

The Northern Presbyterians are using some of the Fund for the Republic's grant to them to get a movie done of George Mitchell's well-known "map speech." They found an Atlanta movie-maker who likes the job. Only problem is that the sponsors and the movie-makers agree that the thing has to be squshed into twenty-six minutes, whereas the full-length job runs to thirty-eight. The argument is that the shorter version can get onto television, and nothing longer could. So Mitchell has whacked out the jokes that relieve the seriousness, and the details that add conviction, and is behaving compliantly.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Committee met in April, in Atlanta. Tolerable attendance, not better. Much business in a two-day session. Next meeting is relaxed, in July, on St. Helena's Island, in South Carolina. The Quakers are readying there an interracial conference spot. Good spot; replete with oysters and crabs and with an honest tradition of forty acres and a mule.

ALTERED OFFER TO TWO STATES

When we began our program of aid to state organizations we sent out a famous memorandum #1, which outlined even-steven assistance to each of twelve. And until quite lately we have stuck by just that offer.

Recently it seemed good to offer a tailor-made program for Kentucky and for Tennessee, and we have so offered. Kentucky ends up with less than its covenanted aid from us in the current fiscal year, but with the money in pockets that better fit their needs. Tennessee much the same, except that Kentucky got going at once with what she wanted to do, and Tennessee is hunting for staff for getting going again.

These two instances point to what we expect we ought to be doing more largely year after next, and perhaps ought to do next year. The idea is that at least after fiscal 1957-58 say half of the states would be able to run on their own, and half would need some modest help. That's the direction in which we shape our plans.

INFORMATION

Publications

New South during the quarter now ending ran several noteworthy articles especially prepared for us. The April issue brought together facts and opinion on racial problems as a threat to the South's economic development; the lead article was reprinted by the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and various other papers. The May issue published for the first time a uniquely strong speech by a chamber of commerce executive warning business leaders that they must give positive leadership in racial affairs. An article in the same issue by an Arkansas educator debunked the myth that downgrading of educational standards inevitably follows desegregation; this drew editorial comment in several Southern newspapers and will be of special value to teacher and parent groups. The June issue carries an analysis of "interposition" by Professor Arthur S. Miller, of the Emory University Law School, which is probably the clearest thing yet on the subject.

Also published: "Three views of Desegregation," including statements by William Faulkner and Benjamin Mays, in cooperation with the Southern Historical Association and the Fund for the Republic. "What the Supreme Court Said," giving the texts and analysis of the decisions, is proving a popular program item with our state affiliates and other organizations.

Newspapers and Magazines

The usual number of reporters and magazine writers sought us out for information and advice. Among those requesting and getting special help were writers for various bureaus of the Associated Press, United Press, International News Service, Time, Life, Collier's, Newsweek, The Reporter, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and Atlanta papers; also NBC Television News and the Canadian Broadcasting Company.

Materials Distributed

Through the state groups and otherwise, SRC distributed reprints of the New York Times special supplement on the South, the desegregation issue of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, a Reporter article on the Montgomery bus boycott by the Rev. Thomas Thrasher, the American Civil Liberties Union's annual report, the Bulletin of the Fund for the Republic, the Fund's several fact-sheets, and additional copies of "Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools."

Speeches and Consultation

The Assistant Director for Information spoke to an aggregation of teenagers at a YWCA camp and to a parents group of the Grace Methodist Church. Consulted on program with representatives of the Christian Congregationist

Churches, Presbyterian Church Women, the American Teachers Association, the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations, the American Recreation Association, the Catholic Interracial Council, the Fund for the Republic, and others unrecorded.

The Record-Keepers

These days, mainly with the help of the Doris Duke Foundation, we are advantaged with a one and one-half woman unit that collects and catalogues the pamphlets. Ten papers and seven magazines get active clipping. And we occasionally snip from something else. Our state offices send in quite a stream of local material, which we also ticket away. In this half of 1956 we have already filed a greater cubic yardage than in all of 1955. Pamphlets 1,500. Indexed and cross-indexed.

Nearly every day some hurry call comes in for a special rounding up of facts for a student, a teacher, the IW, a church, a newspaper, or somebody else. It takes seventy-five letters a month to send out what people ask for.

They keep a careful record of pro-segregation activity, economic pressure, desegregation in the public schools, colleges that are open, pro-segregation groups, playgrounds that are open, and some categories of Negro office-holding.

The little unit briefs our consultants when they are going out to new places. The whole unit has been invaluable in the fact-finding enterprise. It is the brick yards where much of the work is done.

SPECIAL FACT-FINDING PROGRAM

Desegregation Survey

An inventory of specific instances of desegregation occurring since May, 1954 was completed during the quarter. With the addition of one temporary staff member, Mrs. Margaret Price, and the use of three short-term reporters in Missouri and Oklahoma, it was possible to cover reasonably well the 17 Southern and border states. Some 1100 usable instances were collected. The report of the findings, running to approximately 100 pages, has been completed and sent to the Fund for the Republic and David Loth, who directed a similar study of the 31 non-Southern states. At this writing, some form of joint publication of the SRC and Loth reports is being explored. In any case, we plan to publish a summary of the SRC findings -- probably in New South -- and release it to the press. The findings bear out the original assumption that an inventory of desegregation would produce an impressive body of material and could help to counteract the discouraging effect of recent negative developments.

Study of Negro Suffrage in the South

The aim of this project is to assemble for the twelve Southern states information on the present extent of Negro registration and voting, obstacles to full Negro suffrage, and the relation of disenfranchisement to county data on population, income, industrialization, and urbanization. The study is well under way in nine of the twelve states; in the remaining three, there are problems of personnel which we hope to solve shortly. In each of the activated states, a qualified director for the study has been secured on a part-time consultant basis, and additional personnel are used as needed. This is a "crash" project, the deadline for fact-finding being the end of September; it is also the largest in scope, and probably the most important in terms of public policy.

Study of Southern Industrialization

In the controversy over desegregation, the industrialization of the South has come to the fore. SRC has commissioned Hammer and Company, economic consultants, to gather information on all industries locating in the South in the last five to ten years, with respect to type, size, and ownership. This is a large operation, involving inquires by mail or in person to dozens of chambers of commerce, industrial development agencies, and plant location firms. The data collected will be tabulated and analyzed in terms of their meaning for race relations. In this way, we hope to clarify the implications which new industry holds for racial problems and progress in the region. The deadline for the fact-finding is no later than September 1.

Field Study of Resistance Movements

We have employed a temporary staff member to gather first-hand information on the nature and leadership of the various pro-segregation organizations operating in the South. He is Paul Anthony, of Atlanta, a graduate of the University of Miami's Human Relations Department, who has had experience in both social science action-research and in business. Mr. Anthony has spent two weeks digesting the large body of material already available and is presently carrying on field research in Alabama. His findings will be available to SRC staff as he completes his field travel in each state. At the end of the project, he will prepare an over-all summary and analysis, which will be the basis for such publications and reports as seem indicated.

Field Study of Labor and Race Relations

Under a special financial arrangement with the trade union consultant to the Fund for the Republic, Mr. Benjamin Segal, a qualified Southern trade unionist has been engaged for a three-month period of field work. He is Morton Kiker, of Birmingham, who has had many years of experience in workers education and other labor activity in the CIO. Mr. Kiker is to gather information on the progress of Negroes in the labor

movement, new problems arising out of the school segregation controversy, practices which affect equal opportunities in employment, upgrading, and promotion, and effective methods for improving race relations within the union movement. This project is being carried out with the knowledge and approval of appropriate labor leadership.

FOREIGN VISITORS

April 5 — Frank Tomney, Labor Party Representative in the British Parliament. South of England.

April 10 — Louis H. A. Frequin, Editor-in-Chief of the Gelderlander Press of Nijmegen. Berg en Dalseweg 466, Nijmegen.

April 30 — John Burns Hynd, 18 Lakeside, Enfield, Middlesex, Entland. Labor member of the British Parliament, and a participant in the Foreign Leader Exchange Program of the International Educational Exchange Service, U. S. Department of State.

May 9 — Drachkovitch Milorad, 11 Dyver, Bruges - Belgium (Europe). Professor at the College of Europe.

May 11 — Max Brauer, Hamburg, Germany. Former Lord Mayor of Hamburg, Germany.

May 28 — Hans Mensel, City Editor - Salzburgee Valksblott, Salzburg, Austria.

June 4 — Dr. Werner Imhoff, (Switzerland), 3914 Livingston, Washington, D. C. Journalist.

June 4 — Dr. Peter Kortewegg, 1801 Clydesdale Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. Washington correspondent for ten Dutch newspapers.

June 12 — Charles Pannell, 159 Glenview, Abbey Wood, London, S.E. 2, England. Labor Member of Parliament, England.

June 18 — Seet Leong Seng, c/o Quantas Empire Airways Ltd., MacDonald House, Singapore 9. Senior Staff Clerk, Quantas Empire Airways, LTD. Singapore.

June 18 — Challappah Rasadurai, 415 Lemon St., Seremban, N.S. Malaya. Clerk, Sessions Court, Seremban.

DIARY ITEMS

Mitchell spent several days twenty miles from Asheville, North Carolina. A delegation of forward-looking Asheville citizens, white and Negro, came to sit on the porch and conjointly plan the desegregation of the Asheville schools.

Met for a couple of days with nearly all the ministers, and some of the laymen in these scattered churches, of the Northern Presbyterian Church up and down the Southeastern Atlantic Seaboard. Mostly Negro churches. What to do and how to do it?

Put in one whole morning with His Honor, the Lord Mayor of Hamburg, Germany, and all afternoon with a reporter from the Washington Post.

The Student Council at Swarthmore badly needed a speaker. Got them one.

Small college in Alabama wanted faculty advised on how to desegregate. Gave it.

Southeastern meeting of the National Council of Churches needed some teaching on desegregation. Provided it.

John Constable helped Southern Regional Office, National Student Council, YWCA, select material on desegregation for two student conferences.

Sent samples of suggested materials on desegregation to directors of Summer human relations workshops in the South and border states. Some requests for additional materials subsequently received.

Fred Routh rode on train with leader of White Citizens' Council of East Black Belt of Alabama; man discouraged about rapidity of desegregation and bad name WCC getting from Ace Carter.

Talked with officer of General Electric who felt that industry could not afford to let politicians and bigots ruin Southern economy.

Field representative of National Student Association stopped by office; long talk on what can college students do to prevent future "Tuscaloosas." He reported that the President of the student body at the University of Alabama had written the national office saying students were "ashamed" of what had happened.

Talked with NAACP leader from Louisiana who said, "Little old brown man name of Gandhi toppled an empire with passive resistance; Montgomery bus protest means the same thing." This concept is spreading and passive resistance is growing as a policy in a number of Southern communities.

Mrs. Tilly was teaching at a church school some sub-teens. One asked, "Mrs. Tilly, where in the Bible does it say God created the black man?". Mrs. Tilly replied, "In the first chapter of Genesis it says God created man in his own image and likeness, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life." The child said, "Was Adam a black man?".

Mrs. Tilly at Baton Rouge. The self-styled Southern Gentlemen and their lady-folk were present. One such lady to Mrs. Tilly: "You are going to make my child go to school with n-----'s." Mrs. Tilly: "I haven't that power." The lady: "You are the Southern Regional Council, ain't you?".

MONEY

Mrs. Ruth Alexander will be reporting as soon as the Auditor can be got in. Meanwhile we feel fairly safe for getting through this fiscal year. The states are all right; and all are being aided as agreed. The Atlanta office looks as though it will just about meet its total budget for the fiscal year, but that depends on our getting in eight thousand dollars or so of what we hope for from other people. As to meeting our quota with the Fund for the Republic ($55,000 from outside sources) we are within eight of the goal largely because the New World Foundation has sent us $17,000 to keep the special project of consultants' services going through this calendar year. We may be making lame speeches about a few hundred dollars below quota, at the end of the fiscal year, but on the other hand we may just make it. Next year's tougher, but we plan for it.

JOHN HOPE AND THE CONSULTANTS

A report from this program is compressed herewith:

Two workshops in this quarter. South Carolina late in April. Three SRC staff persons plus a consultant from Florida State University, and another from Howard University. Thirty-nine present, of whom seven were members of the Board of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. The rest had been invited by the state Director.

Other one for Florida held at Lakeland in early June. Two SRC staff persons present. One consultant from the University of Kentucky and another from Howard University. Nine members of the Board of the Florida Council on Human Relations present. Total attendance eighteen.

The Florida group with more Board members is more sophisticated, but each group proceeded quite considerably.

The Florida meeting provided the answer to a perplexing problem: How to meet the situation of summoning the Board members for training when the states have to pay? Answer: hook the training on to the normal Board meetings anyway.

Workshops coming up: Alabama in late September, North Carolina maybe.

Grow-points: John Hope thinks about arranging consultation services with school boards, and study groups within school boards.

May use consultants as speakers and panel participants when SRC staff members not available. In some states consultants would be invited when SRC personnel wouldn't!

Specifically aimed visits by consultants to SRC state offices.

John Hope, himself, is helping unravel the problems of Nashville in public school desegregation.

Quite clearly we are getting our money's worth in thinking and training and teaching from the consultants' program.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

June 29, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED JUL 5 1956

Dear George:

Thank you for your note of June 27. I am sorry I won't be able to see you when you're in New York as I expect to be in Canada until the 23rd. Why don't you call Adam Yarmolinsky when you arrive and arrange to see him.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman
Vice President

June 27, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear David:

I have promised Will Maslow to show at some brain-power meeting he's got coming up for the late afternoon and evening of July 12th.

That puts me in New York the morning of July 12th.

July is vacation month for you and others I doubt not. But I will telephone the office the morning of July 12th and see if anybody up there has need of my shining face.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

July 6, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

Every once in a while something comes into the office which we think should be of particular interest to you. Here is such an item from our Louisiana group.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

Encl.

August 7, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

Here is another item from one of our state organizations, which I thought you might find of interest. The Texas group is picking up considerable steam since the new Executive Director has taken office, and since the advisory committee has been functioning with the Board.

Best personal regards,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

Dictated by Mr. Routh. Signed by his secretary in his absence.

August 8, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear David:

This is always an anxious time of year, when we hoveringly hope that the state organizations can be nursed past their fund-raising goals. Georgia is clean over it. Virginia, South Carolina, and Alabama are at it or past it. Texas is close to it. The others string along; two or three far from home. We think all will get home except maybe Mississippi and North Carolina -- and maybe N. C. will make the grade.

Goal is 3500. Nothing terrible, but hard. In four or five cases, where we have shelled out to the state less of your money than covenanted we have shaved the goal, but pro-rata it's on a basis of 3500 for them to raise for $13,000 of your money paid them by us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - NCCHR Bulletin #8

Copy for David Freeman File

August 22, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
Sixty East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

This is to request of the Fund for the Republic, in accordance with its original letter of grant dated April 2, 1954, the amount of $110,000 therein indicated as possibly approvable for the third grant period.

September 31, 1956, will mark the end of the second fiscal year of aid to the Council by the Fund. During that period, substantial progress has been made toward the Council's main commitment to establish and strengthen human relations organizations, progressionally staffed and representative of both races, in the twelve Southern states. The Council has also carried on, through its central office, essential information, publication, and consultative services.

The Fund has been kept advised of the activities of the Council and its state affiliates through detailed quarterly reports and other less formal correspondence. Thus we forego any recital of them in this request. It is pertinent, however, to mention the results of the central office's fund-raising from other sources thus far in the current fiscal year. Between October 1, 1955, and August 15, 1956, the Council had raised a total of $52,656.80. This is exclusive, of course, of the amounts raised by the state organizations, as required by our arrangements with them.

I know you are as aware as we are of the increasing need in the Southern states for the accurate and careful counseling offered by the Southern Regional Council. We will be deeply grateful to the Fund for the Republic for further aid in carrying on this important work.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Grant 1957
[illegible]
file

August 22, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
Sixty East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

Will Maslow has me coming to New York October 2nd to make a speech at the New School that evening. I will be in hopes that your engagements can be so planned as to give me a time to talk with you on the first or 2nd or 3rd of October.

And when Frank Loescher gets back, do please send him down to look us over. There will be much we will all want to discuss.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

pull from daily file
for 'report file'

August 23, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
Sixty East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

I mailed you yesterday the Southern Regional Council's formal request for the third installment of aid from the Fund for the Republic to SRC.

I now write you less formally.

I remember with clarity the expressed expectation that the Southern Regional Council would come up with at least $55,000 of money raised from sources other than the Fund for the Republic during our second grant period, October 1, 1955 - September 30, 1956.

As of August 15th, the figure was $52,656.80. Here is a breakdown (to be reported on later in minute detail):

Contributions:

Individuals	$ 3,035.00	
Organizations	4,996.00	
Churches	3,570.00	
Foundations	30,500.00	
Total contributions		$42,101.00

Other Income:

SRC Dues (Associates)	$ 346.00	
New South Subscriptions	5,638.17	
Sale of Literature	1,271.83	
Honoraria	1,362.80	
Interest Income	1,937.00	
		$10,555.80

The apparent shortfall from $55,000 is $2,343.20. Probably we will take it in. Maybe we will take in a good deal more. If we come up a few hundred dollars short, our fall-back would be the claim that for fiscal 1954-55 we did raise $6,798.10 more than we had to.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

MEMORANDUM

August 28, 1956

TO: GSM

FROM: HCF

Dave Freeman called with an urgent request for the latest total of funds raised by the states in this fiscal year. He was lavish with statements of reassurance that this had no ominous significance and that he understood full well the difficulties of Southern fund raising in this period. But he wanted to be armed with these figures in coping with his Board.

Ruth cast up for me the figures attached. Note that this is the status as of August 1st, and that Texas was revised upward by $600, representing Ruth's estimate of what they had raised, but had not yet reported in June and July.

Dave was interested only in the totals here shown, not the state by state breakdown. He recalled that according to our original requirement the amount to be raised by the states would total $42,000. I gave him the total of the revised amount - $36,000. He was well enough pleased with this showing, but raised two questions:

1) In the case of those states whose fund raising requirement was reduced, ~~would~~ did they receive a proportionately smaller allocation of F for R funds? I replied, that in general the answer was yes. We agreed that the unexpended balances had been redirected to central needs, in each case with the knowledge and concurrence of the Fund's staff.

2) Dave had gathered from recent communications that there was some possibility that Mississippi would be cut off. If this should happen, he would want us to report the fact by letter and make some proposal for alternative allocation of the funds withheld from Mississippi or any other state group in like circumstances. We wouldn't have to be too formal about it, he said. He simply wants the staff to be protected in the event Board members raise the question during the coming year. I assured him that we would, as in the past, consult fully with him about any proposed diversion of funds from their originally designated purpose. I also remarked that, in the unhappy event any of the state groups were cut off, we would hope to service that state direct through some other staff device. He readily understood this and expressed approval of the general idea.

All the way through, Dave was at pains to make it clear that he was not raising any questions out of dissatisfaction, but was simply informing himself in order to prosecute the Council's request before the forthcoming Board meeting.

If any of this is not clear, let us discuss.

HCF:mbo
Attached report

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

:(10). 1201

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

AA27 PB219 1963 OCT 18 PM 12 25

P YWS058 PD=FE NEW YORK NY 18 1205PME=

TO ATLANTA

:HAROLD FLEMING, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

:63 AUBURN AVE =NORTH EAST ATLA=

:ST. LOUIS FILM IS 35 MM. WILL ASSUME PROJECTION FACILITIES AVAILABLE UNLESS I HEAR TO CONTRARY=

:DAVID F FREEMAN=

:35 MM=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

October 19, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

In order to avoid any entanglements having to do with combustible material, I am sending you by air freight today the 35 mm print of the St. Louis film. If you don't receive it by Monday afternoon, please call me and we will try and trace it from here so that we will be sure to have it in your automobile by Wednesday morning. I have also discovered that we still have the print of the Carmichael interview on Face the Nation.

CBS is putting a very high price on additional prints which may mean that if we do anything with this at all we would have to do it on the basis of interested organizations purchasing their own prints through us. This, it seems to me, makes it all the more important that the group at Tuskegee have an opportunity to see the Carmichael film and I'll bring that one along with me in my suitcase.

Since this means a total of three films, you may want to consider splitting up the showings. We might run the St. Louis story and the map talk together and then fit the Carmichael interview into some other "break" in the discussion.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Dave

per T.K.

David F. Freeman
Vice President

October 22, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear David:

This is the last quarter of the two-and-a-half years of aid to the Southern Regional Council from the Fund for the Republic; and of the second year of aid from SRC to state organizations. Therefore, this has been a time for planning and cogitating and assessing.

Less than heretofore of running around to speaking engagements. Mitchell did bits here and there for church and school groups. Twice to the mountains for such appearances. Once to the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University, and to other such Institutes at Pennsylvania State University and the University of Michigan. Twice to New York, once for some meeting of the American Jewish Congress, and once for a speech before the editorial staff of Time-Life-Fortune. A week-long session with the Texas Federation of Labor. Two runs to Tennessee, trying to get a state organization aloft there.

One most interesting occasion was the meeting arranged in Washington in September by Father Shean of Rock Hill, where substantial agreement appeared to SRC's method of fetching local people together to plan on the facts what they had best do about the school system.

ORGANIZATION

Quite a good deal has moved along in the way of organizing SRC. The Executive Committee had a satisfying two-day session at St. Helena's Island in South Carolina July 21-22. Later on the Nominating Committee of the Board of Directors of SRC met and made its selections of additional names to be chosen to the Board and for officers and for the Executive Committee.

We may be choosing a new President of SRC this coming November, as Marion Wright wrote us some time back that for personal reasons it would not suit him to serve after that. And at the July meeting of the Executive Committee Mitchell told the Committee that he would, in January, 1957, fulfill on his long-term plans and resign his valued job as Executive Director of SRC, and prepare for a transferral to the Scottish Highlands. Subsequently, a special sub-committee of the Executive Committee has figured out what to do about a replacement, and has fastened upon a recommendation of a successor to Mitchell, for possible election by the November 14-15, 1956, Board meeting.

And the Executive Committee took action looking toward the end of SRC aid to the Mississippi Council on Human Relations at the end of this calendar year. The Mississippi Council has let us know that they will keep going as a volunteer body.

Further on the matter of organization: SRC, at its central office a little better than squeaked over the top in its year-long effort to raise independently of the Fund for the Republic $55,000, in order to enable it to qualify for the third increment of the original 1954 grant from the Fund for the Republic. And the state organizations have, with three exceptions, met their fund-raising quotas also; and one or two of the exceptions will probably have finished their campaigns within another few days or weeks.

THE WORK WITH CHURCH WOMEN

Mrs. Tilly writes: The days are so full and the evenings often are fuller still. Yet to make a report on engagements, the hours of studying, planning, working, in summary seems little.

I taught three study classes each eight hours, on "Mission U.S.", a study challenging church women to accept a mission to our country. Taught a week at School of Missions, Emory University, and made the exhibits for the school. I was the speaker for one evening.

Held a two-days Retreat for the United Church Women of Georgia at a country camp. The preparation for this required many hours. All the denominations were represented. Dr. Malcolm Calhoun and Dr. George Mitchell threw out the challenges of these days to us. At the evening session, there was so much freedom the women plainly laid before us all their prejudices -- Sherman's march through Georgia, protection of our daughters, etc. To each, someone had an answer. The tenseness disappeared. It was a great spiritual experience for all of us. I made nine talks to various groups. Much of my time was spent in planning for the Workshop for the Fellowship of the Concerned -- October 30-31, 1956.

THE STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Mr. Parrish has been in for major meetings, and for a good but never adequate number of staff occasions. Fred Routh, out of two years of work with the state organizations contributes now a reflective essay on the experience:

Students and observers of the Southern scene have long recognized the diverse nature of their region; the concept of a "solid South" has been recognized as false. Thus, when the Southern Regional Council sought to assist the process of adjustment to the Supreme Court's ruling, which declared segregation on the basis of race in the public schools unconstitutional, a decentralized approach seemed most promising.

The Southern Regional Council went about the task of establishing in the twelve states of the Southern region affiliated state organizations which would grow in autonomy and self-support over a three year period.

At the end of two and one-half years of effort in this direction it can be said that the work has not been in vain, indeed it has met with considerable success. There are twelve functioning state organizations, though it must be added that one has only recently started to move, and another, Mississippi, has not proved effective enough to justify further aid from SRC. In the remaining states, however, integrated lay Boards of Directors and professional staff have been of service to the process of desegregation.

In Kentucky, Arkansas, Texas, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia, state affiliates have worked directly with school boards, either state or local, to plan what might be done toward desegregating local school systems. In three of these states -- Kentucky, Texas and Arkansas -- the state affiliates have contributed to successful efforts to achieve desegregation. The Kentucky affiliate has been working, with some success, with the State Board of Education on the problem of teacher integration. The Arkansas Council did noble service in the Hoxie situation. The Texas Commission played a significant role in testifying before the State Board of Education's public hearings.

Several of the states, notably Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Virginia, and Texas, have created and extended a group of local affiliated groups, thus reaching down to the grass roots level.

South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama have done a good job of documenting instances of economic reprisal and pressure against Negroes and whites who stood for integration.

In the hard-core area of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina the efforts have largely consisted of a holding action against the currents of prejudice and reaction. Yet

even in this area there have been accomplishments. During the little more than two years since the Supreme Court decision, opposition has hardened in the region, and lines have been more closely drawn. Some people who were for "good" race relations under the old separate-but-equal doctrine have left the ranks of pro-integration organizations and are either silent or, in some instances, have joined White Citizens Councils or other resistance movements. In spite of this, the state affiliates continue to grow in membership and fund-raising ability.

On the negative side of the ledger, at a time when the needs of the region and individual states cry for full-time program activities, professional staff has been occupied with other matters. A great deal of effort has gone, by necessity, into purely organizational work; staff time has had to be given to membership recruitment; in too many instances state staff have been saddled with fund-raising. State organizations -- mainly with two professionals at most -- have been called upon to provide a wide range of needed skills.

The central office has developed a set of criteria for evaluating state affiliates. Heaviest weight is given to integrated Board and staff and to program effectiveness; other considerations include memberships gained, funds raised, public recognition, publications, and involvement of key people.

Increasingly in the past year state groups have run into resistance forces beyond their power to cope with. There has been a solidification of resistance across state lines -- it has become regional in nature and national in impact. The central office has been called upon time and again to assist the state organizations or local communities to help offset this growing monolith.

As we face the third and last year of the current grant the central office will seek to give the state organizations a further push toward autonomy and self-support. Special regional effort is needed to create a climate in which state groups can function. More effective means of meeting region-wide attacks by resistance groups must be devised. Further methods of offsetting the propaganda of the segregationists must be developed. While continuing to assist and cooperate with affiliated state organizations, the central office must strengthen its regional functions if the state groups are to have a chance at success and longevity.

NAME	TOTAL PAID TO STATE ORGANIZATIONS BY SRC 10/1/55-9/30/56	FUND RAISING GOAL ESTIMATED & NOTIFIED BY LETTER 8/7/56	FUNDS RAISED BY SEPTEMBER 30, 1956	TOTAL MEMBERSHIP SEPTEMBER 30, 1956
Alabama	$ 8,033.00	$ 2,500.00	$ 2,977.46	502
Florida	12,750.12	3,500.00	5,263.21	406
Georgia	12,750.12	3,500.00	4,372.74	676
Kentucky	8,122.00	2,000.00	2,270.79	259
Louisiana	7,635.00	2,000.00	2,052.15	270
North Carolina	12,110.00	3,500.00	4,032.00	526
South Carolina	12,550.00	3,500.00	3,501.03	407
Texas	11,800.00	3,500.00	2,347.75	201
Virginia	10,660.00	3,500.00	4,859.17	606
Arkansas	12,750.12	3,500.00	2,087.70	168
Mississippi	11,800.00	3,500.00	2,377.51	272
Tennessee	5,412.75	1,500.00	984.39	201
Totals	$126,373.23	$36,000.00	$37,125.90	4,494

THE STATE OF PUBLIC OPINION IN THE SOUTH

Harold Fleming writes:

Few people who read the newspapers doubt that the "climate of opinion" with respect to desegregation has worsened in the South -- and for that matter in the whole country. It is commonly assumed that this negativism (or defeatism in the case of integrationists) is the result of a spontaneous grass-roots rebellion against the Supreme Court's edict. This is a big -- and unhelpful -- oversimplification. True, a majority of white Southerners, if they had their ruthers, would prefer segregation; true the raw material of prejudice and anxiety is plentiful in the white South; true, the South has, as always, a fanatical fringe ready to seize on an excuse for violence.

But none of this means that what happened was inevitable, or that there need be a lot more of it from now on. The neglected factor is leadership. As Louisville School Superintendent Carmichael pointed out on "Face the Nation," if Virginia had had the right kind of leadership, Richmond could have done what Louisville has done.

There needs to be much more thoughtful consideration of how "climates of opinion" are formed. Generally speaking, rank-and-file people take their cues from those in positions of authority, influence, and power: public officials, top political figures, preachers, educators, newspaper editors, business and industrial leaders, and so on. Nor is the Southern "climate" purely a result of Southern opinion leadership. National prestige figures and nation-wide mass media are also potent. (For evidence, consider the expensive and extensive efforts of Southern segregationists to project their viewpoint to the "North.")

There also needs to be more recognition of the complexity of opinion and attitude on race. Most people hold no simple, single-minded, coherent opinion on the subject; rather they have a number of vague, shifting, often contradictory notions of what their position should be. For example, I think it is safe to say that most white Southerners believe (1) that segregation is "best for both races"; (2) that the law should be respected; (3) that the public schools should be preserved; (4) that the Negro should have an "equal chance"; (5) that the South shouldn't appear benighted and bigoted to "outsiders"; (6) that Negroes don't want integration; (7) that Negroes will "take advantage" of whites under integration. This list of "beliefs for any given individual could be greatly extended. What passes as public opinion at any given time reflects the depth, intensity, and balance of the various notions at the moment. And this, in turn, depends on how the situation is defined by those whose words are regarded as authoritative.

SRC's Information Program

Over the years, SRC has tried to exert a favorable influence on the balance between positive and negative elements in Southern public opinion. We haven't been so arrogant as to assume that we could alone have much effect on so vast a problem. And, as the challenge grows, we are even more convinced that simply dealing with the press and other public media ourselves is only a small part of our task. As an agency working and thinking full-time about Southern race relations, we can usefully "cue" journalists, other agencies, and key individuals to effective opinion approaches. We have been doing some of this job, but we could and should do considerably more. The methods we are now using are generally sound, as far as they go; they can be quickly characterized as follows:

(1) Press relations. One of our strongest assets is such reputation as we have achieved for being a reliable center of information and interpretation for newspapermen and other writers. By supplying honest facts and analysis, rather than "loaded" propaganda, we can reach individuals whose writings reach millions.

(2) Television. Here is a medium on which we need to concentrate more of our thought and effort. A certain amount can be done through direct approaches to local TV stations. But because of the unusual sensitivity of television to the perils of "controversy," the local approach is severely limited in the areas of greatest need. In this respect, the centralization of the TV industry is an asset. Network programs that reach into every corner of the South are conceived and executed in New York and Los Angeles. We would be short-sighted indeed if we did not find more ways to develop our stake in nationally originated TV treatments of race relations.

(3) Publications. The SRC has never gone in for random or "shotgun" pamphleteering, and the present situation encourages this approach less than ever. Rather, we need to do an even more effective "rifleshot" job with our publications -- that is, putting the right material into the hands of the right people. We have fairly consistently sought to develop special articles, pamphlets, and leaflets that would carry weight with opinion-makers in various interest groups -- religious, economic, journalistic, educational, professional, and the like. Our greatest need in this area is to improve and extend our channels of distribution.

(4) Special Fact-Finding. This should be distinguished from "research" (in both its academic and its popular usage) which has fallen into disrepute among action-minded people as being an abstract art. Our object is to assemble -- and disseminate -- specific bodies of fact that (a) make possible a diagnosis of practical problems and (b) point the way to effective remedies. Thus we seek to document recent Southern industrialization as a basis for persuasive economic arguments for desegregation -- arguments that will command respect from economic leadership. Similarly we document the status of Negro voters in the South in order to focus attention on this vital key to progress and to guide

the shaping of national policies to protect the ballot. In the case of the desegregation study, our aim was to contribute to a revival of confidence in the inevitability and workability of integration. The possibilities and effectiveness of this kind of strategic fact-finding are very great, provided we do an adequate job of disseminating the findings.

(5) Clearinghouse. The SRC is looked to by a host of organizations and key individuals for counsel. By giving this function more staff time and skill we can greatly increase the outreach of SRC's information and insights. In this way we can enlarge our contribution to the effort to bring all of the nation's positive resources to bear on the urgent domestic problems of segregation and discrimination.

CONSULTANTS'HOPE

John Hope, with his consultants service program, did Georgia toward the end of September. They had quite a good attendance from the Board of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, and some of the choicest of the consultants. Much was learned in a two-day occasion.

Approximately fifty participants, white and colored, from communities large and small all over Georgia (Atlanta, Macon, Gainesville, Rome, Monticello, Augusta, LaGrange), contributed to the success of this conference. It marked a new phase in SRC's consultant service program of assistance to state affiliates.

The conference was organized and developed by the staff and consultants of the Georgia Committee, in cooperation with SRC staff and two SRC consultants. Dr. William Jones of the University of Tennessee and Dr. Herman Long of the Race Relations Department at Fisk University, SRC consultants, joined eight Georgia state consultants in conducting three free flowing but intensive discussion groups.

Specific concern the question of how community leaders could develop workable programs aimed at the desegregation of the public schools. The three discussions of ten to fifteen persons each were built around the following questions: How do we mobilize and organize the community for effective action to eliminate segregation and dissemination? (Community Organization); how do we determine the essential body of facts (information) needed by this organized group? (Fact-Finding and Self-Survey); and how do we communicate the necessary information to the community as means of getting action? The problem of widely differing social climates in various communities and the implications of problems arising from such difficulties were carefully canvassed as an element in formulating programs of action that would effectively involve key leadership in the various communities in the process of public school desegregation and other timely projects aimed at equalizing opportunity at the community level.

After two sessions of open informal discussion, reports of the findings of each group were made to the total conference, and a thorough discussion followed, giving opportunity for all to share in the findings of each intensive discussion group. An interpretive summary, based on the joint findings of Fred Routh and Hylan Lewis, was presented by Fred Routh.

The significant new departure in this conference was the use of a technical analyst, Dr. Hylan Lewis, who observed the proceedings, and will appraise with recommendations for improvements. This will provide the basis for continuing improvement in our leadership training and involvement effort and efficiency of the consultant's service program.

FOREIGN VISITORS

July 23	Peter H. Chew, Student, Balliol College, Oxford, England.
July 30	Dr. Georges Housiaux, Socialist member of the Chamber of Representatives, maintains a law practice in Huy. 13 Rue des Vignes, Huy, Belgium.
Aug. 3	George Thomas, member of Chairman's Panel, House of Commons, and a Methodist Lay Minister. House of Commons, London.
Aug. 10	Seth Kèbla Anthony, until recently: Senior Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of the Interior; next winter: Senior diplomatic post with the newly created Foreign Service of the Gold Coast. P. O. Box 1115, Accra, Gold Coast.
Aug. 20	Mr. Gendikas, Athens, Greece. Recent graduate from Columbia University in engineering.
Aug. 25	Mrs. Ai Kumi, Lawyer, Japan.
Septe 11	Michael A. Foster, Student. Balliol College, Oxford, England.
Sept. 11	Kenneth Adams, Student. Balliol College, Oxford, England. "Applegarth", Stocksfield, Northumberland, England
Sept. 17	Masotsha Mike Hove, Member of Parliament of Central African Federation, P. O. Box 1893, Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia.
Sept. 18	Georges Brausch, Government Official, Belgian Congo.

THE AUDIT

Mrs. Ruth Alexander, as Secretary-Treasurer, will report in

detail on the figures as soon as his honor the Auditor can be brought to full performance.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

BCC: Mr. Ben Segal

AIRMAIL

October 29, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

There was so much going on at Tuskegee that I never got a chance to discuss with you the question of a labor guy for the South. Ben Segal and I talked about it, however, and I just want to add a word from our point-of-view.

One of the things that emerges clearly from the Elder and Muravchik studies is the need for closer liaison between labor groups in the South and such agencies as those represented at Tuskegee. With George Mitchell no longer available for labor conferences and institutes, the need is all the greater. Apparently neither the AFL-CIO nor any of the various internationals are in position to add such a staff person, for reasons that Ben can explain more authoritatively than I can. And there is considerable advantage in such a staffer being close to but outside the formal structure of the labor movement.

It looks as though the best possible man for the job will be available during the coming year -- Emory Via, a Southerner who has had long experience with workers' education in Georgia and moves skillfully in both human relations and labor circles. We would be interested in acquiring Via ourselves except that our skeletal professional staff would prohibit that much specialization. It is conceivable that SRC could pick up part of the cost, in cooperation with Ben, but our post-January budget is too uncertain as yet to do more than speculate.

In any case, the purpose of this letter is merely to say that the function Ben has in mind is an important one, and I hope it can be worked out, with or without SRC's participation.

It was good being with you at Tuskegee. All of us appreciate the able job you and Frank did in moving things along.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

October 31, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

SRC would be glad to take a print of the Carmichael broadcast at $75.00.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Apprenticeship Program in Intergroup Relations

At the September meeting the Officers presented for preliminary discussion a memorandum describing the need for recruiting and training personnel in the intergroup relations field, and proposing a program of one-year apprenticeships. Since then the proposal has been discussed with executives of other foundations and representatives of agencies in the field. The Officers are now prepared to recommend a two-year program, on a matching basis.

The Need

There is a shortage of trained personnel in the intergroup relations field. The Fund has at least indirectly contributed towards this shortage through grants to the Southern Regional Council, the Urban League, and church organizations. The urgency of the problem has been brought home in recent weeks when one or another of the Fund's grantees has reported delays in initiating programs because of recruitment difficulties.

The proposal

We propose that the Fund initiate an apprenticeship program. This would be done by a series of individual grants to intergroup agencies and one administrative grant to NAIRO (The National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials.) The number of grants to agencies by the Fund would depend on the number of "matching" grants made by other foundations. Several of these have already indicated interest in the plan.

The program would be set up as follows:

1. Each participating agency would receive a grant of $5,000 to cover the cost of employing one apprentice at a salary appropriate to the agency. The balance of each grant would be used to defray travel costs and expenses for special supervision and on-the-job training. The agency would select its own apprentice, and would agree to send the apprentice and a senior staff member to a ten-day or two-week seminar to be held toward the end of the year of training.

2. The Officers would negotiate with NAIRO a grant for administration, at a cost not to exceed $20,000 a year for two years. This grant would provide for the salary of a senior practitioner in the field to administer the program, and would also finance the seminar.

Apprenticeship Program in Intergroup Relations (cont'd)

The proposal (cont'd)

The tentative annual budget for administration follows:

Administrator (3/4 time)	$9,000
Office and travel expenses	3,500
Recruitment and placement expenses, including announcement fliers	1,500
Seminar expenses, including honoraria for consultants	6,000
	$ 20,000

3. The number of grants to individual agencies financed by the Fund would be determined by the amount of matching funds pledged by other foundations, up to a maximum Fund commitment of 12 such grants. This would mean that if the Fund were to make 12 grants, for a total of $60,000, the Officers would first have had assurances that at least an additional $60,000 would be forthcoming during the two-year period from other foundations. Conversations with executives of foundations (Field, Whitney, Doris Duke) interested in the field indicate that they and others might be willing to participate to the extent of $100,000.

4. The selection of the agencies to receive the fellowship grants would be made by the Officers, in conjunction with executives of other foundations. Criteria should include opportunity for intensive on-the-job training in a variety of assignments, the needs of the agency for additional staff, and a "spread" in the type and location of agencies.

Purpose

A program such as that outlined above should serve several purposes:

1. By attracting the attention of young people, it should serve to raise recruitment levels in the field and open up sources such as law schools, business schools, schools of industrial relations, theological schools, schools of journalism, etc.

Apprenticeship Program in Intergroup Relations (cont'd)

Purpose (cont'd)

2. The program would provide practical experience for the participants and improve the process of training for responsible positions in the field.

3. It should also improve cooperation among practitioners and agencies by focusing attention on the most effective methods of work in various parts of the field.

4. The program should stimulate the interest and support of other foundations.

5. The program would, of course, have the immediate effect of providing each participating agency with one additional staff member at no cost to the agency. (Some agencies believe they may find supplementary funds to match the grant so that they can have two apprentices each year.)

Annual Seminar

The seminar would be required for apprentices, and would be open to a small number of others. Younger staff members would benefit, and the apprentices would gain by association with more experienced workers. The seminar should prepare apprentices for greater versatility and mobility among different kinds of agencies.

Organizations

While the degree of professional competence in the intergroup field varies from one agency to another, we believe that at least 20 national, state and municipal agencies, private and public have progressed far enough in the development of their programs to warrant confidence in their ability to train apprentices.

NAIRO is a tax-exempt organization with a membership of approximately 400, including representatives from all national agencies active in the intergroup field, most municipal and state councils on human relations, and many university human relations centers. Through conferences, seminars

Apprenticeship Program in Intergroup Relations (cont'd)

Organizations (cont'd)

and committee work, NAIRO has given considerable attention to training in intergroup relations work. It publishes the NAIRO Reporter, and through its Secretary operates a placement service for intergroup relations workers.

NAIRO is financed by membership dues, and by foundation grants for special conferences. It has no full-time staff. The current officers and Board members are listed in Appendix A.

Administrator

The administrator for the program, moving among the agencies counseling with the trainers and trainees, would communicate insights and skills obtained from the whole field. He would insure that each agency provided varied experience and competent supervision. He would also be responsible for the preparation of recruitment material, the planning and operation of the seminar, and the placement of the apprentices at the end of their training.

Participating Agencies

A list of agencies that might participate is attached as Appendix A. It is not all-inclusive, but suggests the range of organizations in this field.

Recommendation

There is need for a program of recruitment and training in intergroup relations. The Officers believe that the proposal, if it receives enthusiastic cooperation from agencies and other foundations, will meet the need.

The Officers recommend an appropriation of up to $100,000 for apprenticeships in intergroup relations, $60,000 to be available for grants to intergroup relations agencies and $40,000 for a two-year grant to the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials for administration of the program and the cost of two annual seminars.

November 2, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

I now hear that each of the twelve state organizations had, by October 31st, turned up with its $3,500 raised. Even Mississippi.

Exception Tennessee: which has not got properly going this year, but Tennessee is bubbling to cook again.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

November 5, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

Here is a copy of Morton Elder's report, somewhat supplemented and edited.

I am sending copies to Ben Segal, and he and I will work out suitable distribution within the labor leadership, plus such other uses as may seem desirable.

Since Elder put in so much time expediting the Muravchik study, we view the two efforts as complimentary. When Muravchik's findings are all in, we will mesh the two further.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

BCC: Mr. Ben Segal

November 12, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

These are well done. Articles II and III are good reading for Northerners and Southerners both.

If nothing more ambitious is done with them, we might write Rotch for permission to use in New South.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Encs.

THE CABINET PRESS

William B. Rotch, Publisher - Armstrong Hunter, Adv. Mgr.
Telephone 746

MILFORD, NEW HAMPSHIRE

November 2, 1956

Dear Ping:

You might be interested in the enclosed comments on Mississippi. They are impressions, and impressions only, but they are honest ones.

Did you have a visit from Jameson? He stopped here for lunch one day.

Hastily

Show to Fleming?

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

November 30, 1956

Mr. Dave Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

I am going to be in New York for a spot of teaching for the ILGWU December 11th and 12th. As heretofore I willcall to see if anybody has time for a brief visit from me.

Have asked the Abbey Hotel for a room and expect I will get it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:fc

December 6, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Here's a man who wandered in with a book to write. I listened to him adequately and read his stuff, and have conferred with one or two hereabouts to check my judgement.

This is the time in the development of this controversy in the South when a number of books will be written by Southern people; being books which will be persuasive to the many rather out-of-date characters we have hereabouts. The books will not pass muster in the rest of the world. I don't suppose anybody in a modernly civilized place could bear to read a dead-pan account of the posturings that a Southern white person in the course of persuading himself to be decent needs to go through with. It just isn't interesting and ought not to be. But there must be down here twenty million people that have got to go through the necessary contortions. And it would help quite a lot if a smallish spate of books came along telling them how other people have got through.

And a trickle begins to appear at the edge of time. You are helping J. M. Dabbs. Old Dr. Weatherford who taught in the YMCA in its antediluvian days has just done a crisp manuscript to prove that in slavery times Southern white Christians were nice to Southern Negro Christians. Object: to drive in the moral that what could be done in those respected times might well be done again!

A nice young teacher of the Bible at a Baptist woman's college at Raleigh (Meredith College) wrote us the other day and said he had done a manuscript to show that the Bible was in favor of people being decent on matters of race. Would we read it and consider printing it? We read it and figured that A. C. Miller might get it printed through appropriate and routine Baptist channels. We got Miller to read it and Miller has written the author that Miller feels Miller can get it printed.

This new man Cowart is in the same tradition.

I caused him to hand to me a not unflattering photograph and a curriculum vitae and a precis of what he would like to write. He added also a list of people who would say he is a good egg. They are all good and weighty people. And six or seven of them are notably out in front in matters of race relations in the South.

The precis I must say was a job he had typed himself and it now reaches you retyped by Madame my secretary. Altogether a prettier job and with two, three, or four lapses in grammar smoothed out by your servant Mitchell.

Whereupon I base a conclusion that anything written by the man Cowart would have to be sternly tightened and grammarized by a publisher's rewrite woman.

It doesn't seem to me that Cowart's possibility of performing in a noteworthy way is sufficient to make it right for me to suggest to the Fund for the Republic that it go in heavily on the chance that Cowart would do a notable job.

Have you any intermediate procedure for going in less heavily? That I would warmly recommend.

Of course if nobody is interested in the rather sluggish stream of literature that I imagine into being, skip the whole business.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

Trust you to flip this to Frank L.

C
O
P
Y

East Lake Methodist Church,
2500 Boulevard Dr., N. E.
Atlanta
November 28, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

Upon your request I submit for your consideration a brief sketch of some of the things I would like to include in a book on human relations. The primary emphasis will be on race relations here in the deep South.

As parish minister for 46 years in the Methodist Church, I have spent the greater part of that time in the South. I might add that I have long considered recording some of my experiences as a parish minister. I wish to do so with the specific objective of showing how slow we are to respond to a changing world. With what resistance we oppose change wherever deep-seated customs are involved and long-established traditions are regnant. This reluctance is seen more clearly in the relations of white and colored citizens here in the deep South.

Underlying assumptions of my plans include an open-minded approach towards the changes taking place in the South, fully aware that change is inevitable. That strong evidence is at hand to fortify the statement that for nearly one hundred years we have been fighting losing battles here in this South. The truth of this affirmation is obviously found in political relations, in religion, in economic cultural and racial relations.

Now at long last, we find ourselves moving into a totally new South. Our one crop economy is passing, so is the one party system. Since the Supreme Court ruling in 1954, the last stronghold of the old South is crumbling before our eyes; viz, legal segregation.

Another assumption with which I shall proceed is a strong conviction that if we are to take the fact of change by the forelock and not the tail, join the vanguard of the marching hosts of Christian freedom instead of loitering in the rear, we shall need a whole gospel for the whole man and for the whole world. Any well-founded hope for creative and fruitful change in the folkways and in the established practices of a population must rest on the power of Christian faith to change for the better every man and every institution in our society. An inclusive redemption of all societies must be our ultimate goal.

Our approach will be interdenominational and ecumenical. This approach will follow a liberal, historic interpretation of the Holy Scriptures and their relation to all problems. With this assumption there will be no room for doctrinal dogmas or ecclesiastical shibboleths whatsoever.

My purpose holds to so relate the times and the people with whom I have lived and loved to the Jesus of history and the Christ of experience that he may come alive again with new vigor and appear among us the "eternal Contemporary" of all our dreams. That he may truly walk the American roads and enter into all our ways to transform them into the Christian image.

To contribute to approximating this high goal in human relations three emphases will be lifted up in my story.

1. The Magnifying of Christian Worship.

The Archbishop of Canterbury in a war-time broadcase is reported to have said: "This world can be saved from political chaos and collapse by one thing only, and that is worship." Worship he affirms is:

"To quicken the conscience by the holiness of God
To feed the mind with the truth of God
To open the heart to the love of God
To devote the will to the purpose of God."

(This part of my story will be brief and may be considered rather as an assumption upon which the primary emphasis is based)

2. An Experiment in Democracy.

Facing the reluctance to change in many of the members in my various parishes, I set about ways and means to make more democratic the entire administration of the church organization itself, as well as all relations the local church has with the outside community and the world at large. Instead of the work of the institution resting in the hands of the few, I sought to extend it to the many.

A small select group I found in every parish who were devout persons in many instances, but who felt divinely commissioned to run the affairs of the institution without regard to the wishes of other members or the minister himself. They, sad to say, sought only to use others to fulfill their desires. This authority they hugged to their breasts with deep satisfaction. They were comforted in their successful efforts to rule over others.

This attitude is present in most groups of whatever kind to more or less degree. But that it should flourish in the leaders of churches as they administer its affairs is sad to relate. This is not the mind of the Master. It blocks the free and creative working of the Christian leaven in the fellowship of the church itself: outside the church it is seen for what it is even more clearly; and it hinders the progress of the democratic principle in the larger affairs of men.

To cure this reactionary disposition of certain church leaders I introduced the system of rotation of officers throughout the local church fellowship. This was a simple strategy of extending the opportunity of leadership to a larger group of the membership. It met with stiff opposition and in numbers of instances a very unseemly spirit indeed. This practice of rotation is widespread now not only in churches but also in secular organizations of all kinds.

3. Experiment in Racial Relations.

A primary emphasis that I shall lift up in this story will be the principle of inclusive social redemption with specific accent on race relations here in the South.

In every community in which I worked I undertook to organize interracial committees. Leaders of both races in the community were set to the task of exploring the ways and means of a better understanding between the two races. From there it was only a short step to finding ways of working together for the mutual welfare of all. In a number of places these committees became permanent centers of community activities that enriched the total life of an area.

We offer here an excerpt from my story taken from my parish in Auburn, Alabama, where I was minister of the First Methodist Church (1923-1938).

In this "loveliest village of the Plains" dwelt some 10,000 souls, black and white. About one-third of this population was colored. The church leaders were in the village life and furnished leadership for many community activities, both on and off the college campus. During my first year as minister I suggested to the white ministerial group that open-air, interdenominational vesper services be introduced for the summer months; and that these religious assemblies be community-wide and sponsored by the several local congregations.

I was surprised to find strong opposition to the idea among the pastors. A number of reasons were offered why this step should not be taken. "People won't go," "Who would do the preaching?" "How will you finance such an adventure?" "You will not be able to get outstanding people to come to speak to this assembly." This is a sample of their thinking. All these men were brothers of mine and we were on the best of terms in our work together in the community. Before I arrived they had sponsored Union services during the summer at the various sanctuaries with local pastors as speakers for the occasions. Their testimony was that no one came; no interest was shown. But they were not ready to take this step.

I remember that in the midst of the hot discussion the Baptist minister simply walked out of the meeting as much as to say: "That ends it so far as Baptists are concerned, period."

The ministers who remained in the session remarked to me: "Well, parson, that ends it. If the Baptists will not go along with you, we cannot make this idea of yours work." Whereupon I rejoined: "You are mistaken gentlemen, if you remaining brethren will go along with us I will assume the financial responsibility of this project. Furthermore, if you and your flocks will join with us Methodists and announce to the community that the majority of the churches will support this enterprise, the Baptists will fall in line." They reluctantly agreed on condition that Dr. L. A. Duncan, President of API, would confirm such an arrangement. The President gladly gave his blessing. The churches voted to do so. Much publicity was given to this first assembly.

Dr. Henry M. Edmonds, Birmingham, a winsome speaker, a liberal evangelical, a man of great charm and even greater good sense agreed to be our first guest to appear on this community program of Christian worship. A great enthusiastic assembly greeted Dr. Edmonds, including the Baptist pastor, who sat on the platform, and many of his saints were present in the congregation.

The assembly was lifted up under the appeal of Dr. Edmonds to see with deeper insight into the values inherent in our common faith. They were thrilled and went away happy to find this new joyous fellowship across denominational lines. They were united in a fellowship of understanding and of deep emotion. This first gathering together of the saints from all faiths and no faiths marked a new day in the community life. It was a new forceful affirmation wrought out by a common sharing of our common faith that we had at hand what it takes to match all our needs of the human spirit.

Elated over this experiment the first year, I trimmed my sails for a real adventure in community sharing across racial lines, the second year of the summer series.

I shall never forget the amazement on the faces of my clerical brothers as we met in May, 1940, to plan our summer series. The ampitheatre on the college campus had the first summer been crowded with worshippers. We had greater things in mind as we met to plan for the second year. I introduced the idea that we invite Dr. F. D. Patterson, President of Tuskegee Institute at the time, to be a guest speaker for one Sunday evening. That he bring with him the famous Tuskegee Institute Choir. The group felt keenly that this would be a great mistake. They were against it.

I began to reassure them that their fears were unfounded; that nothing unseemly would result from such a program. The members of the group all began talking at once. They felt that I must have slipped a cog or two. I was reminded that I did not know my South. That certainly I did not know my own native state. I listened to their pleas, given in the best of spirit and with due respect for my own, though different from theirs on this matter. I remarked: "Where were you men born, anyway?" I seemed to recall that none of them were natives of Alabama. One was a native of Virginia, another of North Carolina, still another of Georgia. "Ah, my fellow clerics," I said, "I am the only native-born Alabamian." The statement caused only a slight pause in the argument. Whereupon they took another tack in their effort to convince me of the error of my thinking: "We will agree to this step, but only with great reluctance, provided that we get the permission of the president of the college. I agreed. While I had not interviewed the president on the matter, I felt that he would not oppose any step the ministers felt would be good for the community.

My fellow craftsmen went away from the session feeling that the president, a cautious man, would kill the plan. Thus my idea would die in the borning. One of the number would interview the president and advise us of his decision. Quite to their surprise he approved the plan and gave his hearty sanction.

This was a decision that marked a great step forward in interracial fellowship in the community and throughout the state.

Dr. Patterson came with his group of singer. For thirty minutes the assembly was hushed and then lifted on the wings of heavenly harmony through an artistic singing of the great experiences of the Negro race for hundreds of years of slavery.

Then I introduced President Patterson, who spoke for twenty minutes in the most chaste English and with deep sincerity and simple eloquence. He spoke out of his heart for a better understanding of our common heritage and our common needs. He called for a clear facing of life with the Christian emphasis.

The whole assembly sat there with the tall pines over their heads and the stars above the pines, in the wide infinite sky, shining down upon all their faces. It is a fact that the large congregation was literally caught up in one grand moment of holy emotion. Persons moved as one body forward to greet Dr. Patterson and members of the choir with greetings and salutations of sincere hospitality and appreciation.

Dr. Duncan was heard to say to the Tuskegee president: "Come over some day soon and let me show you around the campus. I want you to see our new buildings."

This event marked a forward step in human relations in which race or color or creed really did not matter. The result was that every year for a number of years each summer the Tuskegee choir came to sing and a Tuskegee faculty member came to speak out of his heart concerning the things that matter most for all men. Dr. Harry V. Richardson, Chaplain at the time of Tuskegee Institute, spoke a number of summers to an understanding and appreciative assembly.

December 10, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

VIA AIR MAIL

Dear David:

Here's a nice little bit of forehandedness which our information and fact-gathering staff put through.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - "Summary of Events Leading Up to Montgomery, Ala. Bus Ruling"

* On an October New York trip, HCF spoke on invitation to the assembled staff of the Fund for the Republic.

Insert

Dr. Mitchell:

This copy to be doctored for quarterly report to the Board.

December 28, 1956

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear David:

Here is some account of the Southern Regional Council during the months of October, November, and December, 1956.

For Mitchell, as Executive Director, some speechmaking, much policy discussion, and an unprecedented amount of advising other people of how to do things in this part of the world.

For the speeches: to about all the Y. Teens in the U. S., in a Convention at Washington. When I got through two little girls from Savannah came up and said, "Mr. Mitchell, we don't think you did a very good job of presenting the Georgia point of view." To the annual meeting of the Urban League in St. Paul, Minnesota. To the New School in New York. To the National Council of Negro Women in Washington; and hereabouts to Spelman College, and to a luncheon club, and to a travelling group of Colgate students.

For the advising: at least the usual run of foreign visitors, including particularly the man Mboya from Kenya, the Van Wycks from South Africa, a radio man from Bavaria, a newspaper man from Austria, and so on. In the role of counselor to an editor of the Christian Science Monitor, a man from the Saturday Evening Post, a man from the American Federation for Political Education (worrying about how he should get going in the South), a man from the World Council of Churches, a visiting British Methodist minister, a man from the Northern Presbyterian Church, and (most interestingly) a man from the AFL-CIO, responsible for planning a new organizing effort in the South, and the new Atlanta man for the American Jewish Committee.

Plus pulling together and being at the Tuskegee meeting of agencies active in the South; and being at Mrs. Tilly's meeting of Church Women, and going to our own Board meetings, and a meeting of our Executive Committee.

MAJOR DECISIONS AT BOARD MEETINGS

The Board of the Council met at Williamsburg in mid-November. Well attended meeting. Main matter was decision on a policy memorandum circulated in advance, and posed by the Executive Committee.

The Fund for the Republic's series of grants for state organizations has entered the last year. How do we proceed in the coming period? Do we continue to make the servicing and subsidy of the state groups our main focus? Or should we hereafter put out major emphasis on field work, information, and other educational efforts -- carried on by central staff-- aimed at furthering and easing the South's transition to integration? The Board, after goodly discussion, said we should cherish the state groups, help them a lot in the next few months toward independence; and hope to find funds for more modest, where-it-will-obviously-do-much good help to state groups. Meanwhile, central SRC is to push hard through its own staff on promising regional strategies. This is about what was recommended, though the Board rightly insisted on all possible continued identification of the state groups with the parent movement.

WORK WITH CHURCH WOMEN

Mrs. Tilly's great accomplishment in this period is the meeting late in October here in Atlanta of leading church women from all over the Southeast. They were of all three principal faiths and of many denominations and of both races. They totaled 109. She had the very ablest people to lead. The women did most of the talking themselves.

Such a meeting cost a couple of thousand dollars, and it could only be held by reason of the generosity of the John Hay Whitney Foundation.

Fortunately since that meeting the Phelps-Stokes Fund has made the Fellowship of the Concerned whole after the expense of the meeting, and Mrs. Tilly is again in funds for a careful follow-up of the Atlanta meeting.

She has already begun it with committees from the United Church Women of Georgia, with student groups in Georgia, and by her correspondence with leading women elsewhere.

THE STATE ORGANIZATIONS

We get further into the business of shaping our aid to meet the needs of particular states. The central staff has only a limited power to do this, and wants only such a limited power. But we find it helpful to be able to put extra push where it is needed.

Mr. Parrish, in a review of our North Carolina work, was rewarded with a request for a work conference with our consultant service program. Parrish has also been down to Knoxville to meet leading people there who want to know how Louisville, Kentucky, managed its desegregation program. He has been into Florida also.

Fred Routh has been out at Tennessee. Emory Via has been, as a labor consultant, to Montgomery, Alabama (where he was quite useful in preparing for peacefulness there).

Out Atlanta staff working with the state organizations has at last put together a kind of check list on performance by state organizations. Such a thing is known jargon-wise as "Criteria of Evaluation." People like to check themselves against some outside standards; and this new list of what is important in making a judgement about program and staff and staff-board relationships has been widely liked.

THE CONSULTANTS

This quarter has seen the following state-wide programs using the consultants:

Alabama. John Hope II, Dr. Hylan Lewis (Atlanta University) and Fred Routh met with some 25 Board members of the Alabama Council on Human Relations at the Tuskegee Institute, September 25-26. The group took a problem census and then assigned priorities for discussion of the problems listed. The two items which seemed most helpful were: first, an identification of the variety of roles Board members might play in the Council, in other organizations to which they belong and as citizens; second, a careful analysis of forces operating in the tense situation in Tuscaloosa, home town of the University and site of the Miss Lucy affair. Once again the consultants explored with members the basic question, "What can we do at this time to make for meaningful progress in Alabama?"

Georgia. John Hope II, Dr. John A. Griffin (Emory University), Dr. William Jones (University of Tennessee), Dr. Hylan Lewis (Atlanta University), Dr. Herman Long (Fisk University), Mr. Whitney Young (Atlanta University) and Fred Routh met with the Board of Directors, the professional staff, the state organizations' consultants and a carefully selected group of key people in Atlanta, September 27-28-29th. The large group broke into three sections to consider community organization, interracial communications, and self-survey techniques. This was an exciting conference. Participants went home not only with greater determination to do a job but with increased and new skills to apply to the task.

Kentucky. John Hope II, Dr. Lee Coleman (University of Kentucky), Dr. Robert Johnson (NCCJ), Dr. Bonita Valien (Fisk University), and Dr. C. H. Parrish met with Board members, staff and state consultants November 17-18-19. A great deal of thinking went into defining the best role for consultants -- professionalism vs. advocacy. The group was interested in developing criteria for choosing communities in which to work and a thorough review of difficult communities and soft spots was undertaken. The group got so deep in their deliberations that they cancelled a "free period" they had scheduled.

Earlier on such meetings have been held in South Carolina, North Carolina, Texas, and Florida and Virginia. Thus eight states have had full use of the consultant service device.

And there was also the conference of all of the states where the going is particularly rough: Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

The one state so far omitted is scheduled for an early state-wide meeting of this kind.

And more lately John Hope in management of the consultant service program has been getting our state people to turn up for him proposals for direct local community work. We could list some eight cities where organized advice of this kind to local leadership seems immanent.

INFORMATION

Harold Fleming:

The information staff's already full schedule was increased by several far-reaching developments during the quarter. Clinton, Tenn., erupted for the second time in early December, presenting the gravest test yet of the enforceability of the courts' decisions. We thought it wise for SRC to have at the scene of the disorders a staff person who could serve both as observer and adviser to the press. Accordingly, John Constable flew up. He spent much of his time with the newspapermen -- a useful vantage-point for first-hand observation -- and was able, in turn, to give them helpful background.

The Supreme Court's final decision in the Montgomery bus segregation case also claimed a large share of attention. Two weeks before the court's desegregation order became effective, we sent out a background memorandum to more than a hundred editors, alerting them to the coming showdown and summarizing the developments which led up to it. Our information approach was tied in with field work in Montgomery, by Fred Routh and Emory Via, to promote calm acceptance of bus desegregation.

PRESS RELATIONS AND PUBLIC INTERPRETATION

Following are some noteworthy instances of work with the media during the quarter. Others are reported under "FACT-FINDING."

* Promoted and assisted an Associated Press news feature on social science findings re segregation and race relations; the resulting story should run nation-wide shortly.

* Lengthy briefing session with the Christian Science Monitor's editorial writer who handles matters racial.

* Enlisted the good offices of the Alabama Council on Human Relations in getting the facts for Life about the Causey family of Choctaw County, Alabama. (Following their appearance in a Life picture-text story, the Negro family suffered economic reprisals and have had to be relocated.)

* Following the publication in U. S. News of the widely noted (and deplored) McCurk article, worked with a group of social psychologists on the development of a counter-statement; the statement was signed by 18 leading social scientists and (thanks mainly to Joseph Lyford) received wide publicity.

* Opened up the information files and the collective knowledge of the staff to John Bartlow Martin, who is preparing a three-part series on pro-segregation forces for the Saturday Evening Post.

* Harold Fleming and John Constable wrote a Public Affairs Pamphlet, just published under the title, "What's Happening in School Integration?".

* Additional newsmen briefed and otherwise assisted ranged from an editor of the New Statesman and Nation to an editor of the Columbus (Ga.) Ledger.

insert here (on an October trip...)

INTER-AGENCY COOPERATION

Partly as a result of the Tuskegee Meeting (reported elsewhere), SRC's information and advice have been increasingly sought by other agencies. We have cast up facts and materials for the YMCA and YWCA projects on campus race relations in the South. We prepared a roundup of economic reprisals for the AFSC's Rights of Conscience program. In staff conferences, we worked out detailed coordination with the AFSC's North Carolina desegregation project and the Anti-Defamation League's various programs in this field. Harold Fleming represented SRC at two inter-agency meetings resulting in the establishment of a national Consultative Conference on Desegregation.

RESEARCH AND REFERENCE

In addition to managing the clipping files (intake: approximately 500 clippings per month) and other reference materials, Research Assistant Florence Irving has been heavily engaged in statistical analysis of the voting survey findings. In preparation for Mrs. Tilly's Southwide meeting of church women, she also compiled the complete record of pro-segregation measures passed by Southern states. The normal flow of mail requests for information were handled. Among the more interesting inquirers: a white Alabama minister who had organized an interracial discussion group; the director of planning in St. Petersburg, Fla.; a college president; a group seeking employment of Negro policemen; the director of records at Tuskegee Institute, seeking data for Tuskegee's celebrated Annual Report; and personnel of the Presbyterians, U.S.A., who are preparing a study manual on race relations.

NEW SOUTH

The three issues of New South since the last quarterly report dealt with several of the most emergent issues of the period. William Gordon, an able Negro journalist, contributed a first-hand account of the bus boycott in Tallahassee, Fla., currently front-page news. "The Right of Dissent" by South Carolina editor Jack O'Dowd put into sharp focus the threat to basic liberties posed by pro-segregation intolerance in the deep South. A summary of church pronouncements on segregation in the October issue was in heavy demand and (unfortunately) was completely out-of-stock within days after publication. Scientific findings on race and intelligence, designed to combat the "master race" revival, were summed up in November.

FACT-FINDING PROGRAM

Integration North and South, containing the report of SRC's desegregation survey, was published in October by the Fund for the Republic and received remarkably wide publicity. Ten thousand copies of the booklet were printed; SRC is assisting in its promotion and distribution. We have drawn on the survey material for a variety of information and program uses.

Survey of Negro Suffrage. The fact-finding phase of this twelve-state project has been completed and we will soon finish a regionwide analysis of the findings which we will publish and release to the press. A preliminary news release on November 4, giving Negro registration figures state by state, had good press treatment. The U. S. Department of Justice requested and was given a full set of the state reports, as part of the current Federal appraisal of the right to vote in the South. Newspaper features on the Louisiana, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Georgia studies have appeared or are in prospect.

Survey of Pro-Segregation Organizations. This was the first significant study of the development, leadership, and methods of the Southern "resistance movement." A summary special report (mimeographed) by Paul Anthony has been distributed to appropriate agencies and individuals; the Methodist Women's Society for Christian Service ordered several hundred copies for use as program material. Further reports and a special issue of New South on the subject are in process. Meanwhile, the survey findings have already had considerable press treatment. They were the subject of a lengthy feature story in the New York Times, a well publicized NAIRC speech by Fred Routh, a forthcoming article in Phylon, and an impending series in the New York Post. Paul Anthony, who did the field fact-finding, has made a number of speeches and has briefed a variety of newspapermen and magazine writers. John Bartlow Martin has drawn heavily on these findings for his Saturday Evening Post series.

FOREIGN VISITORS

The usual record:

Oct. 1 Tom Mboya, General Secretary to the Kenya Congress of Labor

Oct. 4 Hans Rebstein, Business. 1 F Route Ole Prilly, Lausanne, Switzerland

Oct. 9 Mr. and Mrs. Leo A. Pinnock, J.P., Island Supervisor of Jamaica Social Welfare Commission, Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I.

Oct. 9 Mr. Norman McKenzie, Assistant Editor, New Statesman & Nation, London, England

Oct. 13 Rev. Maldwyn Edwards, Birmingham, England

Oct. 13 Jan Olsson, Swedish Newspaperman

Oct. 22 Mr. Hans-Joachim W. Netzer, Deputy Chief, News Department, Bavarian Radio, 16 Franz Joseph Strasse, Munich 13, Germany

Oct. 30 Lord Kinross, Newspaperman, Punch, England

Nov. 9 Mr. and Mrs. Frederick J. Van Wyk, Assistant Director, S. A. Institute of Race Relations, 6 Twickenham Avenue, Rossmore, Johannesburg, Union of South Africa

Dec. 4 Dr. Gustav Adolf Canaval, Chief Editor and co-Publisher of the Salzburger Nachrichten, Salzburg, Franz-Josefs-Strasse 13, Austria

Dec. 19 Rev. John Swart, Minister in the Dutch Reformed Church, South Africa.

Dec. 19 Diarmid H. Cross, Old Ballikinrain, Baltron by Glasgow, Scotland. Recent Oxford graduate.

MITCHELL OUTBOUND

This is George Mitchell's last quarterly report as Executive Director. He leaves duty status January 15th, when Harold Fleming takes over as Executive Director, duly elected by the Board at Williamsburg at its meeting. Mrs. Ruth Alexander continues as Secretary-Treasurer. Mitchell is to draw his leave (about a month of it) and will sail March 8th for Scotland.

I, Mitchell, am lastingly grateful to those churches, unions, business firms, foundations who have put in our life blood; and to private individuals who have generously and steadily backed a cause little popular, but pregnant with hope for the future. To that nexus of friendly people who have caused helpful things to happen; abiding thanks.

I thank the Fund for the Republic, its Board and staff, for three years of magnificent support, and of the wisest counsel, and of every freedom to do what seemed to our Southern Board and Executive Committee the right things in these anxious years. I do not suppose that any foundation has ever made a more significant contribution to the increase of democracy in the Southern states, and therefore in the United States and therefore in the world.

And I am always mindful of the trust we on the staff have owed to our Board members, who in their responsible positions sacrificed their time and not infrequently jeopardized their own followings, to stand behind what the Board had agreed to.

There will be a special place in Scotland where each and every of the Council's friends will be always welcome; and many may be the nights when before a peat fire some of us plan the further growth of this noble effort.

AUDIT

The books were audited at the close of our fiscal year (September 30, 1956), and the audit distributed. A quarterly audit as of December 31st will be forthcoming shortly; and this audit will be brought to date to January 15th for the change of regime.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

February 1, 1957

Mr. David F. Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
Sixty East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

I accept with pleasure the invitation to the Washington dinner honoring the American Traditions Award winner. Both my wife and I wish she could be there too, but unfortunately that's not possible.

Now all I have to do is scare up a dinner jacket!

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

The Directors of

The Fund for the Republic

have the honor to invite

Mr. & Mrs. Fleming

to a dinner honoring

the Award Winners in the

first American Traditions competition

Thursday, the twenty-first of February

Nineteen hundred and fifty-seven

at seven thirty o'clock

Ballroom — The Mayflower

Washington, D. C.

R.S.V.P.
Elmo Roper, Chairman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Black Tie

The American Traditions Project was established by The Fund for the Republic, Inc. to dramatize incidents illustrating how the good sense of Americans has prevailed in their daily lives, particularly in conflicts or disputes which may never have reached the headlines. In order to do this it has collected true stories about groups or individuals who successfully stood up for the rights to think and read freely and to follow the dictates of conscience, or who applied the Bill of Rights to human situations, in the face of considerations of "expediency." A panel of distinguished Americans awarded $10,000 in prizes for the best letters reporting true incidents of this kind.

The speaker of the evening will be

BRUCE CATTON

Editor, *American Heritage Magazine*

Pulitzer Prize-Winning Historian

Author of *"This Hallowed Ground"*

PANEL OF JUDGES

American Traditions Project

GENERAL WILLIAM F. DEAN, U. S. Army (Ret.), Chairman

JAMES CAREY, President, International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO

MILDRED McAFEE HORTON, former President, Wellesley College

HENRY L. NUNN, retired President, Nunn-Bush Company

The Rt. Rev. HENRY KNOX SHERRILL, Presiding Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church

JUDGE SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN

Most Rev. JOHN J. WRIGHT, Catholic Bishop of Worcester, Mass.

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ADAM YARMOLINSKY, *Secretary*

February 8, 1957

A I R M A I L

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
Sixty East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

The action reported to us by John Alexander of the AFSC has an encouraging significance, and I thought you might like to see it. This marks the first official request for our consultant services from a Southern board of education, as we seek to broaden this service beyond our state affiliates. We have also had some informal indication that a similar request from the Charlottesville, Virginia Board is at least a possibility. Of course there's many a slip, etc, but we have a feeling that we are on the verge of a new and significant period in this phase of our work.

Also enclosed is a copy of a recent summary report of the Council's work, which we are using for promotion and information purposes.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

Bc: Frank Loescher
enclosing 4 cc "South of Promise"

RECEIVED MAR 4 1957

March 1, 1957

Dr. Everett Tilson
Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations
1716 West End Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Tilson:

Thank you very much for your letter of February 20 and its enclosures. They answered adequately all the questions I mentioned to you on the phone.

I am sorry to report that after careful consideration we find that we are not in a position to supply the additional funds you requested in your first letter of February 8. I am sure you will understand that this decision in no way reflects on the merits of the Conference. On the contrary, we have every expectation that the Conference will be a very important occasion.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely,

David F. Freeman
Vice President

March 18, 1957

Mr. David F. Freeman
Vice President
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

Most thoughtful of you to send along the AAFRC pamphlet containing Max Hahn's speech and the names of the fund-raising outfits. No sophisticate I! I found a good deal to chew on in Hahn's remarks. And I want to explore the two firms suggested as soon as possible.

Vernon Eagle wrote me that he chanced to be in your office when George and Alice Mitchell showed. That was a happy coincidence.

We're deep in program and budgets, looking to the future. Meanwhile, I am to take part in an Arden House conference sponsored by the Better Schools group next Monday, the 25th. I plan to put in all or most of the remainder of the week in New York. I will call you Tuesday, the 26th, to see when we can get together. If I can be useful to you in any way while I'm there, let me know.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:mm

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

March 15, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is a little pamphlet that I think will interest you. Max Hahn's speech has lots of pointers in it for those who are not as sophisticated about foundations as you are, but I am sending it along particularly because of the list of fund-raising counsel on the back page. I placed check marks against two firms listed there because they are the ones that Max Hahn himself recommends as "being worth talking to". He and I have talked about the name Adam suggested, and he has reinforced my reservations.

We had a nice visit with George and Mrs. Mitchell before they left . When will we be seeing or hearing from you again?

Sincerely,

Dave

David F. Freeman
Vice President

DFF:tk

cc: Frank Wessler

April 2, 1957

Mr. David F. Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
Sixty East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

This is the report on the disposition of state funds which I promised to send you.

For the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1956, the Fund for the Republic gave the Southern Regional Council $110,000, of which $100,000 was to be used for the work of state organizations or equivalent activities. In addition, $6,000 of unexpended state monies was carried over from the preceding fiscal year.

The $100,000 amount was allocated to the various state organizations on the basis of the existing staff and organizational efforts. Six of the states were allocated $10,000, five states were allocated $7500, and one (Mississippi), $2500. The latter figure is explained by the fact that we had already arranged to terminate aid to Mississippi as of January 1, 1957 at the time that the allocations were made.

Of the $6,000 carried over from 1955-56, approximately $5,000 was distributed in the form of special supplementary aid to state organizations. This included, for example, a special supplement of $1500 to the Virginia Council for consultant fees and travel, which we felt was justified by unusual opportunities in that state.

Thus far in this fiscal year, all of the state organizations have taken full advantage of their allotments except Tennessee. The Tennessee Council has thus far found it impossible to work out its staffing, and has consequently forfeited $5,000 of its allotment. There are again some indications that Tennessee will get off the ground, in which case the remaining $5,000 will be available to it.

The $6,000 unexpended -- Tennessee's $5,000 plus $1,000 of the carry-over -- has been applied on central staff servicing of states, particularly those states lacking state staff. For example, Tennessee has had special field work by three of our senior staff members, and Mississippi by two. Subject to approval by the Fund for the Republic, we would expect to use in the same way any further unexpended balances during the remainder of this fiscal year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

April 4, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you very much for the clear statement in your letter of April 2 re the allocation of funds between state organizations and the central office. This is just what we need for our files and seems to me to be well within the intent of our grant to you. Please feel free to proceed in the same way with the unexpended balance during the remainder of this fiscal year.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman
Vice President

DFF:tk

P.S. We're working on your inquiry. Hope to have something for you tomorrow.

Dave

April 8, 1957

Mr. David F. Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council, I acknowledge with great appreciation the Fund for the Republic's check for $1249.98. I am writing an acknowledgement and expression of thanks to the three winners of the American Traditions Contest whose nomination made this grant possible.

We took great pride in the fact that two courageous Southerners were the subjects of winning letters in the American Traditions project, and we consider it an honor that the Southern Regional Council has been selected by three of the winning letter writers as the organization they wished to see assisted.

At Mr. Malcolm Ross' request, the amount granted on his nomination will be allocated to the work of the Florida Council on Human Relations, and by a similar agreement with Mrs. E. Carol Klose one-half of that amount will also be ear-marked for the Florida Council.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:mm
Enclosure: Official Receipt

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

April 3, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am pleased to enclose herewith a check in the amount of $1249.98 from this Fund to the order of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. This grant is made on the nomination of Mr. Malcolm Ross ($416.66), Mrs. E. Carol Klose ($416.66), and Mr. David Koonce ($416.66), three of the prize winners in our recent American Traditions Contest. For your information I enclose a bulletin describing this contest.

CR
Nan

At your convenience, I would appreciate it if you would acknowledge receipt of this grant to Messrs. Ross and Koonce and Mrs. Klose.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman
Treasurer

cc: Mr. Malcolm Ross
University of Miami, Box 8105
University Branch
Coral Gables 46, Florida

Mr. David Koonce
The Evening Star
Washington, D.C.

Mrs. E. Carol Klose
161 Roberta Road
Ormond Beach, Florida

FILE COPY

Ch. + one request to Frank Loescher

April 12, 1957

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
Sixty East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

Enclosed is a draft of our impending request to the Fund, which will be reviewed by the Council's Executive Committee at its meeting on April 17 and 18.

In preparing the draft we had the guidance of the policy memorandum adopted by the Board at its Williamsburg meeting last November. But until the Executive Committee acts on it next week, it remains purely tentative and unofficial.

As soon as the Committee has acted, I will forward the officially approved version and the brief exhibit folder which is referred to in the text.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl. 3 copies draft memorandum.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

April 15, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

DRAFT

A PROPOSAL TO THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

September 30, 1957 will mark the end of the Fund for the Republic's assistance to the Southern Regional Council for a three and one-half year program of development of state organizations. This is a request for a further period of support of the work of the Council by the Fund.

Summary of the Proposal

The generous assistance of the Fund for the Republic has made it possible for the Southern Regional Council to create professionally staffed human relations councils in ten of the Southern states and to foster heightened interracial activity in two additional states. This aid, supplemented by funds from other sources, has enabled the Council to make a major contribution to Southern race relations during the momentous period that has followed the Supreme Court's decisions on school segregation.

It should be noted, however, that this program was developed and the first grant in the series made before the Supreme Court's school decision was rendered. The assumption then was that, once the legal principle was clearly defined, the problems of implementation would become community problems, to be solved by detailed local action. Hence the program placed major emphasis and the greatest part of the funds on the decentralizing effort to build state organizations with little

allowance made for the support of a strong, continuing central operation.

Instead of further breaking up of the "solid South," however, the last two years have witnessed a revival of regional solidarity under the leadership of the rural "black belt" counties. The unexpected severity of Southern reaction to the school decisions has created new and acute problems which cannot be met by activity at the state and local levels alone. In recent months, the Council has made a thorough appraisal of these problems and has sought to reexamine earnestly and objectively how it can make the most effective contribution in the period immediately ahead.

We have concluded that, to meet this challenge, the Council must expand and intensify its functions as an information center, a regional clearing house for organizational efforts in this field, a resource for enlightened public officials and private leadership throughout the region, and in general as a spokesman and rallying ground for the forward-looking elements within the South. Some measure of continuing aid to the state human relations councils is also essential. Obviously such a program calls for a budget sufficient to maintain a skilled, specialized staff and to meet the operating expenses necessary for the staff to work effectively, plus funds for aid to the state groups.

For these purposes, this proposal projects an annual budget slightly in excess of $200,000, or a total for a thirty-nine month period of $653,585. Of this amount, we ask the Fund for the Republic for $250,000 to be applied on a diminishing basis over the thirty-nine months following September 30, 1957. The Southern Regional Council would undertake to raise the remaining sum of approximately $400,000 from other sources, and the state organizations would be expected to raise the greater part of their budgets as well. We anticipate that

approximately twenty-five per cent of the Council's budget for this period would be used for direct aid to the state human relations councils or the equivalent.

We propose that the grant of $250,000 requested should be distributed as follows: $120,000 for the first fifteen months (October 1, 1957 - December 31, 1958); $75,000 for the year 1959; and $55,000 for the year 1960. The detailed basis for these overall figures is appended.

The Grant Period Ending September 30, 1957

Since April 1, 1954, the Fund for the Republic has made grants to the Southern Regional Council for the state organizations and the central operation totaling $500,000. In addition, the Fund has made three special purpose grants to the Council -- one for $5,000 to convene a selected bi-racial group of Southern leadership in anticipation of the Supreme Court's decision, one of $1,000 to publish a pamphlet in cooperation with the Southern Historical Association, and one of $50,000 to carry out a special fact-finding program.

As initially agreed, the greater part of the main grant has been distributed to the Council's state affiliates to assist them in maintaining professional staff and developing their activities. Of the $500,000, approximately $345,000 will have been spent for direct aid to the state groups by the end of this last grant year. The remaining $155,000 has been applied to the central program of the Southern Regional Council on a yearly diminishing basis. We estimate that during the three years ending September 30th the Council will have raised from sources other than the Fund nearly $200,000, and the state affiliates slightly over $100,000, or an aggregate total of approximately $300,000.

Since the Council has rendered frequent and detailed reports to the Fund, we will forego here any comprehensive account of the achievements which the past grants have made possible. Instead, we are submitting as an appendix a recent summary of the Council's various activities, as well as a folder of exhibits. These may be supplemented by the following general observations.

The State Organizations

In view of the special difficulties arising from the development of powerful, officially sanctioned resistance to desegregation in the South, we believe the three year state organization effort represents a creditable achievement. As a result of the Council's efforts assisted by the Fund, there are today ten human relations councils professionally staffed, actively at work in the South. These state bodies represent an impressive amount of courage, devotion, and skill displayed by white and Negro Southerners in the face of tremendous odds. They have, almost uniquely, provided an organized Southern expression of the forces for democratic change affecting race relations in the United States.

The programs of the state organizations have reflected the wide diversity of conditions to be found in the South. The Kentucky Council, for example, has worked closely with state and local officials through consultative services to desegregating school systems, through preparation of materials which have been distributed by the State Department of Education, and through educational programs aimed at promoting the full inclusion of Negro teachers in the desegregation process. In Mississippi, on the other hand, the state council has had to work in a climate of the harshest sort of pro-segregation orthodoxy officially enforced; it has been able to do little except provide one of the few remaining channels for communication between the races and demonstrate

in some measure the irrepressible quality of the belief in human freedom and dignity.

Between these two extremes lies a varied range of constructive activities. The Alabama Council, which has the participation of an unusually large number of church people, has performed effectively against great odds; it worked devotedly to prevent violence and help bring about peaceful acceptance of bus integration in Montgomery. The Arkansas Council, with an extremely able bi-racial staff, has given invaluable leadership in that state; its quiet efforts were largely responsible for the Hoxie school board's success in maintaining desegregation in the face of organized resistance. The Virginia Council has mobilized positive sentiment among ministers of that state and has built active local councils in such key communities as Charlottesville and Richmond.

These few highlights will suggest the quality of participation and activity that the state councils have achieved. Given a workable climate of opinion and influence, they can contribute greatly in the years ahead to the orderly implementation of integration within their respective states. However, their effectiveness -- perhaps their survival -- is imperiled by national and regional developments on which they can have little influence. If the investment in the state councils is to be protected, more resources and skills must be applied by the Council to this broader arena of opinion and action.

Southern Resistance to Desegregation

Since May, 1954, and particularly within the past year, something approaching a national crisis has been precipitated by political and private reaction to the Supreme Court's school decision. We will not attempt a lengthy analysis of these developments, which are well

known to the Fund for the Republic, but we list a few examples.

What began as attitudes of defiance in four deep South states has become a "united front" by eight states. This defiance is manifested not only in official actions and utterances directed at the Supreme Court and its decision, but has also taken the turn of punitive measures directed at individuals and groups within the states who favor a positive or even a more moderate course of action.

Accompanying this official posture have been the phenomenal growth of the White Citizens Councils and other resistance movements, serious reversals in the churches and the labor movement, the deterioration of political campaigns, and in general conformity or silence by most of the more responsible elements in the South. The example set by state office-holders and others in high places has stirred excitable rank-and-file Southerners to violence in several instances -- even in areas in Tennessee, Texas, Kentucky, and West Virginia where integration should have been expected to proceed without a ripple.

Any adequate appraisal of these negative factors must take into account the great concentration of power available to the extreme pro-segregation forces in the deep South. This includes virtually all of the state and local controlling institutions -- governors and attorneys general, legislatures and state created commissions, many grand juries, most of the state and local law enforcement agencies, most Southern congressmen and senators, and, under vigilante pressure, many influential private institutions such as newspapers, business organizations, civic clubs, and the like.

All of this has presented grave problems in national and international terms. The impact of the "Southern revolt" on the prestige of the United States abroad, particularly among Asians and

Africans, is of great concern to every thoughtful American. Domestically, the assaults on the authority of the Supreme Court, on respect for law and order, and on recognition of the rights of minority-group citizens are major threats to the national welfare. Pro-segregation laws and administrative actions in the South have seriously eroded such basic civil liberties as freedom of speech, association, and the right to due process of law.

It has been observed by the New York Times and others that what is needed is a mobilization of all the constructive forces the country can muster to deal with the problem of segregation wisely and effectively. Unfortunately, no such mobilization has taken place. Rather, the Citizens Councils and several Southern state governments are making an extensive and expensive effort to sway national opinion. In short, the climate of opinion has worsened. And instead of merely local problems arising out of local opposition to integration, we are confronted with a renewal of pro-segregation activity that is regional in its leadership and national in its impact. A measure of this fact was the nearly unanimous adoption of the "Southern Manifesto" by Southern members of Congress.

The Role of the Southern Regional Council

This situation imposes a tremendous responsibility on the Southern Regional Council. As the one South-wide body with experience, professional skills, and reputation in the field of race relations, it must perform on a broader and more effective scale than ever before, recognizing that it is dealing with causes and effects which are truly nation-wide in their scope. This we propose to do.

The Council's task, as we see it, includes but goes far beyond the stimulation of local action to deal with matters of desegregation

and democratic racial relations at the community level. It is essential that the Council play a broader role in creating a national and Southern climate of opinion in which positive local efforts can succeed. This means assuming greater leadership in educating and rallying those national and regional forces whose action or inaction at this time is crucial.

Within recent months the Council has revised its staff structure and program orientation so that it may better work toward these objectives. (An organizational chart, adopted in January, and a descriptive list of staff members are included in the appendices.) The major points in this new orientation may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. The Council suffered a loss in the recent retirement of Dr. George S. Mitchell as Executive Director after ten years of able and devoted leadership in this position. On the positive side, however, his leaving presented a challenge that has evoked new dedication and commitment from staff members and lay leadership alike. His successor, Harold C. Fleming, brings to the position the advantage of ten years' experience as a senior staff member identified mainly with the Council's central program activities.

2. The Council has already, of necessity, assumed a greatly increased responsibility for coordination and clearing-house work in cooperation with other agencies. This has been in response to the expressed wishes and requests of a large number of organizations, including the social action departments of the major religious denominations active in the South, the several Jewish agencies concerned with human relations, the trade unions, and such groups as the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP, the YMCA, and the YWCA. The Council has twice served as convener of twenty-five of these agencies

for the sharing of ideas and joint program planning. At their request, the Council has also coordinated their concerted field efforts and will soon convene them again for a third planning session.

3. The Council has played a central part in the newly formed national Consultative Conference on Desegregation. Through this association and other channels, we have greatly increased communication and cooperation between enlightened Southerners and national forces concerned with desegregation.

4. The Council is called upon by various departments of the Federal Government for interpreation of Southern problems and for specially assembled information, largely made possible through the fact-finding grant from the Fund for the Republic. For example, the Department of Justice requested and was given the complete raw findings of the Council's special survey on the status of Negro suffrage in the South.

5. One of the main assets of the Council has always been its reputation with the press, Southern and national, as a dependable and authoritative source of information about all aspects of race relations in the South. The Council and its parent organization have served as a repository of such information since 1919. Many Southern editors and newspapers whose policies on racial matters are directly opposed to those of the Council are accustomed to relying without question on the Council's information services. This function too has greatly increased and continues to grow with each passing day. It is no exaggeration to say that the Council now serves in this way virtually all of the major national publications and a great many Southern ones. To the newspapers must be added a growing list of television programs.

6. The Consultant Service Program, established as a service to the Council's state affiliates, is greatly broadening its scope and

usefulness. Within the limit of resources, we are undertaking to make special consultants available to public or private leadership in Southern communities with outstanding problems or opportunities. Within the last few weeks, for example, upon official invitation, the Council has made available the consultative services of a Kentucky county school superintendent, who successfully carried out desegregation, to a local school board in North Carolina beginning quietly to plan for such a change.

7. Under the Apprentice Training Program initiated by the Fund for the Republic, the Council has received a grant of $5,000 from the New World Foundation to engage an apprentice staff member in the area of field services. It is our hope and expectation that this position will be permanently filled, thus increasing the amount of skilled field work that we will be able to perform from the regional office. The current demand for such services, from the Council's state and local affiliates and from a host of other community groups, far exceeds the availability of staff.

8. Under a special arrangement, the Council has recently acquired the services of a well-qualified staff member bearing the title of Labor Consultant. This staff member's function is to serve as a resource and a liaison person with the unions in the South, which hold great promise as an important influence for progress in race relations. Although this position was initially established on a temporary basis, it has already yielded such fruitful results that we are determined, if at all possible, to continue it as part of the regular staff structure.

9. All of the important activities that the Council has regularly carried on are being expanded and intensified to the limit of resources as the demands on the Council mount. In this category are the work with church women and other women's groups, the maintenance of

comprehensive reference files to service a stream of information requests, defense of the rights of such beleaguered dissenters as those at Koinonia Farm, the distribution of program materials, and the briefing of foreign visitors travelling in the South under the auspices of the State Department and other public and private sponsors.

In undertaking the reorientation illustrated above, the Council is strengthened by a large backlog of experience within its staff and lay leadership. What is involved is not so much the learning of new functions as the expansion and refinement of activities that heretofore have had to be carried on sporadically or too limitedly.

We do not wish to imply that the Council feels that it has achieved any fixed or final formula for its efforts in the South during the next three years. As recent experience has made all too clear, the situation is dynamic and volatile in the extreme. Any realistic approach in this area must be firmly grounded in recognition of the need for constant reassessment and flexibility. We do feel that we have achieved an orientation, a structure, and a range of staff skills sufficiently elastic and versatile to render a major service in the three year period of operation now being planned.

Financial Analysis

We are proposing a thirty-nine month grant period for two reasons. First, in our opinion the next three years will be crucial in determining the future pattern of race relations in the South. Despite the tension and difficulties of the last few years, the situation has not yet crystallized; it will do so as further court decisions and the possible spread of violence bring the issues to a head. Thus what is done or not done during the next three years will probably set the framework in which the longer-range working out of desegregation will take

place. If this is true, it clearly follows that this is the period in which to make the most effective contribution of which this organization is capable.

Second, we earnestly believe that sound program planning and able staffing demand a stable financial base for a substantial period ahead. The Council is fortunate in having a remarkably devoted and well-qualified staff, but we cannot expect to hold such people or to make maximum use of their skills if the financial fate of the organization is to hang in the balance month by month or even year by year.

It will be noted from the figures below that, while the grant requested is substantial, it is approximately forty per cent of the total budget projected for the period; if the amounts to be raised by the state organizations were taken into account, the percentage would be significantly smaller. This means that the Council is undertaking to raise more funds from other sources than ever before. We feel that the fund-raising objectives set are reasonable, since they continue the trend of increasing support to the Council during the last few years. By the end of the current fiscal year, for example, we anticipate that the Council will have raised from sources other than the Fund for the Republic approximately $87,000. This compares with $60,000 in the preceding fiscal year, and $52,000 in the year before that. The state organizations have increased their performance from an aggregate total of roughly $22,000 in the first year to a projected $45,000 in the current fiscal year.

Following is a summary of the budgetary considerations which underlie the grant requested of the Fund for the Republic. The first budget period was made fifteen months in order to round out the period from October 1, 1957 to December 31, 1957, thus putting the operation on

a calendar year basis. (A detailed breakdown of the annual budgets is furnished as Appendix A.)

Summary of Projected Budgets and Grant Request

15-month Budget (Oct. 1, 1957 - Dec. 31, 1958)	$247,665	
To be raised from other sources	127,665	
BALANCE REQUESTED FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC		$120,000
1959 Budget	$201,960	
To be raised from other sources	126,960	
BALANCE REQUESTED FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC		$ 75,000
1960 Budget	$203,960	
To be raised from other sources	148,960	
BALANCE REQUESTED FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC		$ 55,000
TOTAL REQUESTED FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC		$250,000
TOTAL TO BE RAISED FROM OTHER SOURCES		$403,585
TOTAL BUDGET, Oct. 1, 1957 - Dec. 31, 1960		653,585

APPENDICES

A - Breakdown of Annual Budgets, Oct. 1, 1957 - Dec. 31, 1960
B - Organization Chart
C - Descriptive List of Central Staff
D - "The South of Promise," a summary of program activities

EXHIBIT FOLDER

April 18, 1957

Mr. David F. Freeman
The Fund for the Republic
Sixty East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Our Executive Committee has asked me to submit, on behalf of the Southern Regional Council, the enclosed request for a further period of financial assistance from the Fund for the Republic.

As a movement embodying some 38 years of experience in Southern race relations, the Council bears a special responsibility during this period of transition and strain. We are deeply grateful to the Fund for the Republic for its generous assistance to the work of the Council as we have sought to meet this challenge effectively.

The enclosed proposal represents the most careful thought and planning by the Council's Board and staff members. We earnestly hope that it will merit the favorable consideration of the Fund.

Sincerely yours,

Rufus E. Clement
Chairman
Executive Committee

Encl.
Proposal to the Fund for the Republic
and Appendices

April 18, 1957

A PROPOSAL TO THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

September 30, 1957 will mark the end of the Fund for the Republic's assistance to the Southern Regional Council for a three and one-half year program of development of state organizations. This is a request for a further period of support of the work of the Council by the Fund.

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It should be noted, however, that this program was developed and the first grant in the series made before the Supreme Court's school decision was rendered. The assumption then was that, once the legal principle was clearly defined, the problems of implementation would become community problems, to be solved by detailed local action. Hence the program placed

major emphasis and the greatest part of the funds on the decentralizing effort to build state organizations, with little allowance made for the support of a strong, continuing central operation.

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For these purposes, this proposal projects an annual budget slightly in excess of $200,000, or a total for a thirty-nine month period of $653,585. Of this amount, we ask the Fund for the Republic for $250,000 to be applied on a diminishing basis over the thirty-nine months following September 30, 1957.

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We propose that the grant of $250,000 requested should be distributed as follows: $120,000 for the first fifteen months (October 1, 1957 - December 31, 1958); $75,000 for the year 1959; and $55,000 for the year 1960. The detailed basis for these overall figures is appended.

The Grant Period Ending September 30, 1957

Since April 1, 1954, the Fund for the Republic has made grants to the Southern Regional Council for the state organizations and the central operation totaling $500,000. In addition, the Fund has made three special purpose grants to the Council -- one for $5,000 to convene a selected biracial group of Southern leadership in anticipation of the Supreme Court's decision, one of $1,000 to publish a pamphlet in cooperation with the Southern Historical Association, and one of $50,000 to carry out a special fact-finding program.

As initially agreed, the greater part of the main grant has been distributed to the Council's state affiliates to assist them in maintaining professional staff and developing their activities. Of the $500,000, approximately $345,000 will have been spent for direct aid to the state groups by the end of this last grant year. The remaining $155,000 has been

applied to the central program of the Southern Regional Council on a yearly diminishing basis. We estimate that during the three years ending September 30th the Council will have raised from sources other than the Fund nearly $200,000, and the state affiliates slightly over $100,000, or an aggregate total of approximately $300,000.

Since the Council has rendered frequent and detailed reports to the Fund, we will forego here any comprehensive account of the achievements which the past grants have made possible. Instead, we are submitting as an appendix a recent summary of the Council's various activities. This may be supplemented by the following general observations.

The State Organizations

In view of the special difficulties arising from the development of powerful, officially sanctioned resistance to desegregation in the South, we believe the three year state organization effort represents a creditable achievement. As a result of the Council's efforts assisted by the Fund, there are today ten human relations councils professionally staffed, actively at work in the South. These state bodies represent an impressive amount of courage, devotion, and skill displayed by white and Negro Southerners in the face of tremendous odds. They have, almost uniquely, provided an organized Southern expression of the forces for democratic change affecting race relations in the United States.

The programs of the state organizations have reflected the wide diversity of conditions to be found in the South. The Kentucky Council, for example, has worked closely with state and local officials through consultative

services to desegregating school systems, through preparation of materials which have been distributed by the State Department of Education, and through educational programs aimed at promoting the full inclusion of Negro teachers in the desegregation process. In Mississippi, on the other hand, the state council has had to work in the harshest kind of pro-segregation climate, official and private. It has been able to do little except provide one of the few remaining channels for communication between the races and demonstrate in some measure the irrepressible quality of the belief in human freedom and dignity.

Between these two extremes lies a varied range of constructive activities. The Alabama Council, which has the participation of an unusually large number of church people, has performed effectively against great odds; it worked devotedly to prevent violence and help bring about peaceful acceptance of bus integration in Montgomery. The Arkansas Council, with an extremely able bi-racial staff, has given invaluable leadership in that state; its quiet efforts were largely responsible for the Hoxie school board's success in maintaining desegregation in the face of organized resistance. The Virginia Council has mobilized positive sentiment among ministers of that state and has built active local councils in such key communities as Charlottesville and Richmond.

These few highlights will suggest the quality of participation and activity that the state councils have achieved. Given a workable climate of opinion and influence, they can contribute greatly in the years ahead to the orderly implementation of integration within their respective states. However, their effectiveness -- perhaps their survival -- is imperiled by national and regional developments on which they can have little influence. If the

investment in the state councils is to be protected, more resources and skills must be applied by the Council in this broader arena of opinion and action.

Southern Resistance to Desegregation

Since May, 1954, and particularly within the past year, something approaching a national crisis has been precipitated by political and private reaction to the Supreme Court's school decision. We will not attempt a lengthy analysis of these developments, which are well known to the Fund for the Republic, but we list a few examples.

What began as attitudes of defiance in four deep South states has become a "united front" by eight states. This defiance is manifested not only in official actions and utterances directed at the Supreme Court and its decisions, but has also taken the turn of punitive measures directed at individuals and groups within the states who favor a positive or even a more moderate course of action.

Accompanying this official posture have been the phenomenal growth of the White Citizens Councils and other resistance movements, serious reversals in the churches and the labor movement, the deterioration of political campaigns, and in general conformity or silence by most of the influential elements in the South. The example set by state office-holders and others in high places has stirred excitable rank-and-file Southerners to violence in several instances -- even in areas in Tennessee, Texas, Kentucky, and West Virginia where integration should have been expected to proceed without a ripple.

Any adequate appraisal of these negative factors must take into account the great concentration of power available to the extreme pro-

segregation forces in the deep South. This includes virtually all of the state and local controlling institutions -- governors and attorneys general, legislatures and state created commissions, many grand juries, most of the state and local law enforcement agencies, most Southern congressmen and senators, and, under vigilante pressure, many influential private institutions such as newspapers, business organizations, civic clubs, and the like.

All of this has presented grave problems in national and international terms. The impact of the "Southern revolt" on the prestige of the United States abroad, particularly among Asians and Africans, is of great concern to every thoughtful American. Domestically, the assaults on the authority of the Supreme Court, on respect for law and order, and on recognition of the rights of minority-group citizens are major threats to the national welfare. Pro-segregation laws and administrative actions in the South have seriously eroded such basic civil liberties as freedom of speech, association, and the right to due process of law.

It has been observed by the New York Times and others that what is needed is a mobilization of all the constructive forces the country can muster to deal with the problem of segregation wisely and effectively. Unfortunately, no such mobilization has taken place. Rather, the Citizens Councils and several Southern state governments are making an extensive and expensive effort to sway national opinion. In short, the climate of opinion has worsened. And instead of merely local problems arising out of local opposition to integration, we are confronted with a renewal of pro-segregation activity that is regional in its leadership and national in its impact. A measure of this fact was the nearly unanimous adoption of the "Southern Manifesto" by Southern members of Congress.

FFR

The Role of the Southern Regional Council

This situation imposes a tremendous responsibility on the Southern Regional Council. As the one South-wide body with experience, professional skills, and reputation in the field of race relations, it must perform on a broader and more effective scale than ever before, recognizing that it is dealing with causes and effects which are truly nation-wide in their scope. This we propose to do.

The Council's task, as we see it, includes but goes far beyond the stimulation of local action to deal with matters of desegregation and democratic racial relations at the community level. It is essential that the Council play a broader role in creating a national and Southern climate of opinion in which positive local efforts can succeed. This means assuming greater leadership in educating and rallying those national and regional forces whose action or inaction at this time is crucial.

Within recent months the Council has revised its staff structure and program orientation so that it may better work toward these objectives. (An organizational chart, adopted in January, and a descriptive list of staff members are included in the appendices.) The major points in this new orientation may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. The Council suffered a loss in the recent retirement of Dr. George S. Mitchell as Executive Director after ten years of able and devoted leadership in this position. On the positive side, however, his leaving presented a challenge that has evoked new dedication and commitment from staff members and lay leadership alike. His successor, Harold C. Fleming, brings to the position the advantage of ten years' experience as a senior staff member

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NY Foundation Grant

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identified mainly with the Council's central program activities.

2. The Council has already, of necessity, assumed a greatly increased responsibility for coordination and clearing-house work in cooperation with other agencies. This has been in response to the expressed wishes and requests of a large number of organizations, including the social action departments of the major religious denominations active in the South, the several Jewish agencies concerned with human relations, the trade unions, and such groups as the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP, the YMCA, and the YWCA. The Council has twice served as convener of twenty-five of these agencies for the sharing of ideas and joint program planning. At their request, the Council has also coordinated their concerted field efforts and will soon convene them again for a third planning session.

3. The Council has played a central part in the newly formed national Consultative Conference on Desegregation. Through this association and other channels, we have greatly increased communication and cooperation between enlightened Southerners and national forces concerned with desegregation.

4. The Council is called upon by various departments of the Federal Government for interpretation of Southern problems and for specially assembled information, largely made possible through the fact-finding grant from the Fund for the Republic. For example, the Department of Justice requested and was given the complete raw findings of the Council's special survey on the status of Negro suffrage in the South.

5. One of the main assets of the Council has always been its reputation with the press, Southern and national, as a dependable and authoritative source of information about all aspects of race relations in the

South. The Council and the Commission on Interracial Cooperation before it have served as a repository of such information since 1919. Many Southern editors and newspapers whose policies on racial matters are directly opposed to those of the Council are accustomed to relying without question on the Council's information services. This function too has greatly increased and continues to grow with each passing day. It is no exaggeration to say that the Council now serves in this way virtually all of the major national publications and a great many Southern ones. To the newspapers must be added a growing list of television programs.

6. The Consultant Service Program, established as a service to the Council's state affiliates, is greatly broadening its scope and usefulness. Within the limit of resources, we are undertaking to make special consultants available to public or private leadership in Southern communities with outstanding problems or opportunities. Within the last few weeks, for example, upon official invitation, the Council has made available the consultative services of a Kentucky county school superintendent, who successfully carried out desegregation, to a local school board in North Carolina beginning quietly to plan for such a change.

7. Under the Apprentice Training Program initiated by the Fund for the Republic, the Council has received a grant of $5,000 from the New World Foundation to engage an apprentice staff member in the area of field services. It is our hope and expectation that this position will be permanently filled, thus increasing the amount of skilled field work that we will be able to perform from the regional office. The current demand for such services, from the Council's state and local affiliates and from a host of other community groups, far exceeds the availability of staff.

8. Under a special arrangement, the Council has recently acquired the services of a well-qualified staff member bearing the title of Labor Consultant. This staff member's function is to serve as a resource and a liaison person with the unions in the South, which hold great promise as an influence for progress in race relations. Although this position was initially established on a temporary basis, it has already yielded such fruitful results that we are determined, if at all possible, to continue it as part of the regular staff structure.

9. All of the important activities that the Council has regularly carried on are being expanded and intensified to the limit of resources as the demands on the Council mount. In this category are the work with church women and other women's groups, the maintenance of comprehensive reference files to service a stream of information requests, support of the rights of such beleaguered dissenters as those at Koinonia Farm, our monthly publication New South, the distribution of program materials, and the briefing of foreign visitors travelling in the South under the auspices of the State Department and other sponsors.

In undertaking the reorientation illustrated above, the Council is strengthened by a large backlog of experience within its staff and lay leadership. What is involved is not so much the learning of new functions as the expansion and refinement of activities that heretofore have had to be carried on sporadically or too limitedly.

We do not wish to imply that the Council feels that it has achieved any fixed or final formula for its efforts in the South during the next three years. As recent experience has made all too clear, the situation is dynamic and volatile in the extreme. Any realistic approach in this area must be

firmly grounded in recognition of the need for constant reassessment and flexibility. We do feel that we have achieved an orientation, a structure, and a range of staff skills sufficiently elastic and versatile to render a major service in the three year period of operation now being planned.

Financial Analysis

We are proposing a thirty-nine month grant period for two reasons. First, in our opinion the next three years will be crucial in determining the future pattern of race relations in the South. Despite the tension and difficulties of the last few years, the situation has not yet crystallized; it will do so as further court decisions and the possible spread of violence bring the issues to a head. Thus what is done or not done during the next three years will probably set the framework in which the longer-range working out of desegregation will take place. If this is true, it clearly follows that this is the period in which to make the most effective contribution of which this organization is capable.

Second, we earnestly believe that sound program planning and staffing demand a stable financial base for a substantial period ahead. The Council is fortunate in having a remarkably devoted and well-qualified staff, but we cannot expect to hold such people or to make maximum use of their skills if the financial fate of the organization is to hang in the balance month by month or even year by year.

It will be noted from the figures below that, while the grant requested is substantial, it is approximately forty per cent of the total budget projected for the period; if the amounts to be raised by the state organizations were taken into account, the percentage would be significantly smaller. This means

that the Council is undertaking to raise more funds from other sources than ever before. We feel that the fund-raising objectives set are reasonable, since they continue the trend of increasing support to the Council during the last few years. By the end of the current fiscal year, for example, we anticipate that the Council will have raised from sources other than the Fund for the Republic approximately $87,000. This compares with $60,000 in the preceding fiscal year, and $52,000 in the year before that. The state organizations have increased their performance from an aggregate total of roughly $22,000 in the first year to a projected $45,000 in the current fiscal year.

Following is a summary of the budgetary considerations which underlie the grant requested of the Fund for the Republic. The first budget period was made fifteen months in order to round out the period from October 1, 1957 to December 31, 1958, thus putting the operation on a calendar year basis. (A detailed breakdown of the annual budgets is furnished as Appendix A.)

Summary of Projected Budgets and Grant Request

15-month Budget (Oct. 1, 1957 - Dec. 31, 1958)	$247,665	
To be raised from other sources	127,665	
BALANCE REQUESTED FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC		$120,000
1959 Budget	$201,960	
To be raised from other sources	126,960	
BALANCE REQUESTED FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC		$ 75,000
1960 Budget	$203,960	
To be raised from other sources	148,960	
BALANCE REQUESTED FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC		$ 55,000
TOTAL REQUESTED FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC		$250,000
TOTAL TO BE RAISED FROM OTHER SOURCES		$403,585
TOTAL BUDGET, Oct. 1, 1957 - Dec. 31, 1960		$653,585

96,000 *

60,000

44,000

* 20th basis

APPENDICES:

A - Breakdown of Annual Budgets, Oct. 1, 1957 - Dec. 31, 1960
B - Organization Chart
C - Descriptive List of Central Staff
D - "The South of Promise," a summary of program activities

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Breakdown of Projected Budgets, October 1, 1957 - December 31, 1960

PROPOSED 15-MONTH BUDGET, October 1, 1957 - December 31, 1958

Central Office (program and administration)

Salaries	$103,200.00	
Social Security Taxes	2,300.00	
Travel	10,800.00	
Printing & Postage, N.S.	9,400.00	
Printing, Other	4,800.00	
Rent	2,475.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	5,550.00	
Postage	2,500.00	
Books & Subscriptions	1,650.00	
Acc't. & Legal Fees	850.00	
Insurance & Misc.	825.00	
Office Supplies & Equipment	3,740.00	
Exec. Com. Mtgs. & Bd. Mtg.	3,600.00	
Total		$151,690.00

Consultant Service Program

Direct Supervisory Service	$ 5,000.00	
Communication	600.00	
Fees for Consultant Service	7,150.00	
Consultant Service Travel	6,000.00	
Apprentice Training Project	3,750.00	
SRC Overhead Charge	2,500.00	
Total		$ 25,000.00

Fellowship of the Concerned

Travel, State Meetings, and Materials Distribution		$ 8,475.00
Aid to State Organizations or Equivalent		$ 62,500.00
	TOTAL	$247,665.00
To be raised from other sources		127,665.00
Requested from the Fund for the Republic		$120,000.00

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC ALLOCATION - $96,000.00
OTHER SOURCES $151,665.00

PROPOSED BUDGET, January 1 - December 31, 1959

Central Office (program and administration)

Salaries	$ 84,500.00	
Social Security Taxes	1,950.00	
Travel	8,500.00	
Printing & Postage, N.S.	7,500.00	
Printing, Other	3,700.00	
Rent	1,980.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	4,500.00	
Postage	2,200.00	
Books & Subscriptions	1,500.00	
Acc't & Legal Fees	700.00	
Insurance & Misc.	750.00	
Office Supplies & Equipment	3,380.00	
Exec. Com. Mtgs. & Bd. Mtg.	3,300.00	
Total		$124,460.00

Consultant Service Program

Direct Supervisory Service	$ 4,500.00	
Communication	500.00	
Fees for Consultant Service	7,500.00	
Consultant Service Travel	5,500.00	
SRC Overhead Charge	2,000.00	
Total		$ 20,000.00

Fellowship of the Concerned

Travel, State Meetings, and Material Distribution	$ 7,500.00
Aid to State Organizations or Equivalent	$ 50,000.00
TOTAL	$201,960.00
To be raised from other sources	126,960.00
Requested from the Fund for the Republic	$ 75,000.00

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC ALLOCATION	$60,000.00
OTHER SOURCES	$141,960.00

PROPOSED BUDGET, January 1 - December 31, 1960

Central Office (program and administration)

Salaries	$ 86,500.00	
Social Security Taxes	1,950.00	
Travel	8,500.00	
Printing & Postage, N.S.	7,500.00	
Printing, Other	3,700.00	
Rent	1,980.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	4,500.00	
Postage	2,200.00	
Books & Subscriptions	1,500.00	
Acc't & Legal Fees	700.00	
Insurance & Misc.	750.00	
Office Supplies & Equipment	3,380.00	
Exec. Com. Mtgs. & Bd. Mtg.	3,300.00	
Total		$126,460.00

Consultant Service Program

Direct Supervisory Service	$ 4,500.00	
Communication	500.00	
Fees for Consultant Service	7,500.00	
Consultant Service Travel	5,500.00	
SRC Overhead Charge	2,000.00	
Total		$ 20,000.00

Fellowship of the Concerned

Travel, State Meetings, and Material Distribution		$ 7,500.00
Aid to State Organizations or Equivalent		$ 50,000.00
	TOTAL	$203,960.00
To be raised from other sources		148,960.00
Requested from the Fund for the Republic		$ 55,000.00

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC ALLOCATION	$44,000.00
OTHER SOURCES	$159,960.00

April 18, 1957

Mr. David Freeman
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

Coming separately, with a covering letter from Rufus Clement, is the request to the Fund as approved by our Executive Committee today. As you will see, there are only a few editorial changes, nothing substantive.

On further reflection, we decided to dispense with the exhibits mentioned in the draft, since you've probably got all the background you need, and more. Needless to say, we stand ready to supply any additional material that may be helpful.

I hope I will see you next week. Meanwhile, all the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:mm

April 23, 1957

Mr. David F. Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

The Southern Regional Council acknowledges with appreciation the Fund's check for $100, representing a grant made on nomination of Mr. Robert Repas. Our official receipt is enclosed.

I am writing Mr. Repas today to express our thanks for this evidence of his regard for the work of the Council.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

April 16, 1957

ENTERED APR 18 1957

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

I am pleased to enclose herewith a check in the amount of $100.00 from this Fund to the order of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. This grant is made on the nomination of Mr. Robert Repas, one of the prize winners in our recent American Traditions Contest. For your information, I enclose a copy of a bulletin describing the contest. ok rha

At your convenience, I would appreciate your acknowledging receipt of this grant to Mr. Repas.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman
Treasurer

cc: Mr. Robert Repas
c/o Amalgamated Union Education Center
Cornwall, Pa.

BULLETIN · APRIL 1957

The fifth number of a periodical bulletin issued to promote discussion of leading questions in the field of civil liberties, and to describe the purposes and operations of the Fund for the Republic as an educational institution in this field.

IN THE TRADITION OF FREEDOM

The American Traditions Project

The American Traditions Project was established by the Fund last year as a means of discovering and dramatizing incidents from daily life, particularly those which might never reach the headlines, in which the courage and good sense of Americans had been keeping bright our traditions of freedom and justice.

The project offered a series of awards for letters reporting true stories of individuals or groups who had successfully defended the rights to think and read freely, who had applied the principles of the Bill of Rights in concrete human situations against the dictates of expediency, who had stood conscientiously for freedom and fairness or upheld the rights of conscience of others. Some 400 letters were received, several in some instances describing the same episode; these were submitted to a distinguished panel of judges, who selected the thirteen reported cases which seemed most worthy of award. These were announced by Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, one of the panel, at a dinner held in Washington on February 21 in honor of the principals of the selected episodes. The accounts which follow are taken from Judge Rosenman's address.

A Courageous Legislator

"The first prize in this contest was awarded to the six people who picked out the incident of which the principal actor was Mr. John B. Orr, Jr., and the cash prize will be divided among the six writers. Mr. Orr is a native Southerner, born in Miami, Fla., some thirty-seven years ago. He is a representative in the Florida State Legislature. He has made many contributions to his community in the course of his career, both in the Legislature of his State and in his private life. The one which stands out, however, is an incident of extreme personal and political courage, showing devotion to the highest ideals of the American tradition.

"During a special session of the Florida Legislature, Mr. Orr was the only representative who stood up and voted against legislation designed to continue school segregation in his State in spite of the decision of the Supreme Court. This was risking not merely a political career, it was undertaking an extreme hazard to his own personal safety. The courage of his stand was emphasized by the fact that he stood all alone. He believed and said that segregation was morally wrong, no matter how long it had existed. He said so and he voted so. The vote on that day was eighty-nine 'aye' and one 'nay,' and the 'nay' was the man who was the principal of the first prize award.

"I wish that I had the time to read to you the speech which this native white Southerner made to his white colleagues on this explosive subject. It was worthy of being placed with some of the highest expositions of the American tradition. And, believe it or not, this man was running for re-election, even as he cast his vote, and we all know that his vote was contrary to the personal sentiments of practically all of his constituents. The result, however, of the election was a great tribute to

FILE COPY

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

May 30, 1957

M E M O R A N D U M

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

TO: Executive Committee

FROM: Harold C. Fleming

SUBJ: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC GRANT

:

I know that you will be pleased to see the enclosed copy of Mr. Freeman's letter informing us that the Fund for the Republic has approved a terminal grant of $200,000 to the Southern Regional Council for the three-year period beginning October 1, 1957. This grant was made in response to our request for $250,000 for that period. Despite the twenty per cent reduction, we may consider ourselves fortunate to have received a grant of this size at a time when the Fund is sharply reducing its grant-making activities.

The total amount of the grant has already been transmitted to us and has been invested in accordance with sound professional advice and the approval of the President and the Chairman of the Executive Committee. As a result, it will be possible to earn a significant amount of interest on these funds.

In terms of our projected budget for the thirty-nine months beginning October 1, 1957, this $200,000 amounts to approximately one-third of our estimated financial needs. You will recall that in our request we undertook to raise, from other sources, yearly amounts totaling $403,000 for the thirty-nine month period. In view of the amount finally approved by the Fund, we must find, elsewhere, a somewhat larger amount than this in order to carry on the program activities that we have projected.

With the aid of this grant, we propose to make available to the state groups the total amount of $40,000 during the coming fiscal year. The distribution of these funds among the various state councils will be determined by the Executive Committee on

the basis of written applications from the state groups.

Since no final decision has yet been made concerning publicity for the grant, we are asking that the information be handled with discretion by members of the Southern Regional Council staff, the Executive Committee and the state groups.

Ltr. Circulated to Exec. Committee May 30, 1957

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

May 17, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

I am pleased to advise you that the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic, Inc. has approved a terminal grant of $200,000 to the Southern Regional Council, for the support of the Council's educational program in the South for the three-year period beginning October 1, 1957, or such longer period as the Council may determine. This grant is made for the purpose described in the Council's request to the Fund dated April 18, 1957.

We hope you will express to the Board and staff members of the Council and the state organizations our appreciation for their devoted work for the principles of equality before the law and equality of opportunity.

We look forward to receiving informal financial and progress reports at quarterly intervals, and copies of your audited financial statements as of the end of your fiscal year.

You are at liberty to publicize this grant should you desire to do so. We should appreciate, however, the opportunity of receiving a draft of any news release before it is made public.

We have on hand a copy of your tax-exempt ruling from the Treasury Department and your statement of February 5, 1954, that the Southern Regional Council has not departed from the terms of the ruling.

I have instructed the Guaranty Trust Company of New York to transfer funds in the amount of $200,000 to the Council's account in the First National Bank of Atlanta, Georgia. These funds will be available to you on May 20th.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

David F. Freeman
Vice President

VIA AIR MAIL

June 12, 1957

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

I find I am to be in New York next week for a couple of days and hope it will be possible to see you. I am getting in late afternoon Wednesday, June 19th and leaving about 2:30 p.m., Friday. So I will call you Thursday morning to see if we can get together sometime Thursday or Friday morning.

Meanwhile, I thought you might like to see, from the enclosed, how our investments finally worked out.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Encl. - 1 Investment sheet

P. S. I expect to be staying at the Roosevelt if you should want to leave a message.

HCF

July 12, 1957

Mr. David Freeman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

Enclosed are several copies of our report on the activities of the Southern Regional Council for the period January 1 - June 30, 1957.

It was a busy period and we think put us well on the way toward the new orientation discussed in the proposal recently approved by the Fund.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosures - 3 copies of Semi-annual Report of SRC

August 30, 1957

Mr. David F. Freeman
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dave:

Many thanks for sharing George Mitchell's letter with us. I agree that they should be preserved for a posterity unlucky enough not to have sampled the flavor of the Mitchell personality.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED AUG 26 1957

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

August 22, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

You have probably received communications similar to the attached from George, but I am sending it along for your edification anyway. If all his correspondence from Glencoe is of the caliber of this effort, we should preserve the letters and publish them for posterity. All the best.

Sincerely,

Dave

David F. Freeman

(1)

FIRST TRIAL DRAFT OF A LETTER TO F for R
BEGGING MONEY FOR POST-1957.

OK
EM

Dear Mr. Freeman,

Perforce we begin to think about our fundless days which begin October 1, 1957.

I am quite aware of the firm language which you used,
? and which the Fund's letter of grant of April 2(?), 1954 used, to the effe t that the Fund for the Republic had no notion of helping the Southern Regional Council after the expiration of the three and a half years during which the Fund's grants were prospectively to run.

Yet the job isn't done, and we aren't strong enough to stand alone.

It needs be clear that I Mitchell am not one to argue for a perpetual Sou hern Regional Council. I have thought all along that each Southern state should have a strong statewide agency in human relation, hooked to some National congeries of such agencies; and that we should all get over thinking of the South as forever queer, requiring special, different treatment. I voice this view repeatedly in SRC's Board meetings, and each time am cried down: "That may be very well in some long run, but for the next few years we have to have a Southern Regional Council". With that limited need I agreem. I say three more years.

THE STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Six and possibly seven of the State Organizations we have helped can be expected to come through as intended, and be self-sustaining, or almost entirely so, after October, 1957. Some of them will cut down their staffs, but this many can live practically alone, and deepen their local roots. Here are these agencies, and the figures that make us feel they are safe:

~~Here follow certain computations which GSA is making:~~

ALL RIGHT

	Quit Raised 10/55 – 6/30/56	number of Members as of 7/1/56
VIRGINIA	$3331.00	547
KENTUCKY	717.00	233
FLORIDA	1318.00	331
TEXAS	1737.00	201
ARKANSAS	814.00	148
SOUTH CAROLINA	2337.00	399
? GEORGIA?	2332.00	628
CLEARLY WEAK:		
~~Mississippi~~ MISSISSIPPI	1005.00	252
TENESSEE	937.00	201
WOBBLY:		
ALABAMA	2283.00	485.
NORTH CAROLINA	1588.00	471
~~GEORGIA~~		
LOUISIANA	1823.00	264

We wouldlike to be able to help the weak and the wobblers with up to four or five thousand dollars a year for the next three years. That would average out at 25,000 a year for the State Organizations. We wouldn't covenant to help each equally each year (as we have done until quite lately with the current grant). We would tailor-make each State's aid to its carefully assessed need. And we would feel free to help even the strong ones with a hundred here and there.

For the Central Office there's a choice of three plans:

Type One. A paymaster and an inspector and a clerk, and a little for travel and rent money and supplies and postage. Cost $24,000 a year.

Type Two. Minimum coordination. A head-man, a Secretary-Treasurer, a field man, an information man. This would let us get out a magazine somehow, travel to the States, tie them together a little, do little or nothing of our present job of interpreting change to the Nation. Cost $50,000 a year.

Type Three. Workable coordination. Better-paid people, more clerks, continue to work with the Church Women, travel more, keep on being a port of lading for national inquirers. Cost $70,000 a year.

Budget - Type One		Budget - Type Two		Budget - Type Three	
Director	8,000	Director	8,000	Director	10,000
Secretary-Treas	5,000	Secretary-Treas	5,000	Secretary-Treas	5,000
Clerk	3,000	Clerks	6,000	Clerks	9,000
Travel	4,000	Field Man	7,000	Field Man	8,000
Rent, etc	3,000	Information	7,000	Information	8,000
Board	1,000	Research (includes clerical)	7,000	Research (includes clerical)	7,000
~~Total 24,000~~		Rent, etc	4,300	Director of Women's Work, program	10,000
		Board	1,500	Travel	6,000
		Travel	5,000	Rent, etc.	500
		~~49,300~~		Board	1,500
				~~8,500~~	
Total	24,000.00	Total	50,800.00	Total	69,600.00

SRC'S OWN MONEY-RAISING

This whole proposal is gronded on the idea that at least six of the State Organizations would raise all or practically all of their own money. That's on the order of $13,000 a year apiece. Total about $75,000 a year.

It also expects six State Organizations to raise most of their own money; about 50,000 ayear.

Which is a self-raised amount of $125,000 a year for each of three years. All in, $375,000. From the States alone.

Now turn to the central office. It can raise around 35,000 a year, by staff efforts. If the Fund for the Republic would put in $20,000 a year for each of three years that's $55,000. It would be possible to stop at that, and finance a Type Two office. I recmmend that SRC's Board be charged with raising enough more, by its own efforts, ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ (at least $15,000), to stretch up to the Type Three budget.

REVIEW OF REQUEST AND FORECAST:

Three years more of aid.

States to raise $125,000 a year. Fund for Republic to put in for the States, $25,000a year.

Central Office to raise $50,000a year. Fund for Republic would put in $20,000 a year.

For three years, totals

SRC to raise$525,000

F. for R. to put in $135,000.

We are exceedingly grateful for the rich, and we think rewarding contribution, which the Fund for the Republic has made to the support of equal protection of the laws in the South. ~~xxxxxxxx

DOMESTIC SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram

FULL RATE TELEGRAM		SERIAL	
DAY LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE		DEFERRED	
CODE		NIGHT LETTER	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			Southern Regional Council	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Mr. David Freeman
The Ford Foundation
655 Madison Ave.
New York 21, N. Y.

President M. A. Wright of the Southern Regional Council and Board member Morris Abram of Atlanta wish come New York September 14, 15, or 16 to interview appropriate official Fund for Republic. Will you kindly make date and ~~advise~~ wire me.

George S. Mitchell

George Mitchell

APPENDIX

Breakdown of Projected Budgets, October 1, 1957 - December 31, 1960

PERIOD I

PROPOSED 15-MONTH BUDGET, October 1, 1957 - December 31, 1958

Central Office (program and administration)

Salaries	$103,200.00	
Social Security Taxes	2,300.00	
Travel	10,800.00	
Printing & Postage, N.S.	9,400.00	
Printing, Other	4,800.00	
Rent	2,475.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	5,550.00	
Postage	2,500.00	
Books & Subscriptions	1,650.00	
Acc't. & Legal Fees	850.00	
Insurance & Misc.	825.00	
Office Supplies & Equipment	3,740.00	
Exec. Com. Mtgs. & Bd. Mtg.	3,600.00	
Total		$151,690.00

Consultant Service Program

Direct Supervisory Service	$ 5,000.00	
Communication	600.00	
Fees for Consultant Service	7,150.00	
Consultant Service Travel	6,000.00	
Apprentice Training Project	3,750.00	
SRC Overhead Charge	2,500.00	
Total		$ 25,000.00

Fellowship of the Concerned

Travel, State Meetings, and Materials Distribution		$ 8,475.00
Aid to State Organizations or Equivalent		$ 62,500.00
	TOTAL	$247,665.00
To be raised from other sources		127,665.00
Requested from the Fund for the Republic		$120,000.00

PERIOD II

PROPOSED BUDGET, January 1 - December 31, 1959

Central Office (program and administration)

Salaries	$ 84,500.00	
Social Security Taxes	1,950.00	
Travel	8,500.00	
Printing & Postage, N.S.	7,500.00	
Printing, Other	3,700.00	
Rent	1,980.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	4,500.00	
Postage	2,200.00	
Books & Subscriptions	1,500.00	
Acc't & Legal Fees	700.00	
Insurance & Misc.	750.00	
Office Supplies & Equipment	3,380.00	
Exec. Com. Mtgs. & Bd. Mtg.	3,300.00	
Total		$124,460.00

Consultant Service Program

Direct Supervisory Service	$ 4,500.00	
Communication	500.00	
Fees for Consultant Service	7,500.00	
Consultant Service Travel	5,500.00	
SRC Overhead Charge	2,000.00	
Total		$ 20,000.00

Fellowship of the Concerned

Travel, State Meetings, and Material Distribution		$ 7,500.00
Aid to State Organizations or Equivalent		$ 50,000.00
	TOTAL	$201,960.00
To be raised from other sources		126,960.00
Requested from the Fund for the Republic		$ 75,000.00

PERIOD III

PROPOSED BUDGET, January 1 - December 31, 1960

Central Office (program and administration)

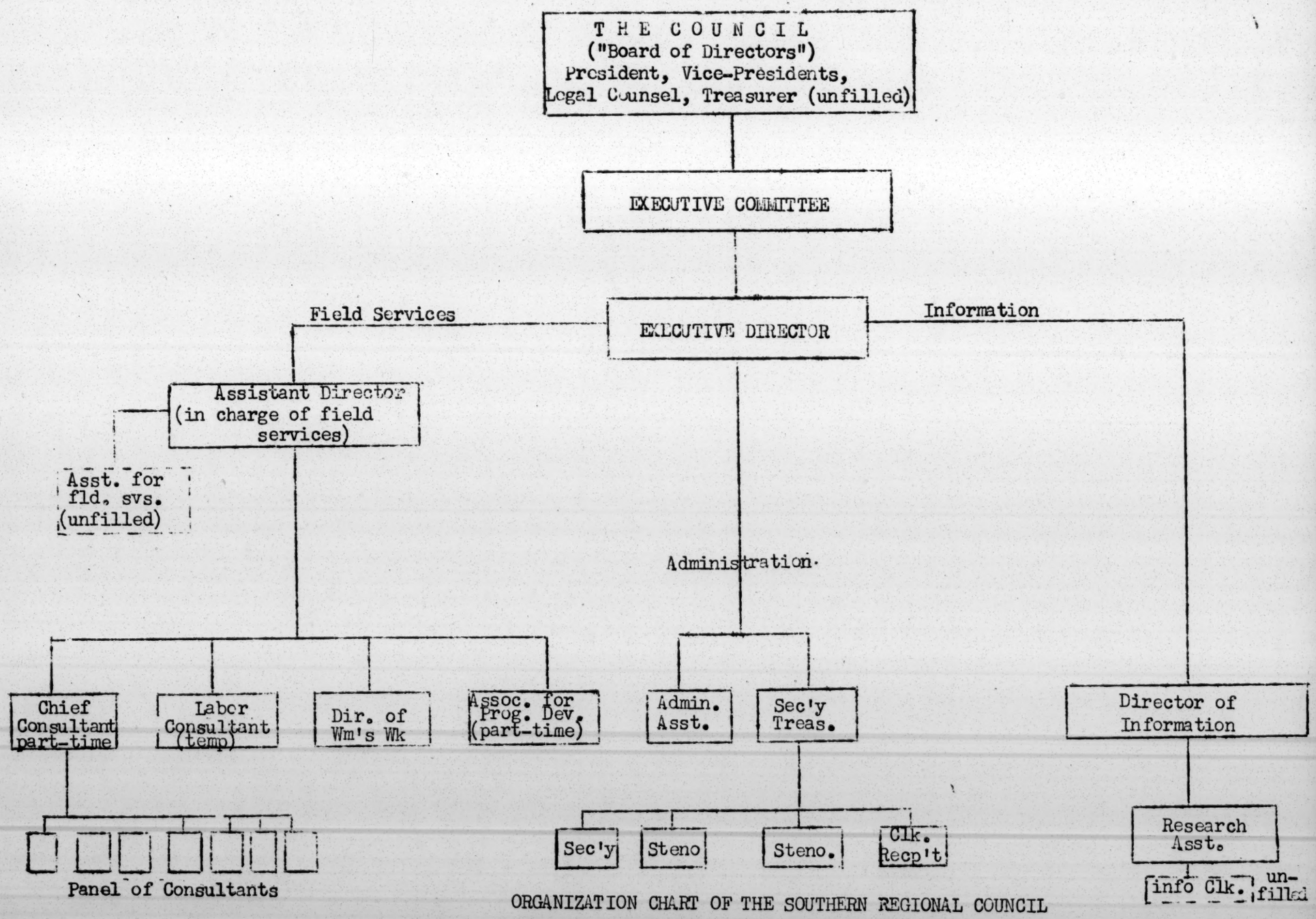
Salaries	$ 86,500.00	
Social Security Taxes	1,950.00	
Travel	8,500.00	
Printing & Postage, N.S.	7,500.00	
Printing, Other	3,700.00	
Rent	1,980.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	4,500.00	
Postage	2,200.00	
Books & Subscriptions	1,500.00	
Acc't & Legal Fees	700.00	
Insurance & Misc.	750.00	
Office Supplies & Equipment	3,380.00	
Exec. Com. Mtgs. & Bd. Mtg.	3,300.00	
Total		$126,460.00

Consultant Service Program

Direct Supervisory Service	$ 4,500.00	
Communication	500.00	
Fees for Consultant Service	7,500.00	
Consultant Service Travel	5,500.00	
SRC Overhead Charge	2,000.00	
Total		$ 20,000.00

Fellowship of the Concerned

Travel, State Meetings, and Material Distribution	$ 7,500.00
Aid to State Organizations or Equivalent	$ 50,000.00
TOTAL	$203,960.00
To be raised from other sources	148,960.00
Requested from the Fund for the Republic	$ 55,000.00



ORGANIZATION CHART OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

MEMBERS OF CENTRAL PROFESSIONAL STAFF
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director -
Native Georgian, 34 years old, graduate of Harvard, Phi Beta Kappa, veteran of World War II; joined SRC staff in 1947 as director of information; later assistant director. On central staff of Ashmore Study of Bi-racial Education in the U. S. sponsored by the Fund for the Advancement of Education. Author of various magazine articles and booklets on race relations. Succeeded Dr. George S. Mitchell as SRC director January 16,1957.

Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director - Floridian, 33 years old, A. B. and M.A. at University of Miami, studies toward Ph.D. completed at N. Y. U., Center for Human Relations Studies. Veteran of World War II. Taught human relations at University of Miami, and summer instructor at University of Michigan, N.Y. U., University of Sorbonne, and University of Heidelberg. Contributor to various professional journals. Officer of National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. Joined SRC staff as Assistant Director for State Organizations in 1954.

C. H. Parrish, Associate for Program Development - Native Kentuckian, fiftyish, Ph.D. University of Chicago, formerly Professor of Sociology at Louisville Municipal College, then first Negro on facutly of University of Louisville, upon integration of that institution in early 1950's. Has contributed to many professional journals and has participated as consultant and field worker in various race relations projects. Joined SRC staff as part-time senior staff member in 1954.

John Hope II, Chief Consultant - Native Georgian, mid-forties, son of the distinguished first Negro president of Atlanta University. A. B. from Morehouse College, M. A. from University of Chicago. Field staff member, Southeastern Regional Office of war-time FEPC. Director, Industrial Division, Race Relations Department, Fisk University. Conducted studies in employment opportunities for the Committee of the South, National Planning Association and for labor unions. Author of several books on employment practices. Joined SRC staff in 1955 to direct consultant programs.

John Constable, Director of Information - Native North Carolinian, 31 years old, A. B. University of North Carolina, M. A. School of Journalism, University of Georgia. Instructor in journalism at University of Georgia, edited Georgia country weekly. Served on news staff of the Atlanta Constitution for three years. Joined SRC staff in 1955 as managing editor of New South.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director of Women's Work - Native Georgian, granddaughter of a leading Georgia planter, graduate of Wesleyan College (Macon, Ga.), advanced studies at University of North Carolina and Scarritt College. Numerous positions with the Woman's Society for Christian Service, North Georgia Methodist Conference. Secretary for Christian Social Relations of S. E. Jurisdiction, WSCS. Secretary of Economics Committee of the Women's Division of the Methodist Church. Member of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, 1947. Joined SRC staff in 1940.

Miss Florence Irving, Research Assistant - Native North Carolinian, A.B. Spelman College (Atlanta, Ga.), M. B. A. University of Chicago. Formerly Instructor of Business Administration at Agricultural and Technical College, Greensboro, N. C. Assistant to manager of Irving-Swain Press, Inc., Raleigh, N. C. Business economist, Office of Price Administration, Washington, D. C. Joined SRC staff in 1955.

Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant - Native Virginian, 32 years old, A. B. Emory University (Ga.), M. A. University of Chicago, requirements for Ph.D. partially completed at University of Chicago. Field Program Leader, Georgia Workers Education Service; Executive Secretary, Atlanta Labor Education Association; Field Program Leader, Labor Education Division, Roosevelt University (Chicago). Joined SRC staff in 1956.

Administrative Staff

Mrs. Ruth House Alexander, Secretary-Treasurer - Native Georgian, graduate of Morris Brown College School of Business, 1939. Secretary -bookkeeper, Alexander & Company and Wilson Realty Company, 1939-43. Secretary to Chairman of Department of Sociology, Atlanta University, 1944-46. Secretary to the Director and Bookkeeper, Georgia Workers Education Service, 1946-50. Bookkeeper, Atlanta University, 1951-54. Joined SRC staff in 1954.

Paul Anthony, Administrative Assistant - Native Virginian, 28 years old, graduate of University of Miami. Senior High School teacher, Lynchburg, Va. With the Wall Street Journal field service staff prior to joining SRC in 1956. Conducted fact-finding project on the White Citizens' Councils for SRC during 1956.

Mrs. Elizabeth Brantley, Secretary - Native Ohioan. Attended West Virginia State College and University of Cincinnati.

Mrs. Beverly Calhoun, Clerk-Receptionist - Native Floridian, attended Florida State University, wife of Methodist minister.

Mrs. Carmenceita P. Jones, Stenographer - Georgian, attended Savannah State College, Savannah, Ga.

Miss Marge Manderson, Stenographer - Native Georgian, attended University of Georgia. Currently enrolled in evening division of Ga. State College.

Miss Frances Carnes, Stenographer - Native Georgian, graduate of Mercer University, currently enrolled in Candler School of Theology, Emory University.

THE SOUTH OF PROMISE

A Report On The Work Of
The Southern Regional Council

"In the Deep South one organization stands out as likely to wield the most influence in shaping the region's attitude toward integration....the Southern Regional Council...."
The Associated Press in the Charlotte (N.C.) News

"The Council has been working with marked success. Its activities today need national status and attention to make them visible and audible above the dust and noise."
Christian Science Monitor

"(The Council) has come to be the most dependable and reliable interracial body operating in the South."
Atlanta Daily World

"A spokesman for the area's best traditions of tolerance, humanity, dignity, and freedom."
Asheville (N.C.) Times

"The South's foremost interracial organization."
New York Times

"The Council (has) earned a reputation for sound, constructive research and publication of factual materials."
Atlanta Constitution

It is the strident voices from the South, heralding defiance of the law of the land, that have captured the headlines throughout the country. The evasive maneuverings of some Southern legislatures have aroused echoes of "interposition" from pre-Civil War days. Economic and social reprisals, practiced by pro-segregation groups, have temporarily frightened some into confusion and inaction.

But there are other voices and other forces in the South -- voices of hope and forces of progress toward integration.

Many of these voices and much of this constructive force find expression in the Southern Regional Council and its affiliated state Councils on Human Relations. Through this movement, white and Negro Southerners, with the aid of experienced professional staff, work for a more democratic society.

This summary report is prepared for the friends and supporters of the Southern Regional Council so that they may know how their investments of interest, energy, and funds have been used. In this crucial period of change in the South, the effectiveness of the Southern Regional Council will depend on the continued allegiance and support of all those who accept responsibility for building a more democratic society.

MUSTERING THE STATES

A roll call of the Southern states -- from Virginia to Texas, from Florida to Kentucky -- would find an SRC-affiliated Council on Human Relations in each state. Here is a living demonstration of the South of the future, for integrated Boards of Directors make policy, plan program and supervise the work of the professional staff. The Council aids the state organizations with counsel, materials, and the advisory services of a professional field staff.

In Arkansas, Kentucky, and Texas, the affiliates have had a direct part in bringing about desegregation. There, and also in Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia, it has been possible to work directly with either state or local school authorities.

Efforts in the hard-core states of the Deep South are of a more elemental nature. Affiliates in these states are working to further communication and joint planning by whites and Negroes and to help secure the basic rights of freedom of speech, assembly, and association in the face of pro-segregation intolerance.

This region-wide movement provides, almost uniquely, opportunity for Southerners of both races to shape together the communities in which they live.

STRENGTHENING FORCES OF PROGRESS

SRC has assembled a panel of specialists from various fields to serve as consultants to private and public leadership in Southern communities. The skills and insights of these consultants have been available to SRC's state affiliates and have greatly assisted them in planning sound organizational and program activities. Requests for aid are now coming in from other agencies and from community leadership. Assistance is tailor-made to fit need. If a community needs the advice of a superintendent who has experienced school integration, a specialist in law enforcement problems, or the like, SRC seeks to supply a qualified consultant.

FINDING THE FACTS

The research department of the Council provides substantial underpinning for all Council activities. A professional staff member is charged with the responsibility of maintaining reference files based on newspaper clippings, first-hand reports, and other materials that document current developments in Southern race relations. In the course of a year, the Council services some hundreds of mail requests for information, as well as requests made in person by a variety of visitors to the Council's offices. Among the Council's efforts in this field is a fact-finding program.

One of the recent surveys uncovered more than 1,100 instances of integration that took place in the South during the two-year period immediately following the Supreme Court decision. These findings, published in Integration North and South, have been widely distributed throughout the nation and in many foreign countries.

Other projects under the fact-finding program include (1) a survey of Negro suffrage, documenting problems and progress in the exercise of this basic right, (2) a three-month field study of the pro-segregation groups, their history and trends, (3) the trend in Southern industrialization and its relation to the racial picture, and (4) a study of labor and race relations. The findings of some of these special projects have already been treated in newspaper stories, magazine articles, and books. Others will be made available in the near future.

INTERPRETING THE SOUTH TO THE WORLD

The South is not isolated. An incident in south Georgia becomes front-page news in New Delhi, Munich, and Dakar. A steady flow of foreign visitors -- newsmen, government officials, students, and other opinion-makers -- come to the South for a first-hand view of our racial problems. Many of these observers, especially those travelling under State Department and private fellowships or exchange programs, look to the Southern Regional Council for balanced and accurate information. This is a vital role for the Council since it provides, almost uniquely, the example and insights of white and Negro Southerners working together

in a spirit of equality. We are able to demonstrate convincingly to emissaries from other lands that, however severe our racial problems, there are Southerners working to solve them. During 1956, at the rate of six to ten a month, the Council was host to visitors from 21 countries. 1957, thus far, promises even greater opportunity to interpret the constructive South to the world.

INTERPRETING THE SOUTH TO THE NATION

Factual and interpretive material from the Southern Regional Council finds its way into national news media in ever-growing quantity. Through personal interviews, news releases, and publications, the Council has become the information center for national news representatives who are interpreting the story of the South to millions of Americans. Recent examples of publications and organizations whose representatives have sought the assistance of the Council are The Saturday Evening Post, the Christian Science Monitor, the Associated Press, Life, U. S. News and World Report, New Statesman and Nation, Time, Look, Newsweek, Collier's, The Reporter, St. Louis Post Dispatch, NBC television news, Edward R. Murrow's "See It Now," and the Canadian Broadcasting Company. Publications of the Council and articles by Council staff members find their way to national organizations. "What's Happening in School Integration," a Public Affairs Pamphlet written by two members of the Council's staff, is receiving national distribution.

INTERPRETING THE SOUTH TO THE SOUTH.

Through the monthly publication, New South, and special pamphlets, the Council disseminates information to Southern opinion-makers, business, educational, religious, and civic leaders, and the interested public. The Council also services Southern news representatives and from time-to-time prepares special reports for program use. A recent Council release reporting for the first time the peaceful integration of buses in 21 Southern cities received wide and favorable attention in the South and elsewhere. Commented the Washington Star: ". . . The report of the Southern Regional Council . . . is more important, actually, than the accounts of friction in other communities. For this is the way in which effective desegregation will come to the South."

CLEARINGHOUSE AND COORDINATION

Since the Council has a full-time concern with Southern race relations, extensive information files, and a seasoned professional staff, it has been able to assist and advise many other agencies -- national, regional, and local. The Council is called upon with increasing frequency for information and advice to religious, labor, civic, and professional organizations carrying on programs in the South. Closely related to this function is that of supplying knowledgeable speakers and resource people for conferences, workshops, and meetings of many kinds. On October 24,

the Council sponsored a meeting of representatives from religious and human relations agencies with staffed programs in the field of race relations. Agreement was reached on several strategic communities where local efforts of the various agencies might be concentrated. In January, a follow-up meeting was held with 24 organizations represented. The group asked the Council to serve as convener of further conferences and as a clearinghouse for joint field activities.

In addition, the Council has a close working relationship with such groups as the YMCA and YWCA, the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian social action agencies, the Catholic Committee of the South, the American Friends Service Committee, the various Jewish agencies, and others.

WOMEN'S WORK

Under the direction of Mrs. M. E. Tilly of the Council's staff, this effort has brought together Southern church women of the several faiths and denominations for the sharing of ideas and convictions and joint planning in the field of race relations. Such meetings have been held on both region-wide and state-wide bases and have confirmed our belief that the women of the South -- most particularly the church women -- continue to play a unique part in giving vitality to the conscience of the region. On October 30-31 more than 100 leaders in church women's work over the region convened in Atlanta. The object was to arm this key leadership with resolution and specific ideas that they may translate into action in their states and communities. Follow-up state-wide meetings are scheduled to carry these plans to the local level.

WORK WITH THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Throughout its history the Council has worked closely with organized labor. Union officials have served on its Executive Committee and on the boards of state affiliates. Pamphlets and special reference materials have been used by local unions, staff representatives, regional offices, and in special education programs. Many union-sponsored conferences have drawn on the Southern Regional Council staff for speakers and instructors.

Recently the Council has broadened its services to the labor movement through the addition of a labor consultant. The new position has been filled by a native Southerner with many years' experience as a workers' education specialist. The Council works with unions to provide speakers, resource persons, and materials on race relations problems as they affect the trade union movement. The Council has an active interest in the positive measures taken by unions in the interest of better race relations, more democratic organizations, and increased job opportunities for all the people of the South.

BUSINESSMEN AND INDUSTRIALISTS

The Southern region is rapidly industrializing; King Cotton has abdicated. New industries and the growth of cities make new demands on Southern practices in race relations. To meet these demands, full use of the manpower pool, with equal inclusion of Negro workers, is required. SRC has surveyed the rate and type of industrial development, county by county, in the Southern states in the post-war decade. Businessmen and industrialists serve on the Board of the Council and its state affiliates. Through this participation and through its information program, the Council seeks to mobilize the positive influence of Southern economic leaders.

LOOKING AHEAD

In the months to come, the Council hopes not only to increase the efforts briefly described here, but to extend its activities into new areas of need and opportunity. The real enemies are discouragement and inaction. However severe the difficulties, the ultimate solution is secure so long as decent people pool their concern and resources in common effort.

October 2, 1957

Mr. Hallock Hoffman
Treasurer
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Hallock Hoffman:

This is to acknowledge with warm thanks the Fund's check for $1500, representing the expended portion of a grant for special staff work by the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. I am happy to know that the board of directors of the Fund has authorized a grant of up to $2500 for this purpose. I shall probably be writing you again soon about the possibility of further expenditures by the Arkansas Council.

The tax exempt status of the Southern Regional Council, as indicated in the U. S. Treasury letter in your files, is still in effect. I am enclosing our official receipt.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 official receipt

RECEIVED SEP 30 1957

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

September 25, 1957

Dear Harold Fleming:

I am happy to inform you that our Board of Directors has authorized a grant of up to $2500 to the Southern Regional Council to help defray the cost of the staff work of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations in its recent work in western Arkansas.

We have in hand an accounting for expenditure of $1,500 of this sum. The Fund's check for $1,500 is enclosed. If the Arkansas Council calls upon the Southern Regional Council for additional funds for its work in assisting western Arkansas school districts to prepare for desegregation, we will reimburse the Southern Regional Council upon presentation of expense reports, up to a maximum of $1,000 more.

We have in our files evidence of your tax-exempt status. When you acknowledge receipt of the enclosed check, will you please reaffirm that your tax-exempt status is still in effect.

Kindest regards,

Hallock Hoffman
Treasurer

$1,500.00 CR
9/30/57

Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Hoffman
Please
cc: [illegible]

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY October 30, 1957

Mr. Hallock Hoffman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Hallock:

Since I saw you last week, I have talked at some length with Nat Griswold, executive secretary of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. I have delayed writing until now because I hoped to talk also with Harry Ashmore; but I haven't yet been able to reach him.

Griswold expressed the hope that the remaining $1,000 of the special $2,500 allocation for work in Western Arkansas might be available to the ACHR. As you know, the ACHR has been under heavy pressure in Little Rock as a rallying point for constructive elements, white and Negro, in the community. Many of the positive actions by religious leaders, students of Central High, and others have originated in the offices of the ACHR and have been implemented with the quiet, effective assistance of the staff and lay leaders. Although an uneasy truce now prevails, much more needs to be done, particularly efforts directed at healing the breach between the white and Negro communities.

In addition, the ACHR intends to maintain continuity with the Western Arkansas situation. Griswold will shortly repeat his field visits in that area to ascertain the damage caused by the Little Rock turmoil, and to assess the need

for further work with the superintendents of the Western counties, looking toward school desegregation there.

It is the hope of the ACHR, seconded by us, that the Fund will approve the use of the remaining $1,000 for this double effort, which poses an unusually severe financial problem for the state group.

I convey the appreciation of the Arkansas Council, as well as that of the Southern Regional Council, for the Fund's consideration of this special local need.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

October 18, 1957

Mr. Frank Kelly
Vice-President
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

Enclosed is a copy of our full report on the survey of Negro suffrage in the South, the most ambitious project carried out under the fact-finding grant from the Fund. I'm also enclosing a reprint from the Congressional Record which gives some idea of the way preliminary reports of these findings figured in the recent civil rights debate in Congress.

If you have use for more copies of either, let me know and I will send them promptly.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

Nov. 21, 1957

Dear Harold:

A note to let you know that the Board approved the Arkansas Council's spending the other $1,000 in Little Rock. You'll get a confirming letter and the check in a week or so.

I note that you can't miss. What a record!

Yours,

Hallock

Hallock Hoffman

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

November 25, 1957

Mr. Hallock Hoffman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Hallock:

At our recent Annual Meeting - the first since the Fund for the Republic approved the current grant to the Council - the members present unanimously adopted the enclosed resolution.

This expression of appreciation conveys the feelings of the staff as well as the governing body of the Council.

I will appreciate it if you will see that the Council's statement is brought to the attention of Dr. Hutchins and other appropriate officers of the Fund.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Resolution)

Resolution to the Fund for the Republic, Inc.
Adopted at the Southern Regional Council
Annual Meeting - November 12, 1957.

Gathered at Atlanta, in annual meeting, we, the members of the Southern Regional Council, pause in our deliberations to pay special tribute to the Fund for the Republic:

For its confidence, evidenced by generous financial support, in the Southern Regional Council;

For its belief in the ability of the people of the South to adjust to more democratic patterns of life; and more important . . .

For its defense of the Bill of Rights, upon which rest the individual liberty and security of all citizens of the United States.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

December 4, 1957

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for the kind expression of your members. Frank Kelly circulated it at once to our Board, who are sure to be as pleased as we were.

Kindest regards,

Hallock Hoffman
Secretary

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Fund for the Republic INC.

MEMORANDUM

To RMH, PF, FKK, JL

Date December 18, 1957

From HH

Subject Public Expressions in regard to the Southern Regional Council

Harold Fleming was in to talk about the situation of the SRC. There are two kinds of expressions we might make that would not be helpful to efforts on the part of the Council to raise the money they need to continue in operation. I said I would let you know about them.

1. The SRC did not ask that the last Fund grant from us be a terminal grant. It made its request of us with the understanding that the grant would be terminal. The SRC regards its treatment by the Fund as generous, and as fulfilling any possible commitments we might have had toward it. But the statement that "the SRC asked for a terminal grant" creates some fund-raising problems for Harold, because people say, "Why come to me when that rich Fund has all that money that ought to be going to you, and you have the gall to ask them not to give you anymore money."

2. Harold and the SRC do not regard Northern money as tainted. In fact, Northern money will continue to be the principal source of their support. This is true not only because money for race relations programs is hard to come by in the South, but because the state Councils must raise their money in the South, and therefore the Regional Council must look outside the region.

Harold discussed this problem with appropriate tenderness, urging me not to think he was asking us for more money, or was unsatisfied with our behavior. I assured him we had the highest regard for his future, and would adopt any "posture" in keeping with the fact that he thought would be helpful.

Harold also asked that we make use of him or members of the Council in any way we could in the Basic Issues Program. He will be glad to comment on papers, to offer any thoughts, or do anything else he can to assist the CBI.

January 23, 1958

Mr. Hallock Hoffman, Treasurer
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter to Mr. Fleming of January 17, 1958, and the $1,000.00 check for work in the Little Rock Area by the Southern Regional Council's affiliate, Arkansas Council on Human Relations. We are enclosing the Council's official receipt.

There has been no change in the Council's tax exemption status since the last grant from the Fund for the Republic.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

rha
Enclosure

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

January 17, 1958

Dear Harold:

CR Rha 1/23/58

Herewith I transmit the $1000. additional appropriated at the last meeting of our Board for work in the Little Rock Area by the Southern Regional Council's affiliate, Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

As we have evidence of the Southern Regional Council's tax exemption in our file, we need only to ask that you let us know if there has been any change in the Council's status since our last grant.

Kindest regards,

Hallock Hoffman
Treasurer

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

VIA AIR MAIL

January 15, 1958

Mr. Hallock Hoffman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Hallock:

Would it be possible for us to receive soon the additional $1,000 appropriated by the Fund for the Arkansas Council's efforts? I gather from recent communications that the Arkansas group is confronted by heavy demands in the hostile climate that now exists there, and I know they would be strengthened and encouraged by receipt of the special aid from the Fund.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

December 26, 1957

Mr. Hallock Hoffman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Hallock:

Your memo summing up our conversation was a masterly job, and I am duly grateful. May "appropriate tenderness" characterize all our relationships!

Best wishes for the new year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rec 2/17

File

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

February 13, 1958

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is a communication from a man in Richmond and my response to him. I don't know whether the situation will turn out to be what he has anticipated, but if it does it may be your people could assist in some sort of publication as to the proper form for registration.

I am enclosing also a copy of a letter to Dave Walden. Dave is an old friend on the West Coast, who has in times past acted - on a part-time basis - as executive secretary to Prynce Hopkins for his Hopkins Fund. I gather you have made application to them, and I hope my letter will be helpful. If you think of anything else you'd like to have me say, let me know.

Kindest regards,

Hallock

Hallock Hoffman

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

Dear Paul Heim:

The proposal in your letter of February 7 is a worthy one, but it calls for action outside the scope of our program.

I am enclosing a copy of a brochure and a recent issue of the Fund Bulletin that describes our program now. Meanwhile, I will, with appropriate requests that the communication be confidential, ask our principal grantee in the South, the Southern Regional Council, to consider whether it might take advantage of the idea you have proposed.

Many thanks for writing. I hope you will feel free to do so in the future, and that we can sometimes be of more use to you than we have been this time.

Kindest regards,

Hallock Hoffman
Secretary

Paul K. Heim
P.O. Box 778
Richmond 6, Virginia

HH

P. O. Box 778
Richmond 6, Virginia
7 February 1958

RECEIVED
FEB 1 1958
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Committee on Civil Liberties
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

As you have no doubt noted in the press, a bad situation exists here which I believe is worthy of your attention. The state legislature is ramming through a bill which will forbid printed forms for voter registration, and instead, force voters to register on blanks slips of paper. The result is that very few prospective registrants will know what should be put on the slip and in what order, and because of this will have their registration disallowed on the basis that it is not legally prepared. The legislature hopes that this will result in no registrations by colored people - as dastardley a proposal as you could dream up. In addition, your Fund was declared a Communist organization on the floor of the legislature recently.

I ask that you follow the development of this absurd proposal, and if it goes through, run an ad in the two Richmond newspapers (controlled by the same firm, another potential evil) with a sample of what should be put on the registration forms and instructions to people to cut the ad out and put it in their wallets. (Although a new rider on the bill may forbid reference to any publications or helps while registering.

Please forgive me for not using my firm letterhead. My effectiveness in the fight against intolerance is decreased everytime the office gets into trouble.

Yours for the Republic,

Paul K. Heim

Paul K. Heim

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Hoffman, Hallock

REGARDING:

Ltr. to Alice Harris, Secy. to David Walden
regarding grant to Southern Regional Council, Inc.

DATE

February 13, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Foundations - Hopkins Charities Fund

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

February 21, 1958

Dear Harold:

I will show around your letter of February 19 about Margaret Price. I don't have much hope, but something might turn up.

Thanks for your words about my letter to Dave Walden. And thanks also for the copy of the Christian Life Bulletin, which I had not seen.

Kindest regards,

Hallock

Hallock Hoffman

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Place, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

February 19, 1958

Mr. Hallock Hoffman
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Hallock:

This is a random query which I'd appreciate your passing on to the most appropriate staff person there.

Having read about the Fund's program in the Washington Post, Margaret Price wrote me to ask if I knew of any Fund activities in Washington which she might fit into. Margaret was the chief research-and-editorial person both in our voting study and in the earlier Loth-Fleming project. She is a very able and intelligent person with some years of experience as an Associated Press writer. Her husband, Bem, is with AP Newsfeatures in Washington and is regarded as their key man on the South and civil rights.

I can readily understand that your need for project personnel is limited, but if you should require a researcher or writer, part-time or full-time, in the Washington area, I would recommend Margaret Price very highly.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rec. & Pub.

February 19, 1958

Mr. Hallock Hoffman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Hallock:

Many thanks for your letter of February 13 and the enclosures.

We are all gratitude for your reply to Dave Walden's inquiry. We could ask for no warmer or more wholehearted endorsement, and we could have no better aim than to deserve it. If the Hopkins Fund acts favorably, I'm sure your letter will be one of the prime reasons.

Paul Heim's proposal seems to have merit, if the Virginia Legislature passes the measure he describes. We will explore with him and with our Virginia people the best way of countering the effects of such an anti-registration law.

A. C. Miller has probably sent you his last bulletin, in which he replies to charges against the Christian Life Commission and the Fund for the Republic. But, on the off-chance that you haven't seen it, I am enclosing a copy.

With appreciation, as always, and best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

File

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

February 28, 1958

Dear Harold:

We are delighted to receive the Annual Report of the Southern Regional Council and the audited financial statements.

Hooray for the past and the future!

Yours,

Hallock

Hallock Hoffman
Secretary

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Rec'd 3/7/58

Discussed with Hoffman by telephone 3/18/58

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

March 5, 1958

Dear Harold:

As you know, I am working on a project on Political Parties, Pressure Groups, and Professional Associations. Pressure groups include extremist groups. I have an idea about one aspect of the study of extremist groups of the right that I want to try on you, and solicit your opinions as to the feasibility and value of proceeding along the lines described below.

As to the extremist groups on the right, there is a great dearth of solid information. There are the big studies, like that of Adorno, into the personality or character traits that are found in "hate" groups. But no one seems to know who the leaders are, how many members there are - or what membership means, or where the money comes from. It is impossible to assess the significance of extremist activity on the right in the absence of such information, but the information is absent.

Burdick and I have thought we might get some good guesses by consulting the men in charge of the "defense" activity in the groups that have done battle with the right wing extremists. We thought if we asked the Urban League, the NAACP, the SRC, the AJC, the ADL, the AFSC, etc. to tell us who they thought the leaders were, how many members they thought were in the groups, what the groups are, and where their resources come from, we would at least be better informed than we are now. I have discussed this idea with Nelson Jackson and Ed Lukas. Both of them point to the difficulty of definition and to the lack of information, but both agree there might be something to be gained by circulating such a questionnaire. You probably know more about the pro-segregation groups in the South that could be called "extremist" than anyone else. How would you feel about a questionnaire intended to get you to make the best guesses your information would permit you to make? Would you resent it as an intrusion on your otherwise over-busy life? Would you be inclined to deal seriously with it? Do you think if you try to deal seriously with it you would be able to make guesses in which you had some confidence? Do you think accumulating the guesses of the professional defenders would result in a compilation of any accuracy? Would you be interested in seeing the compilation yourself?

Summer 1956

PA
SERS.
Martin
ADL

I intend to base my decision almost entirely on your advice. Tell me what you think.

Kindest regards,

Hallock

Hallock Hoffman

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

file
FFR-officers

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

William K. Williams

REGARDING:

Internship in intergroup relations - through NAIRO; partially financed by The Fund for the Republic - for the Florida Council on Human Relations

DATE
May 5, 1958

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

State Organizations - Florida Council: Internship Training Program

May 23, 1958

Mr. Hallock Hoffman
Secretary
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Hallock:

I know you will have seen the enclosed AP story on the Southern Baptist Convention. But I thought you might like to have the version that ran, front page, in the Atlanta Constitution this morning.

We were deeply pleased by these developments, and particularly by the much deserved support of the Fund for the Republic which emerged.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (News Clip - Atl. Constition - 5/23/58: "Fellowship With All Races Urged...")

Cr. ref "S.C."

May 29, 1958

Mr. Hallock Hoffman
Treasurer
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Hallock:

The Fund for the Republic's grant of $1,250 for the purchase and distribution of "South Carolinians Speak" is most gratifying. We will be in touch with Mr. Morris and begin the necessary arrangements with our associated State Councils very shortly.

I will see that you receive a report on the distribution made when it is completed.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Official Receipt)

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

May 23, 1958

Dear Harold:

I am pleased to tell you that the Board of Directors of the Fund has approved a grant of $1,250 to the Southern Regional Council to be used for the purchase of the booklet "South Carolinians Speak" for distribution by the State Councils associated with the Southern Regional Council.

CR
Rhe
5/29/58

I have written today to John B. Morris to tell him about this grant.

The Fund's check for the full amount of the grant is enclosed. We wish you success with this project.

Kindest regards,

Hallock Hoffman
Treasurer

Harold Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Hoffman, Hallock

REGARDING:

25 copies of "South Carolinians Speak"

DATE

May/1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

State Organizations - South Carolina Council,
Alice Spearman

BLIND COPIES SENT TO:
Mr. Dabbs
Mr. Wright

August 1, 1958

Mr. Hallock Hoffman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Hallock:

I am happy to learn from the press that the Mike Wallace interviews are to continue for a while. They aren't carried by our local outlet, but I read the transcripts avidly.

If the series isn't booked solid, I should like to suggest that you consider an interview with an articulate white Southerner who is fully committed to desegregation. This point of view rarely gets a fair and full hearing through the mass media. The candidates who come most readily to my mind are Marion A. Wright and James M. Dabbs, past president and current president, respectively, of SRC. Either of them would do a creditable job, I think, and would as a matter of course relate the segregation issue to the broader questions of individual freedom with which the series is concerned. The enclosed copy of a speech by Mr. Wright and the new book by Mr. Dabbs, which I'm sure you have, will serve as background.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
encl. speech by Mr. Wright
c.c. Mr. Frank Kelly, Fund for the Republic

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

August 4, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your letter of August 1 has arrived during Hallock Hoffman's absence from the office. He will return on August 14, and I will call it to his attention at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Joy Williams

Joy Williams
Assistant to Hallock Hoffman

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

August 15, 1958

Dear Harold:

The speech has gone on to Frank Kelly - it was passed to him in my absence, so I haven't seen it yet. Frank is the man. My guess is that he is happy for any help he can get in a difficult "guest" racket he is engaged in.

I hope to see you one day. Somebody has to restore some confidence in me after your report on the meaning of the Faubus victory. I hope you can do it.

Yours,

Hallock

Hallock Hoffman

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

February 24, 1959

Mr. Hallock Hoffman
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Hallock:

Enclosed is a copy of our audited financial statement for 1958 and several copies of our annual report of program activities.

Both reports reflect the continuing importance of the Fund for the Republic's generous assistance to the Southern Regional Council. Fortunately, we have been able to meet the Council's projected budgets through 1957 and 1958; but without the underpinning of the three-year grant made by the Fund in 1957, this would hardly have been possible. All of which is to say that we are deeply and lastingly grateful, not only for past support but also for current allocations.

Dale Alford's recent fulminations point up the fact that SRC is increasingly being used against the Fund, instead of vice-versa. I think it is safe to say there will be a full-dress rebuttal of Alford in the House soon. In any case, I hope the record of the Council's achievements in the past year will be some compensation for all the nuisance value.

Please give my best regards to Dr. Hutchins and my good friends on the staff.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 4.

3 copies SRC Annual Report...., 1958
1 copy of Financial Statement

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

March 3, 1959

Dear Harold:

We are much gratified by your letter of February 24, which has made the rounds here.

It seems to me a great day has dawned if the Fund is getting into trouble because of the SRC. This would be real progress - a happy portent for the future. If you're effective enough to be used as a club, you must be doing some good.

Yours,

Hallock

Hallock Hoffman

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 19, 1959

Mr. Hallock Hoffman
Secretary
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Hallock:

I thought you and Frank Kelly, at least, ought to see the enclosed from the Congressional Record. We have ordered some reprints for continuing use as "defense" material.

Alford's speech, by the way, has stirred up a little positive action. A number of prominent religious leaders are preparing for joint release a statement deploring Alford's smears in particular, and "magnolia McCarthyism" in general. A Reporter article on the subject, by Wilma and Jim Stokely, is also in the works.

Of course, I am perfectly willing to interpret the upsurge of attacks as evidence of SRC's effectiveness. A less satisfying way of putting it is that the logic of recent developments is causing many more rational Southerners to begin looking for new, constructive answers. Therefore, ideas of the sort we deal in are increasingly dangerous, from the die-hard point of view.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
cc: Frank Kelly
Enclosure

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

March 23, 1959

Dear Harold:

Thanks very much for your note of March 19.

It seems to me that things are looking up.

Yours,

Hallock

Hallock Hoffman

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

July 23, 1957

Dr. Robert Hutchins
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
Sixty East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Hutchins:

This is a sequel to Harry Ashmore's conversation with you a few weeks ago and his letter of July 1. As you will recall, Harry was impressed by the chance of a major breakthrough for school desegregation in the State, given a period of intensive staff work by the Arkansas Council on Human Relations this summer.

We heartily concurred with Harry's analysis. And, of course, we were encouraged by the assurance that you would recommend reimbursement by the Fund of a special SRC grant for this purpose, not to exceed $2,500.

Subsequently, we have received and approved a request from the Arkansas Council for a special allocation of $1,500. It was agreed that further special aid, if any, would depend on the situation as it develops.

Enclosed is a copy of the proposal from the Arkansas Council on the basis of which the special funds were allocated. I will be sending you a report on the progress of the project in about a month.

It is awkward to be writing about a supplemental grant so soon after the Fund's generous action of May 16. But, as you

know, the Fund's grant of $200,000 has been tightly budgeted over a 39-month period beginning October 1.

We would, in any case, do all we could through the Arkansas Council and otherwise to exert a positive influence at this decisive time in Arkansas. The prospect of reimbursement, however, enabled us to act much more promptly and I believe more effectively than we could have otherwise.

With appreciation and best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - Arkansas Request

cc: Mr. Harry Ashmore

C
O
P
Y

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
211 South Izard
Little Rock, Arkansas

July 3, 1957

OPERATION BREAK-THE-BACK

A Proposal to the Southern Regional Council.

In Simplest Terms:

"What we need in the South is to have a dozen Clinton's desegregating at the same time." This is the appraisal of a conrageous and long-suffering Presbyterian minister late of Mississippi. In simplest terms the project proposed here is to implement just such a situation - "a dozen Clinton's at the same time." We propose to stimulate and aid some ten school administrations to act in concert to desegregate their schools this year. All these districts (and others which may join them) have very small enrollments of Negro children and, therefore, have a strong administrative and economic urge to desegregate. The impact of such action added to the force of the announced moves of four large urban districts of Arkansas in September may be adequate to "break the back" of blind defiance in Arkansas and start the roll-back of the same forces of defiance in the other States of the old Confederacy.

A Summary of the Proposal

The forces of defiance to the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions are the same in Arkansas as in the other Southern States. In

that sense this State rightly belongs to the "confused and angry South." She has the same evidences of the work of these forces. All her federal legislators signed "the Southern Manifesto." She has a resolution, an amendment, and statutes to maintain segregation, stated in terms of interposition, pupil assignment, State Sovereignty Commission, registration of organizations.

On the other hand, historically, certain progressive forces and a climate of opinion have evolved in this State which distinguish it as "the Upper South" sharing much of the outlook and temper of the "border states." "The plantation" area of Arkansas has never dominated its economics, education, social customs, mass media, or politics.

These progressive influences are reflected in some concrete results -- voluntary desegregation of city buses, of state-supported university and colleges, of five public school districts, of a number of public libraries and ministers' associations. All these developed without community discord, except at Hoxie.

September, 1957, will be a critical date in this contest of strength between the defying and affirming forces in Arkansas. Four large urban school districts take steps in school desegregation on that date. Each district has considerable strength in carrying through its proposals. This is multiplied by the fact that all four are moving at once.

The defiant forces are reorganizing and already are issueing threats. A Little Rock leader of Capitol Citizen's Council speaking on June 21st in Oklahoma threatened there would be "hell on the border" in Little Rock in September. That group officially has asked the

governor to order the Little Rock district to continue segregation in the name of law and order. On the basis of the Hoxie experience, the Arkansas resistance forces may be supplemented by those from nearby States.

The project here proposed would add strength to the constructive forces and multiply the confusion of the resistant groups. Here is the real hope that those forces blighting the promise of the "New South" may meet a signal reversal on the favorable ground of Arkansas. If this does occur it will be a victory for the whole South, possibly a break-through and the crumbling of resistance.

This project added to the accumulating responsibilities of present activities of ACHR necessitates supplemental funds. An initial estimate of the discernable cost for this project totals $1500.00. We ask the Southern Regional Council for a special grant of this amount for the project.

Further Exposition

The map of Arkansas showing by counties the non-white population reveals a great section West and North with a small colored population. Twenty-five of the seventy-five counties have a 1% non-white population, or less; thirty-three have less than 5%. Many school districts have very small enrollments of children from Negro families. Provision for even poor separate educational opportunities for these children is administratively inconvenient and financially wasteful. The annual expense of education for each colored child in some districts is three to five times as much as for each white child.

To our knowledge some of these districts are restive in this situation. At least one school board, faced with this dilemma, before

the Hoxie fiasco voted to integrate fourteen colored children with 1800 white children and thereby save $5000.00 for the district. The decision was never implemented because of Hoxie. Another small district has been encouraging a petition for integration from Negro patrons because this would net $1500.00.

If in the wake of the action of the four large urban districts in September, without sounding of trumpets, six to twelve districts such as these move in concert, the results would be unpredictably significant. Each of them would serve its own best interest and at the same time avoid concentrated publicity and possible public approbrium. It would confuse and scatter organized resistance and further strengthen the four larger districts already committed.

The Role of ACHR

The role of ACHR in keeping with its charter would be to stimulate, correlate, education. Stimulate the school administrators to act in concert and the community groups to support this action. Correlate any interdistrict meetings needed. With help from SRC, answer requests for consultants to reassure school officials and to bring know-how. Help develop informed community backing for such moves.

ACHR's activities at every stage would be in close cooperation with SRC. At this moment SRC's consultant services appear most useful. Frequent conferences by telephone now seem to be inevitable.

Expenses of this Project

The cost of such a project is unpredictable. The expenses will be closely meshed with regular expenditures. The operating program of

ACHR will require the services of other consultants to replace those of the Director while he is engaged on the project. Certainly the Director will need help from members and friends for the work in the several school districts - ministers, school administrators, professors and lawyers. Temporarily secretarial work of our office is carried on by the associate director. We must have a full-time and efficient secretary. Because of the time element extra expense will be inevitable, travel by air, use of phone, hotel accommodations. The nature of the work requires that almost everything be done in person.

Here then is the breakdown of our initial estimate of the budget beginning July 1st. Because of the fluid nature of this enterprise we cannot be rigidly bound by the details of this breakdown:

Salary for Secretary	$418.00
Arkansas consultants on per diem	250.00
Travel for consultants	238.00
Extra telephone and telegraph	92.00
Additional staff travel	312.00
Extra office supplies	40.00
Contingencies	150.00
Total	$1,500.00

VIA AIR MAIL

September 13, 1957

Dr. Robert Hutchins - President
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Hutchins:

This is a final word about the Arkansas special project initiated by Harry Ashmore and described in my letter of July 23, 1957.

The situation has changed drastically, of course, since I last wrote. Governor Faubus' use of the national guard was as unexpected as it was uncalled-for. The remaining chance that some lightly populated western counties might decide for desegregation at the beginning of this school term was blighted by the Little Rock affair.

The special efforts of the Arkansas Council were by no means wasted, however. Nat Griswold, the executive director, spent several valuable weeks of consultation with various county school officials and officials of the state Department of Education. The school superintendents and board members showed an encouraging receptivity to the idea of early integration. The state school officials were also most cooperative and expressed full readiness to assist in local desegregation.

The high point of this special effort came on August 7th and 8th when seven of the county superintendents, one college dean, and one college supervisor came together for

a full day of joint consultation. The Southern Regional Council, through its consultant service program, arranged for three outside specialists to meet with the group. They were Dr. Willis Sutton of the University of Kentucky, a regular member of our consultant panel; Dr. Wilbur Adams, school superintendent of Carrollton, Missouri; and Dr. C. E. Evans, school superintendent of Poteau, Oklahoma. The latter two consultants had done an outstanding job of school desegregation in their respective counties, hence were in position to give authoritative advice and reassurance to the Arkansas school men.

This is enough to suggest that the special effort put into western Arkansas, while temporarily thwarted, may well show results in the next school year.

More recently, the Arkansas Council has been giving all its energies to the Little Rock situation. Through its board members and staff, it has given reassurance and support to the Negro parents and children involved, has contributed to more balanced news accounts, has provided a channel of communication between white and Negro leadership, and has stimulated positive actions by ministerial and church groups.

Since Harry Ashmore knows a great deal about these activities, I won't rehearse them in detail. As I'm sure you know, Harry has given magnificent leadership to the whole effort on behalf of law and sanity. He should emerge from this as the outstanding figure in Arkansas.

As of this date, we have given $1500 in special funds to the Arkansas Council. This was an initial allocation for the small-county project. We never reached the question of supplementing it because of the diversion created by the Little Rock episode. It would be most welcome, however, if the Fund for the Republic should authorize reimbursement of the $2500 discussed earlier as a total figure. Exceptional demands on the Arkansas Council are bound to continue for at least several months to come. The additional thousand dollars would go a long way toward offsetting the drain on normal program and fund-raising activities.

Many thanks for considering this unorthodox proposal and all best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Blind copies to:
Harry Ashmore
Nat Griswold

BULLETIN · FEBRUARY 1959

The Fund for the Republic

The eighth number of a periodical bulletin issued to promote discussion of leading questions in the field of civil liberties; and to describe the purposes and operations of the Fund for the Republic as an educational institution in this field.

An address by Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund for the Republic, on receiving the Sidney Hillman Award for Meritorious Public Service, Commodore Hotel, New York City, Wednesday, January 21, 1959.

IS DEMOCRACY POSSIBLE?

Last Saturday was the anniversary of an event I have sometimes regretted. Sixty years ago last Saturday, on the other side of the River, near the fire station on Herkimer Street, I was born. Another of the nineteenth century's last gifts to Chicago, Alphonse Capone, was born on the same day. Readers of the Chicago *Tribune* may remember that that newspaper often seemed confused about which one of us capricorns it was talking about. I have always felt that the *Tribune's* astrologer had in those days a strong influence on its policies.

Sixty years is a long time, and naturally I have been thinking about what has happened in this period. I must tell you that the award of the Hillman prize is one of the pleasantest things that has happened to me. To be associated in this way with the name of Sidney Hillman, whom I knew and admired, to hear that I have been thought worthy of this association by those who knew him best, this is a consolation and an encouragement. The people who really need and deserve this consolation and encouragement are those who in spite of many appeals to their better judgment gave me the opportunity to do whatever I have done and who thereafter instructed me in private and supported me in public: the faculty of the Yale Law School, the trustees and faculty of the University of Chicago, the directors and staff of the Fund for the Republic. To them for their guidance, confidence, and long-suffering patience, and to you for recognizing them through me, my grateful thanks are due.

My earliest memories of my childhood in Brooklyn are of the horse cars, the ice wagon, the cruller wagon; of yelling git-a-hoss, in the quaint dialect of the region, at an occasional automobile, and playing one-o-cat in front of our house on Dean Street, where we had moved to be near my father's church on the corner of Nostrand and Dean. The faith in which I was brought up was as simple and confident as the environment. Democracy was the answer to everything, including the ills of democracy. These ills would be cured by more democracy. The ideal toward which we were moving was the civilization of the dialogue, where everybody talked with everybody else about everything, where nobody tried to get his way by force or fraud, where everybody was content to abide by the decision of the majority as long as the dialogue could continue. Democracy meant self-government, and self-government meant primarily participation by the individual, at least through the selection of his representatives, in decisions affecting his life and happiness.

(continued on page three)

SIDNEY HILLMAN AWARD

FOR MERITORIOUS PUBLIC SERVICE

to

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

President, The Fund for the Republic

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION presents its tenth annual Award for Meritorious Public Service to Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund for the Republic, for his outstanding record of service in the fields of education, civil liberties, and civil rights.

As professor and dean of the Yale Law School, and as president and chancellor of the University of Chicago, he enlarged the boundaries of academic freedom and initiated programs which helped make education a more effective servant of democracy.

Under his leadership the Fund for the Republic has undertaken the unique and worthwhile task of advancing the cause of individual liberty through research, education, and publication. In a period when our heritage of liberty was in danger, the Fund, despite constant attack, took a leading position in the battle to restore our national sense of balance and our dedication to individual rights.

In presenting this award, the Sidney Hillman Foundation salutes the Fund for the Republic and its outstanding leader, for their leadership, their integrity, and their courage.

The Sidney Hillman Foundation was established in memory of the late President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Its program includes grants in education and medical research, publications, lectures, and awards. Through its annual Award for Meritorious Public Service, the Foundation declares that it "endeavors to recognize outstanding public service in various fields of activity." Previous winners of this Award include:

FRANK P. GRAHAM
OSCAR R. EWING
HERBERT H. LEHMAN
WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS
HARRY S. TRUMAN
BISHOP BERNARD J. SHEIL
WAYNE L. MORSE
MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
PAUL H. DOUGLAS

(continued from page one)

Since decisions affecting his life and happiness were taken not merely by his government, but also by many other institutions, corporations, trade unions, and political parties, for example, the thing to do was to democratize them, as well as the government.

In this view the great crime is to try to prevent other people from speaking up, or to say that there are certain things you won't talk about, or certain people you won't talk to, either at home or abroad. In this view education and communication are of prime importance, because if you can't hear what the others are saying, or can't understand it, or if they can't hear or understand you, there can't be any dialogue, and democracy becomes meaningless.

The democratic faith is faith in man, faith in every man, faith that men, if they are well enough educated and well enough informed, can solve the problems raised by their own aggregation.

One advantage of this faith is that it is practically shock-proof. Industrialization can sweep the world. Nationalism and technology can threaten the extinction of the human race. Population can break out all over. Man can take off from this planet as his ancestors took off from the primordial ooze and try to make other planets to shoot from. Education can be trivialized beyond belief. The media of communication can be turned into media of entertainment. The dialogue can almost stop because people have nothing to say, or, if they have something to say, no place to say it. And still it is possible to believe that if democracy and the dialogue can continue, if they can be expanded, if they can be improved, freedom, justice, equality, and peace will ultimately be achieved.

Some shocks I have received lately have bothered me a little. The first came when during the excitement of last year I was recommending my democratic panacea as a remedy for the troubles of the labor unions to the people on the trade union project of the Fund for the Republic. They informed me that the idea of government by the people had little application to labor unions and that in any event democratic forms in unions were no safeguard against anti-social behavior on their part. In fact, they said, some of the unions in which democratic forms were most conspicuous were the most anti-social.

The second shock came when at the conclusion of my usual tirade against the wild irrationality of our foreign policy I explained to the people on the common defense project of the Fund for the Republic that we should subject that policy to democratic control. My colleagues pointed out to me that in addition to being impossible this was unconstitutional, and had always been regarded as such, and that whatever I might think of the policies followed by the President and the Secretary of State, and however much I might dislike being blown up or suffocated as a result of these policies, the Founding Fathers intended that I should be in precisely this position. In any event, they said, there was no way, particularly in view of the enormous technical problems of modern warfare and international relations, in which the citizens could actually participate in the decisions upon which their lives depended.

The third shock came when I was proposing my usual remedy to the people on the project on political parties, which deals with the political process in a free society. Participation was my watchword. Get out the vote. Or, as the Advertising Council has it, Vote as You Please, but Please Vote. My associates indicated to me that getting people out to vote when they did not know what they were voting for was not helpful, and might be harmful, to the objects I had in view. Under modern conditions, they said, it might be that responsible political participation and decision by the citizens would prove to be impossible, anyway.

Somewhat shaken, I went to the conference on the Island of Rhodes on Representative Government and Public Liberties in the New States. The basic problem of the conference turned out to be whether government by the people is possible, or even desirable, in the modern world. The sense of relief with which members from the new states welcomed military dictatorships in their countries and with which the Frenchmen present welcomed de Gaulle was a measure of the current disenchantment with democracy. These men saw no way of adjusting democratic institutions to contemporary realities. What they hope for is a period of order in which the most acute problems, like Algeria in France and corruption in Siam, may be solved; after which they may, or may not, try government by the people again.

Eminent European philosophers and political scientists present reassured the members from the new states, three of whose governments turned into military dictatorships while the conference was in session, by telling them that democracy was an illusion in both old and new states, for different reasons. In the new

Jacob S. Potofsky, President of the Sidney Hillman Foundation, presents the Foundation's Award for Meritorious Public Service to Robert M. Hutchins, as Mrs. Sidney Hillman looks on.

states we could not expect government by the people because they lacked education, communication, organization, and law. In the old states it had been out of date since the Peloponnesian War, and even then it was not what we mean by democracy now. Pericles, a leader of the Left, struck thousands of voters from the rolls because they could not prove that both their parents were native-born Athenians. Greek democracy was based on a uniformity of ideas and practices appropriate to an extended family group. The kind of government by the people that may be said to have worked in Athens and in the New England town meeting could not possibly work in a large, heterogeneous, industrial, bureaucratic society. The most we could hope for was order, efficiency, and the maintenance of civil liberties, those rights historically carved out against governmental interference with private life. Alexander Pope, whose celebrated lines had always seemed to me as false as they were celebrated, was justified at last:

"For forms of government let fools contest;
Whate'er is best administered is best."

I came away from Rhodes with the foreboding that we might be at the beginning of something new in the last hundred years—a world-wide anti-democratic trend that had little or nothing to do with the intimidations or seductions of the Kremlin. (It was significant by the way that in eight days of discussion no member from any new state said a word about communism or Russia.) This anti-democratic trend would reverse the aspirations of all men of good will at least since 1848 for government by the people. It would have alarming connotations for the United States in the realm of foreign policy. It should force us to reexamine the assumptions and slogans by which we have lived in the light of the actual operation of our institutions in the new industrialized, polarized, bureaucratic world.

If you ask how my democratic faith is doing,

"Whither is fled the visionary gleam,
Where is it now, the glory and the dream?"

I reply that it is still here. Perhaps the gleam is not quite as bright as it used to be, and somewhat more visionary, but it is still here. Yet, even at my age, I cannot long sustain a position to which my reason will not assent. The shocks I have received are recent; and I cannot claim that I have absorbed them or that I know how to repel others in the future. Perhaps what I can do is to communicate the sense of crisis that I feel and to ask you, since you have all shared

my faith (and most of you were born in Brooklyn), to join in thinking for a moment how that faith can be defended.

The faith rests on the propositions that man is a political animal, that participation in political decisions is necessary to his fulfillment and happiness, that all men can and must be sufficiently educated and informed to take part in making these decisions, that protection against arbitrary power, though indispensable, is insufficient to make either free individuals or a free society, that such a society must make positive provisions for its development into a community learning together; for this is what political participation, government by consent, and the civilization of the dialogue all add up to.

If we are to become a community learning together, as I insist we can, the first thing we have to do is to make up our minds that we want to learn. We have lived on a note of triumphant philistinism. Here is a characteristically triumphant proclamation made by Carl D. Becker, perhaps the most celebrated American historian of his day, in 1931. He said, "Our supreme object is to measure and master the world, rather than to understand it . . . Viewed scientifically, it appears as something to be accepted, something to be manipulated and mastered, something to adjust ourselves to with the least possible stress. So long as we can make efficient use of things, we feel no irresistible need to understand them. No doubt it is for this reason chiefly that the modern mind can be so wonderfully at ease in a mysterious universe."

At ease, indeed! Anybody who feels at ease in the world today is a fool. And anybody who would say now that he was content to master and manipulate the environment without bothering to understand how it worked or what to do with it would show first that he did not know what science was, for science is organized understanding, and second that he had no grasp of the kind of problems we now confront. The great overwhelming problems of our country are how to make democracy a reality, how to survive in the nuclear age, and what to do with ourselves if we do survive. None of these problems is technological, though technology has helped to create all of them, and none of them will yield to the kind of measurement, manipulation, or mastery that Professor Becker had in mind. We may, in fact, reverse his statement of 1931 and come nearer the truth of 1959. Then it would go like this: no doubt it is because we have felt no irresistible need to understand the world that the modern mind can be so wonderfully ill at ease in a mysterious universe.

The next question is, how are we going to learn? History will have trouble with American education in the twentieth century. It will see a people who say they are dedicated to education and who are the richest in the world indifferent to education and unwilling to pay for it. It will see an educational system that delivers less education per dollar than any I can think of saying that all it needs is more money. The people and the educators are united only in this: they both want education without pain, either intellectual or financial. History will find it hard to explain how a nation that *is* one, a nation in which the political subdivisions have no relation to social or economic life and little to political life, can entrust its future to these subdivisions by relegating education to them. History will smile sardonically at the spectacle of this great country getting interested, slightly and temporarily, in education only because of the technical achievements of Russia, and then being able to act as a nation only by assimilating education to the Cold War and calling an education bill a defense act.

We might as well make up our minds to it. If our hopes of democracy are to be realized, every citizen of this country is going to have to be educated to the limit of his capacity. And I don't mean trained, amused, exercised, accommodated, or adjusted. I mean that his intellectual power must be developed. A good way to start finding the money that is needed for education would be to kick out of it the subjects, the activities, and the people that make no contribution to the development of intellectual power. Such an operation would produce vast sums.

I suggest that two things might be done with this money and with any more that may be needed: first, we should double teachers' salaries, not because all the teachers we have deserve twice as much as they are getting, but because we want to attract the ablest people into the profession; and second, we should establish a national system of scholarships that makes it possible for every citizen of this country to be educated to the limit of his mental capacity, regardless of the financial capacity of his parents.

If life is learning, and I think it is, and if our object is to become a community learning together, education ought to continue throughout life. Here is the great educational opportunity and obligation of the next generation. The education of adults is not only indispensable to the continuation, expansion, and improvement of the dialogue, but it is also an answer to the question of what we are going to do with ourselves if we survive. As automation advances, as new sources of energy are applied in industry, as the hours of labor decline, we have the chance to become truly human by using our new and disturbing leisure to develop our highest human powers to the utmost. Here we can build on the experience of such organizations as the Great Books Foundation, which has succored tens of thousands of refugees from television.

This brings me to the media of mass communications. If our hopes of democracy are to be realized, the media must supply full and accurate information on which the people can base their judgment on public affairs, and they must offer a forum for the discussion of those affairs. I doubt if there are six cities of any size in the United States in which the newspapers come anywhere near meeting these requirements. As for radio and television, with a few distinguished exceptions now and then, they make no attempt to meet them. The so-called "extended news coverage" supplied by radio and television during the recent newspaper strike in New York was a bad joke. A dozen years ago the Commission on the Freedom of the Press recommended the establishment of a continuing independent agency, privately financed, to appraise and report periodically on the performance of the media. Everything that has happened since, and especially the use of the most marvelous electronic methods of communication for the communication of the most insignificant material, makes the adoption of this recommendation more urgent every day.

If we were well educated and well informed, could we make ourselves felt in the realm of political action? In the Republic as I have described it every act of assent on the part of the governed is a product of learning. Could we learn by doing in politics? Or would the archaic aspects of our governmental structure and the vast bureaucratic machine that goes creaking on, following the right procedure instead of seeking the right result, prevent us from using our newly won education and information as active, deciding, responsible citizens?

Today the dialogue is impeded by obsolescent practices and institutions from the long ballot to the presidential primary, from the electoral college to the organization of cities, counties, and states. In too frequent elections unknown persons by the hundreds running for insignificant offices, and numerous improper questions, like the dozens submitted at every California election, are presented to the electorate. This is not democracy, but a perversion of it. The political anatomy is full of vermiform appendices, many of them, like Arkansas, inflamed.

Some of these obsolescent practices stop the dialogue in its tracks, like the failure of the FCC and Congress to develop any concept of the public interest, convenience, and necessity. Some of them distort the dialogue by throwing false weights into it, as the electoral college gives a false weight to the large states and the laws on campaign expenditures give money an overwhelmingly false weight in elections. One thing is certain, and that is that if our hopes of democracy are to be realized, the next generation is in for a job of institutional remodeling the like of which has not been seen since the Founding Fathers.

Well, suppose we got this remodeling done. Could we then turn ourselves into active, responsible, participating citizens? Wouldn't the bureaucracy, though better, and administering better laws, still have us by the throat? The answer depends partly on our capacity for political invention, which in 1787 was quite large, and partly on what participation means. If we can be equipped for the dialogue and then invent the means by which the bureaucracy can hear it and be made responsive to it, we shall have come a long way from where we are now in relation, for example, to the State Department and the Atomic Energy Commission. Then political participation would mean not only what it too often means exclusively now, the ballot, but also participation in the dialogue about the ends and means of the political society. We would be a community learning together, and the bureaucracy would be learning, too.

The notion that the sole concern of a free society is the limitation of governmental authority and that that government is best which governs least is certainly archaic. Our object today should not be to

weaken government in competition with other centers of power, but rather to strengthen it as the agency charged with the responsibility for the common good. That government is best which governs best. Mr. Hoover could see no constitutional way of coping with depression, as Buchanan before him could see no constitutional way of coping with secession. We started out to show in 1932 that our institutions were sufficiently flexible to care for the welfare of all the people. The demonstration was never made. We have got instead the pressure group state, which cares for the welfare of those who are well enough organized to put on the pressure.

The genealogy of this development is strange. When I was a boy, we knew what stood between us and freedom, justice, and equality: it was special privilege. Get rid of special privilege, we said, and the common good will be achieved. In our time pacification has been attained not by getting rid of special privilege but by extending it, by extending it to those well enough organized to threaten the special privileges under attack.

Is the tariff hurting the farmers? Retain the tariff and subsidize the farmers. Are administered prices hurting labor? Let's have administered wages, too. Is industry demoralized by expense accounts and tax dodges? Let's have featherbedding in labor, too. Is something done by some group anti-social? Let's all of us — all of us who can put on the pressure — be anti-social, too. And if a federal agency is established to regulate us, never fear: we have the pressure that will shortly make the agency the servant and mouthpiece of the interests it was intended to control. And as we laughingly count our gains at the expense of the public, we can reverently repeat the solemn incantation that helped to make them possible: that government is best which governs least.

The Constitution must protect the citizen against the government. The government must protect him against society and the rapacity of organizations in it by seeing to it that these organizations pursue purposes and programs consonant with the common good.

The stresses and strains in our society are obscured for us partly by our preoccupation with Russia, which plays a curious double role as the devil in our world and as the standard by which we measure our progress. If we weren't getting ahead of Russia, or falling behind her, how could we tell where we were?

Our real problems are also concealed from us by our current remarkable prosperity, which results in part from the production of arms that we do not expect to use, and in part from our new way of getting rich, which is to buy things from one another that we do not want at prices we cannot pay on terms we cannot meet because of advertising we do not believe.

But beneath these superficial manifestations, beneath our fantasies of fear on the one hand and wealth on the other, are moving those great, fundamental, historic forces which will put our institutions and our democratic faith to the test. This is the basic fact of our life as a people.

I have never subscribed to the proposition once debated in the Oxford Union, that in the opinion of this House Columbus went too far. Nor can I bring myself to refer to man as he is now referred to in military technology, as a "biomechanical link." If Columbus had not gone so far, man might never have had the chance to become anything more than a biomechanical link. America is still the hope of mankind. It is still our responsibility, now more than ever, to see to it that government of the people, by the people, and for the people does not perish from the earth.

★ ★ ★

Printed Materials

Single copies are available free from the Fund.
Prices for additional copies provided on request.

★ PAMPHLETS

Individual Freedom and the Common Defense, by Walter Millis
Economic Power and the Free Society, by A. A. Berle, Jr.
Unions and Union Leaders of Their Own Choosing, by Clark Kerr
The Corporation and the Republic, by Scott Buchanan
Religion and the Free Society, by William Lee Miller, William Clancy, Arthur Cohen, Mark De Wolfe Howe and Maximilian W. Kempner.

★ OCCASIONAL PAPERS

Taste and the Censor in Television, by Charles Winick
A New Philosophy for Labor, by Gus Tyler
Freedom to See, by Herbert Mitgang
Talk With a Stranger, by Robert Redfield
The Universal Military Obligation, by John Graham
Religion and Freedom, a digest by Donald McDonald
Politics and the Corporation, by Andrew Hacker

★ REPORTS

"Right-to-Work" in Practice, by Frederic Meyers
Pension Funds and Economic Freedom, by Robert Tilove

★ TELEVISION TRANSCRIPTS

Survival and Freedom—Mike Wallace Interviews with Cyrus S. Eaton, Erich Fromm, Sylvester L. Weaver, Jr., Francis J. Lally, Robert M. Hutchins, James McBride Dabbs, Mortimer J. Adler.

The Press and the People—Current series, Louis Lyons, moderator; transcripts available so far on The News From China (with Theodore H. White and John K. Fairbank), Washington and the Press (with James Reston), The Bomb and the Press (with Earl Ubell and Stanley Livingston), Secrecy in Government (with Clark Mollenhoff and Edwin A. Lahey), and The Economic Facts of Life (with J. K. Galbraith and J. A. Livingston).

[illegible]
New York, N. Y.

[illegible]
New York, N. Y.

[illegible]
Little Rock, Ark.

BRUCE CATTON
Editor, American Heritage
New York, N. Y.

CHARLES W. COLE
President, Amherst College
Amherst, Mass.

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG
Attorney, Washington, D. C.

OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN, II
New York, N. Y.

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President
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

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Santa Barbara, Calif.

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President, Hart Schaffner & Marx
Chicago, Illinois

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Boston, Mass.

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Vice-President, Signal Oil & Gas Co.
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JUBAL R. PARTEN
President, Woodley Petroleum Co.
Houston, Texas

ALICIA PATTERSON
Editor and Publisher, Newsday
Garden City, L. I.

ELEANOR S. STEVENSON
Oberlin, Ohio

HENRY PITNEY VAN DUSEN
President, Union Theological Seminary
New York, N. Y.

Additional copies of this Bulletin are available on request.

VIA AIR MAIL

October 29, 1957

Mr. Frank Kelly
Vice-President
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

It was good to see you, however briefly, last week.

I recall your saying that you would like to have 40 copies of our booklet, The Negro Voter in the South. They are being sent to you today.

You may have seen the Sunday piece in the New York Times which once again cited the findings of this study. The Fund's aid on this project enabled us to make, I think, a real contribution.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED NOV 4 1957

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

October 31, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am glad to know that you are sending me 40 copies of your booklet "The Negro Voter in the South".

I find that I failed to answer your letter of October 18, but I had intended to ask you to send these copies.

All the best,

Cordially,

Frank

Frank K. Kelly
Vice President

VIA AIR MAIL

December 5, 1957

Mr. Frank Kelly
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

I thought you would want to see how the Atlanta Constitution handled the AP story on the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission's remarkable report.

A modest young fellow like Hal DeCell should go a long way in public relations!

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 article - Atl. Const., 12/3/57 (see ltr. to Joe Leyford, Jr.) same date

December 31, 1957

Mr. Frank Kelly
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Frank:

We were rather pleased with this Christmas Day New York Times story on the work of the Council. I thought you might like to have several copies of the reprint.

All best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures: 15 copies of New York Times Reprint - Dec. 25, 1957

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

January 8, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I noted the excellent story about the Council which appeared in the Times on December 25, and I am glad to have the 15 copies of it which you sent to me. I will send it to some friends of mine.

All the best in '58 and all the years thereafter!

Sincerely yours,

Frank

Frank K. Kelly
Vice President

September 2, 1958

Mr. Frank Kelly
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

It was good seeing you Wednesday and I am continuingly grateful for the selection of Mr. Dabbs as a Mike Wallace interviewee. I think he gave a very good account of himself and will look forward with interest to your reaction.

I was to write you about the number of printed transcripts we could profitably use. We could give effective distribution to any number from 500 to 5,000. Realizing that the larger number may be prohibitive, I want to make it clear that we could meet our most important needs with 500 to 1,000; anything over that would simply enable us to broaden the distribution. We will be most appreciative of whatever you find you can do.

Enclosed is a copy of the Richmond Times-Dispatch editorial which I mentioned to you. Coming from this source, the editorial is an expeptionally useful refutation of the false charges most commonly used against SRC. I am

not sure what specific charge against Mr. Dabbs came to Ping's attention, but I suspect it's one of those dealt with here.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 1 (Richmond-Times-Dispatch Editorial, 8/21/58)

September 12, 1958

Mr. Frank K. Kelly, Vice President
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street,
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

Many thanks for your letter and the welcome news that the Fund will make 5,000 copies of the transcript available to us.

We have had many favorable comments on the Dabbs interview and so are all the more pleased by the generous assurance of the transcripts. I am writing Ed Reed.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

September 3, 1958

Mr. Harold S. Fleming, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks very much for your letter of September 2, and the enclosed editorial from the Richmond Times-Dispatch.

I have had a number of very favorable reactions from people who saw Mr. Dabbs on the Wallace program. We think he did an excellent job.

We will make available to you 5000 copies of the printed transcripts in accordance with your statement that you could give effective distribution to that number. Please get in touch with Ed Reed about the distribution of these copies.

Kindest regards.

Cordially yours,

Frank

Frank K. Kelly
Vice President

VIA AIR MAIL

September 16, 1958

Mr. Frank Kelly
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

You have probably received by now 100 copies of the Times-Dispatch editorial. The defect in the reprint existed in the original; despite the imperfection, I felt it was better to reproduce the original article by photo-offset rather than have the type reset.

I must say I was startled by Parten's letter. The attacks come fairly regularly, but I had no idea the effects were being so widely felt by people like Parten.

Thanks for helping us to set the record straight.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

September 11, 1958

Mr. Harold S. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I would like very much to get 75 copies -- in clear, readable form -- of the editorial from the Richmond Times-Dispatch which you sent to me.

Members of our board of directors say that they continue to receive letters concerning the Southern Regional Council which are obviously based on misinformation, and the Times-Dispatch editorial would be extremely helpful in dealing with such correspondents.

For your information, I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from J. R. Parten, one of our directors.

With every good wish,

Cordially yours,

Frank

Frank K. Kelly
Vice President

Enc.

WOODLEY PETROLEUM COMPANY

Box 1408
HOUSTON 1, TEXAS

J. R. PARTEN
PRESIDENT

September 5, 1958

Mr. Frank Kelly, Vice President
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Frank:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter under date of September 3.

I am indebted to you for a copy of the editorial from the Richmond Times-Dispatch. This is indeed a timely editorial coming from a Virginia newspaper that is strongly opposed to desegregation in the public schools. It sets the record straight on the background of the Southern Regional Council in an authoritative way.

I have observed many instances where legislative records have been cited (e.g. Louisiana) where sworn testimony before committees has attempted to establish that James E. Jackson was one of the founders of the Southern Regional Council and that the Council grew out of the Southern Conference of Human Welfare which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the Federal Government as a communist front.

It seems to me that this editorial offers convincing proof of the fallacy of these attempts to discredit the Southern Regional Council and for that reason this editorial could well be reproduced in readable form and widely circulated, particularly in the South. I suppose I have had three dozen people attempt to prove someone to be communist because of his connection with the Southern Regional Council and offering legislative committee findings as evidence. To me, this adds greatly to the importance of this editorial from the Richmond paper.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

If reprinted, I would like to have at least 50 copies for personal mailing.

I have no definite plans at this time to come to New York, but, when I do, I shall communicate with you.

Sincerely yours,

J. R. Parten

JRP:mc

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

September 18, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks very much for sending me 100 copies of the Times-Dispatch editorial.

I have sent 50 of these to Parten, and the remainder to our board of directors and consultants.

We are still receiving occasional letters praising Mr. Dabbs' television appearance.

All the best,

Cordially,

Frank

Frank K. Kelly
Vice President

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

September 24, 1958

Mr. Harold S. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I enclose a clipping of an article by a man named Thurman Sensing, who is described as executive vice president of Southern States Industrial Council.

The article speaks for itself. It is full of misinformation and misrepresentation.

I would appreciate any data you could give me about the Southern States Industrial Council and Mr. Sensing.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank K. Kelly
Vice President

Enc.

Press Intelligence, Inc.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

EL DORADO (Ark.) NEWS

Circ.: m. 9,046
S. 10,085

Front Page | Edit Page | Other Page

Date: SEP 7 1958

Sensing The News

By THURMAN SENSING

Executive Vice President
Southern States Industrial Council

The news that the Fund for the Republic may soon die of lack of funds is great news for the American Republic.

Since it was set up six years ago, with a $15 million nest egg, the Fund has been a rich uncle for the forces creating confusion in Southern States.

It's possible, of course, that the parent Ford Foundation may put up additional millions. But all indications are that the parent is deeply ashamed and embarrassed by its pink offspring. Even without new supplies of money, the Fund has $817,000 left. A lot of confusion, trouble and hatred can be bought with a sum such as that.

The Fund for the Republic refers to itself as "an additional institution." It professes an interest in civil rights and a free society. But it is curiously selected about its defense of civil rights. The Fund's idea of a free society bears scant resemblance to the free society conceived by the founding fathers of the United States.

The fund worries about the citizen who pleads the Fifth Amendment, is concerned about FBI investigations, dislikes loyalty checks and loyalty oaths, and accusations made by congressional investigation committees. If a witness at a probe refuses to discuss allegations of communism brought against him, the Fund rushes to his defense and sheds tears over his rights. But if a state is deprived by federal court edict of the right to operate its public schools as it sees fit, the Fund thinks that's only constitutional. It can rally around the Fifth Amendment Americans, but it does not know a thing about the American principle that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed.

The Fund is concerned about the influence of American industry on government. It hasn't the least interest in the dictatorial control that some agencies of big government seek to exercise over concerns owned by stockholders who are American citizens. The Fund says America has "developed to a fine point in recent years the art of ruination by due process of law." What it has in mind is the fact that some teachers are barred under state laws from teaching because they failed to answer questions on Red associations put to

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The Fund for the Republic is, of course, the paymaster of scores of anti-states rights outfits in the South. The Fund approves of force bills. It has spent hundreds of thousands, if not millions, giving money to organizations that stir up trouble in the South by making people resentful of existing social arrangements. It gave $50,000 to the Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP, which financed the Autherine Lucy agitation. It gave another $50,000 to the National Urban League, which has sought to promote integration in Southern factories. Not long ago the Fund gave $1,000 to a pro-integration group in Little Rock. The result? More confusion which leads to less progress in the South.

The Fund is an enemy of the South. It is a foe of Southern progress because it is in the business of stirring up trouble. But it is more than a regional enemy. The Fund, as a general rule, has sympathy for the anti-anti communist and criticism for the sincere foe of communism and radical agitation. The question that Americans should ask themselves is this: Just what sort of republic is this trouble-making Fund for the Republic seeking to create?

Information from The Facts - 1946

From ADL

SOUTHERN STATES ~~REGIONAL~~ INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL

Acted as a pressure group in bringing about the Congressional filibuster against the FEP bill. Called the bill "anti-Southern" and un-American.

Established in 1933 in Chattanooga, Tenn. Claimed a membership of 7,000 in 1946, in 16 Southern states. In a letter from C.C. Gilbert, the then-functioning secretary, The Council expressed determination to bring their membership to 10,000 by the end of the year. As a membership impetus, the letter described their role in organizing the filibuster, and said, "The Council was the only organization with an active rating which actively opposed this measure". It spoke of their success which came about as a result of the "aid and assitance of practically every Southern Senator". Their program further describes the aim to defeat the "CIO-PAC drive to organize the South; to help in enacting the Case Bill into law; to fight against the Southern Conference for Human Welfare".

From its headquarters in the Stahlman Building in Nashville, Tenn., the Southern States Industrial Council disseminates a continuing mass of direct mail propaganda. Among this literature is a Council pamphlet, entitled "Dangers of Impending Legislation to Southern Industries", which attacks the Wage-Hour Law, the FEPC, the Full Employment Bill, the Social Security Act and unemployment compensation, and refers (on p.3) to "certain religious groups" as the sponsors of the FEPC.

Part of the propaganda material sent to newspapers by the Council is a column captioned "Down South" by Thurman SENSING, the Council's research director, and headlined "The South Is Threatened". Sensing employs many of the arguments used by Secretary Gilbert; and complains that "this is a fight the South will have to wage largely alone, that very little help can be expected from outside the Southern region". This isolation, he feels, "should only make us more determined to throw off our passivity, reassert our rights and fight all the harder for our principles".

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The fight against FEPC, Sensing hopes, will awaken the South "to the necessity of utilizing its voting strength hereafter to protecting the interests of the South and not in blind adherence to an obsolete cause that no longer needs defending".

*

The letterhead of the Southern Industrial Council lists an imposing array of Southern industrialists and bankers. The Monsanto Chemical Company (whose vice-president and director, Robert Rast Cole, was last year's Council president) is a frequent advertiser in the reactionary Alabama Magazine. Likewise, the McGough Bakeries chain in Alabama and Mississippi, whose president is the Council's director, Thomas A. McGough, is a regular advertiser in Alabama Magazine, and the Southern Outlook. John U. Barr, vice-president of the Council for Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas, led the anti-Negro "Byrd for President Movement", now operating as the "Constitutional Democracy Crusaders".

*

In view of its powerful backing, its financial strength and its indirect control of a section of the Southern press, the S.S.I.C. will, in all likelihood, continue its efforts in the same general direction for some time to come. It probably will continue to engage in its hitherto-practised subtle anti-Semitism.

As late as 1953, there was no evidence of actual anti*Semitic activity. Its main attitude was to present an extremely conservative approach to economic affairs. In this regard it opposed a number of proposals which, in the opinion of the Council, were inasions of personal property rights, thereby being "communistic or socialistic measures". In 1954 Thurmon Sensing wrote an article favoring segregation, since anything else would "upset tradition and custom in the South". He further stated that ruling against segregation "could cause extreme violence". Also in 1954 Sensing wrote an article calling the United Nations a "useless agency to ward off aggression", and called for an alliance with all nations interested in combatting communism. In 1957 Sensing wrote a number of pro-segregation articles and was frequently reprinted in the Hoiles chain of newspapers. He also wrote at length about unions and called Walter Reuther "too big for his Breeches" in the Council Bulletin of Oct., 1957. As recently as Jan., 1958, Sensing was still going strong with the Council Bulletin where he took issue with desegregation attempts, high corporate taxes, and too much defense spending. He quoted from Gunnar Myrdal's book, An American Dilemma, calling integration "Communist instigated." No evidence on Anti-Semitism.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Dear Frank:

Thurman Sensing and his Southern States Industrial Council have been on the right wing of the Southern scene for some time. The SSIC says it was founded in 1933, and in 1946 it claimed 7,000 members. But I suspect it survives as a one-man (Sensing) outfit, with some financial backing from business interests of the kind that have supported the Committee for Constitutional Government and like groups nationally.

Through direct-mail distributions and Sensing's writings -- which are distributed "free" to newspapers, and used by some -- the SSIC has viciously attacked organized labor and all its interests, the Wage-Hour Law, FEPC, social security, unemployment compensation, the United Nations and so on. Sensing sees socialism and/or communism in every social and economic reform of the last fifty years. He is, of course, an impassioned defender of segregation.

The SSIC is headquartered in Nashville, Tenn. Although I haven't seen a letterhead in some years, it used to display the names of some reactionary Southern industrialists and bankers. One of Sensing's cohorts is John U. Barr, a well-known Louisiana Dixiecrat.

Although a few ultra-conservative papers pick up Sensing's sporadic articles, he is not a person of any appreciable prominence or influence. Like most such birds, he teeters on the brink of anti-semitism. He's not far removed from the category of Merwin K. Hart and Joseph Kamp, though he isn't as well known.

In short, I wouldn't be overly concerned about his attack on the Fund. The proper counter-action, I should think, would be a forceful letter to any newspaper that reprinted his diatribe.

Cordially,

HCF

September 26, 1958

Mr. Frank K. Kelly
Vice-President
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

Thurman Sensing and his Southern States Industrial Council have been on the right wing of the Southern scene for some time. The SSIC says it was founded in 1933, and in 1946 it claimed 7,000 members. But I suspect it survives as a one-man (Sensing) outfit, with some financial backing from business interests of the kind that have supported the Committee for Constitutional Government and like groups nationally.

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Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

4 Jan R -
gc -
1956

January 12, 1956

Mr. Joseph P. Lyford
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC INC.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Joe:

As it happens, I talked to Stafford in New York the evening of the day we last talked. He didn't get back to his hotel until about six p. m. and was leaving bright and early the next morning. I laid out the idea of the McCalls piece and suggested that he try to call Larry Lader that evening. Evidently he was unable to reach Larry, though you might check and make sure.

Stafford's reaction was one of doubt but open-mindedness. He has been advised by virtually all of his friends and associates to steer shy of national publicity. I undertook to reassure him about the proposed arrangement, and I believe that with proper handling he would agree to it.

In any case, the way is open for a direct approach from you or Lader. He is still in Batesburg for the time being. Let me know if I can help further in any way.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

January 10, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I was unable to reach Stafford while he was in New York.

Would you pick up the ball again and get his reaction to the idea of a McCall's piece as I described it to you?

Sincerely,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyford

F for R
9c - 1956

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

January 16, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I called Lader and told him to reach Stafford direct.

He will let me know what happens.

Sincerely,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyford

Mr. Joseph P. Lyford,
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.,
60 East 42nd. Street,
New York 17, N. Y.

March 13th, 1956.

Dear Joe,

Many thanks for your good comment on our statement to the Chambers of Commerce. We are most pleased to hear that it went to your Board. I hope we will have a chance for a good talk when I am next in New York.

Meanwhile, all best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming.
Assistant Director.

HCF:rl.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

March 6, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I have just read the text of the letter of the Southern Regional Council to the Chambers of Commerce. This is a superb job. You deserve all kinds of congratulations. Our Board is receiving copies.

Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyford

3/14/56
George
as of interest
Frank

RECEIVED MAR 16 195

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Members of the Board of Directors

FROM: Joseph P. Lyford

SUBJECT: References to Fund Grantees in New York Times supplement on desegregation

The supplement contains a number of comments about the Southern Regional Council and other grantees of the Fund as well as situations in which they have been active.

(1) Introduction -- by John N. Popham.

> "The Southern Regional Council, the area's foremost interracial organization, with branches in fourteen states, has been conducting human relations sessions to open the doors for moderate views. It also has called on the southern states' chambers of commerce to urge 'sensible' solutions to integration petitions as a matter of long-range economic benefit to the region." -- page S-1, column 8.

(2) Integration of Hoxie schools in which Southern Regional Council members played an important part. (By Damon Stetson) -- page S-4, column 1.

(3) Report on Arkansas -- by Damon Stetson.

> "There are voices -- churchmen, attorneys, the Arkansas Council on Human Relations -- that speak out in favor of integration. But for the most part they speak softly." -- page s-4, column 2.

(The Arkansas Council is the state affiliate of the Southern Regional Council.)

(4) Report on Florida -- by Peter Kihss.

> "Much of the advance /in Miami Beach integration/ may be credited to the interracial National Urban League, with branches in Tampa since 1922, Miami since 1944 and Jacksonville since 1947." -- Page S-5, column 1.

(The National Urban League has received a $50,000 grant from the Fund for educational work on industrial race relations in the South.)

(5) Report on Florida -- by Peter Kihss.

> "An interracial Florida Council on Human Relations has had a Daytona Beach state headquarters since September, and offers aid in school and other situations." -- Page S-5, column 1.

(The Florida Council is the state affiliate of the SRC.)

(6) Report on Florida -- by Peter Kihss.

> "Led by Bishop Henry I. Louttit, the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of South Florida holds integrated diocesan meetings. Last summer it desegregated its Camp Wingmann near Avon Park," -- Page S-5, column 1.

(Bishop Louttit is a leading member of the Florida Council on Human Relations.)

(7) Report on Louisiana -- by Gladwin Hill.

> "As far back as 1950, Negroes were admitted to Louisiana State University on the graduate level by court order, and to the Jesuits Loyola University of the South at New Orleans, by voluntary action." -- Page S-5, column 1.

(Loyola University is the recipient of a $10,000 grant from the Fund for race relations work.)

(8) Report on Louisiana -- by Gladwin Hill.

> "The generally mixed sentiment in the state is such that organizations such as the Catholic Church, organized labor, the NAACP, the National Urban League and the Southern Regional Council's state Council on Human Relations can work openly. They do this even in the face of heated opposition." -- Page S-5, column 3.

(The four organizations named have received grants from the Fund for race relations work.)

(9) Report on Louisiana -- by Gladwin Hill.

> "Much of the segregationist resentment has focused on the Catholic Church. It has come from Catholics as well as non-Catholics. People generally see the prospective Catholic school integration as an inevitable harbinger of broader integration.
>
> "Archbishop Joseph Rummel has emphatically enunciated a policy of integrating Catholic schools although the date for starting the process has not been set. In the Lafayette Diocese, Bishop Jules Jeanmard has not been so explicit, but has left no doubt of his sentiments. He temporarily excommunicated two women who had attacked the teacher of an integrated catechism class in Erath."-- Page S-5, column 4.

(The Fund's grant to Loyola is being used to support Archbishop Rummel's efforts to educate Catholics to acceptance of integration.)

(10) Report on Tennessee -- by Edith Evans Asbury.

> "Vanderbilt, one of Nashville's eight universities and colleges, is a private university and therefore not required to comply with the Supreme Court's order to desegregate. It has a conservative board of trustees and attracts the sons and daughters of conservative Southern families. However, it has voluntarily accepted four Negroes in its School of Religion, one of whom graduated last June.
>
> "The first Negro was on the campus for nearly a year before the public and the newspapers learned of his enrollment." -- Page S-6, column 2.

(The Fund granted Vanderbilt Law School $200,000 for compiling the Race Relations Reporter on integration litigation.)

(11) Report on Texas -- by Damon Stetson.

> "The Texas Commission on Race Relations has attempted to counter Citizens Council activities by establishing local committees."-- Page S-6, column 6.

(The Texas Commission on Race Relations is the Texas affiliate of the SRC.)

(12) Report on Alabama -- by Peter Kihss.

> "Only a handful of inter-racial groups have been working in Alabama. For a year the Alabama Council on Human Relations has sought 'equal opportunities for all people' through fact-finding and community action. Birmingham, Tuscaloosa and Selma have achieved some service gains for Negroes with interracial groups." -- Page S-7, columns 2 and 3.

(The Alabama Council is the state affiliate of the SRC.)

(13) Report on Georgia -- by Russell Porter.

> "Dr. Rufus E. Clement, a Negro member of the Atlanta Board of Education and president of all-Negro Atlanta University, adds, 'Atlanta has an enlightened city administration.'"-- Page S-7, column 4.

(Dr. Clement is a leading member of the SRC.)

(14) Report on Georgia -- by Russell Porter.

> "The Rev. Dr. Arthur J. Moore, Methodist Bishop of Atlanta, has opposed the state's private school plan.
>
> "Bishop Moore is a founder of the Southern Regional Council, a biracial group of educators, clergymen and representatives of business, labor and the professions. It has taken the position that the problem is not one between absolute segregation and immediate all-out integration, but of working out a solution." Page S-7, column 6.

(15) Report on Mississippi -- by Gladwin Hill.

> "There are only two prominent white spokesmen for moderation and conciliation on the integration issue: Hodding Carter of Greenville, the editor, and William Faulkner of Oxford, the novelist. Both are regularly denounced." -- Page S-7, column 8.

(Mr. Carter is a founder of the SRC. The Fund is distributing reprints of a speech on integration made by Mr. Faulkner to the Southern Historical Association.)

(16) Report on South Carolina -- by Russell Porter.

> "The state's most outspoken voice of moderation is the Rev. J. Claude Evans of Columbia, white chairman of the biracial South Carolina Human Relations Council and editor of The South Carolina Methodist Advocate.
>
> "The council is affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, a biracial group of educators, clergymen, and representatives of business, labor and the professions.

"In his 'Moderate Program' first published as an editorial, Mr. Evans said:

"'The problem of segregation is bisected by other problems, such as education, health and moral standards. If segregation is accomplished too fast, society as a whole will suffer in educational, health and moral standards.'

"His middle-of-the-road plan would start desegregation in the graduate schools of state colleges and universities. Then, on an agreed timetable, it would proceed gradually down through undergraduate, high school, junior high and grammar grades. It would give the low country ten or fifteen years to adjust.

"Under this program, he said, Negro educational standards would gradually be raised to the white level. As they improved, he added, they would elevate economic and social standards among Negroes.

"The principle of the Evans program has much support from moderates in both races." -- Page S-8, column 6.

(The South Carolina Human Relations Council is the state affiliate of the SRC.)

(17) Report on Virginia -- by Clarence Dean.

"It is evident that few white persons welcome integration. Except for the interracial Virginia Council on Human Relations and the church leaders, there are few substantial white voices raised in favor of integration.

"The Rev. Dr. John H. Marion, the council's director, believes that there is a 'great, middle silent group waiting to declare themselves' and that they are restrained now by social and economic pressures." -- Page S-8, column 8.

(The Virginia Council is the state affiliate of the SRC.)

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

March 16, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

The New York Times supplement on desegregation was excellent. It has pointed out some things that have to be done in the schools which have already been integrated. The problem of overcrowding as a result of consolidating some schools has got to be attacked quickly. Extra teachers should be assigned to classes such as those in Washington where many of the incoming Negro pupils are behind in achievement because of prior inferior schooling. The different educational levels of Negro and white children in previously segregated school systems requires immediate attention. The Times description of the situation in Washington, D.C. points this up.

I am sure that the SRC has been looking ahead to problems such as the above -- at least in the states which are not resisting.

I understand that the response to the New York Times pieces has been tremendous. They are reprinting 20,000 copies.

Sincerely,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyford

April 13, 1956

Mr. Joseph P. Lyford
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Joe:

Many thanks for sending me the latest Wall Street Journal article and the Sylvia Porter column.

I am glad that you see the economic angle as a major one. We certainly do and want to follow up in every possible way. We are devoting the forthcoming issue of New South to a summary of the various articles that have recently appeared in the press on this subject, as well as some useful statements by Governor Collins of Florida, the Mississippi guy who heads the National Chamber of Commerce, and one or two others. We will follow up our letters to the State Chambers with this. Also, we have alerted our State groups to use this material and this approach to the hilt with the economic leadership of their respective States.

I am enclosing yet another good item - a copy of a speech delivered at the recent meeting of the Southern Association of Chamber of Commerce Executives. As you will see, he follows our line beautifully. I am writing Shelton for permission to publish his speech, which he may or may not grant; at any rate we can use it with key people on a "not for publication" basis.

As yet another approach, I am working with Phillip Hammer, an able economic consultant here, to try to develop a quickie report that will show in the facts and figures the human relations aspect of Southern industrialization. What we are really trying to do is to spell out the conflict of interest between the modern industrial South and the old exploitive, agrarian South. To help to do this, we need to know what kind of industry is locating where in the region and the size and origin of new capital investment. This kind of thing properly handled should do a lot to stimulate responsible leadership in racial affairs by the business and industrial element.

I was interested in your remark to Frank about the desirability of a study of the effect of race tensions on Southern industrial development. One of the most important angles is one that we can't get at in the South - namely,

the attitudes of those business and industrial leaders who will decide on Southern investment and plant location. These people are mostly in the North. I have suggested to Frank that an attitude survey of this kind by some appropriate agency would be an important contribution, since it would go beyond the limited damage already done and point to the much larger potential damage that may occur. I don't know, of course, who would be willing and able to undertake such a survey, but so far I have thought of the National Planning Association, the major financial publications, such opinion research groups as Elmo Roger's. Keep me posted on any ideas that occur to you on this or other program areas. Meanwhile all best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o
enc.
CC: Mr. Frank S. Loescher w/enc.

The Fund for the Republic INC.

MEMORANDUM

To Harold Fleming

Date April 11, 1956

From Joseph P. Lyford JPL

Subject Sylvia Porter column of March 26

The attached column lists some specific examples of industries which have abandoned plans to move South because of the disruption caused by the segregation controversy.

This strikes me as something which you might want to use in your letters to Chambers of Commerce, etc.

Slowed Surge to South?

By Sylvia F. Porter

One of America's largest manufacturers of electrical equipment was set a few months ago to open a new plant in Georgia. When the engineers and technical employes concerned were informed of the planned transfer, a large percentage strongly objected. "They all have families," said my informant, "and while they liked the area, they didn't want to move into a mess about schools, social segregations, etc."

The company—which would close down if it couldn't count on the engineers and technicians it must recruit in the North—has decided not to open any more plants below the Mason-Dixon line.

A world-famous corporation in the business machine field found, after months of scouting, a top spot for a new plant in Kentucky. Then it ran headlong into segregation of social facilities.

The company abandoned its plans to move South, is now expanding in New York State.

A prosperous pencil company was deeply intrigued by a location in North Carolina. "But the tax situation in the area was getting out of hand because the community was spending so much money to provide separate but equal schools," my informant continued.

This company—well aware that an industry in a community is a major taxpayer—is staying North.

An electronics company actually built its new plant in its chosen Southern city. Then, the racial tensions began to mount.

It has sold its building. It isn't moving South.

* * *

When I was in the booming, industrializing city of Charlotte, N. C., last week, I glimpsed the first signs that the Southern buisness man is awakening to the increasing danger that the violent conflict over integration could slow down the surge of industry to the South and thus be a major threat to his pocketbook.

As soon as I returned to New York City, I called on L. Clinton Hoch, a partner in Fantus Factory Locating Service, the largest plant locating consulting organization in the world, to check the facts.

"It's happening," he said flatly. The examples you have just read are real and are just illustrative of others. And Hoch revealed,

"At least 20 corporation moving projects" on which Fantus is currently working are "being seriously reconsidered in light of the situation in the South." That figure is not to be minimized: tens of millions of dollars and tens of thousands of jobs are involved.

Of course, the racial problem in the South always has been a consideration in corporation moves to the region.

But the problem has been more than offset by the South's great advantages—climate, ample labor, lower wage levels, special tax exemptions, other incentives, cheap power, etc.—and since World War II, the South has gone through a profound industrial revolution.

"Now it's a question whether the problem is serious enough to slow down the South's industrial growth," said Hoch. "Maybe it's only temporary but if they don't find a solution, it'll be more than temporary."

* * *

All over the South, plans are bein made on the premise that Northern industrial firms will continue to move and expand in the area. In every Southern city, projections are being made on the basis that this movement will vastly broaden markets, boost employment, raise incomes.

I am not venturing into the emotional, social, moral, political, legal aspects of the situation in the South today.

Here, I am submitting only a hard-headed, cold-blooded report in my field of economics. And this report that racial tensions already are affecting the expansion plans of corporations deeply wanted by the South should be read by hard-headed business-men in a cold-blooded way.

Often through our history, a few stark dollars-and-cents figures have had more impact than millions of emotion-arousing words. This is one time when the pocketbook's power could be a power for good beyond measure.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

April 16, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The Wall Street Journal has just published another excellent piece on the desegregation problem. It mentions Phillip Hammer, for whom you have such respect.

I am all in favor of the type of attitude survey you mention, if you think it would do some good. Your letter is being passed on to Mr. Ferry.

I am enclosing a copy of a story which appeared in the New York Times yesterday concerning a survey on racial integration in the North. I think the Southern newspapers would find this quite interesting. It hasn't appeared anywhere else. Perhaps I shall send copies to the Atlanta Constitution, Hodding Carter, the Montgomery Advertiser, and the St. Louis Post Dispatch.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyford

Board JPL

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, APRIL 15, 1956.

INTEGRATION DATA OF NORTH SOUGHT

Fund for Republic Finances Survey—Report Without Comment Is the Aim

A survey to compile a factual nventory of racial integration in he North is under way.

It is being made by a former New York newspaper man and a staff of researchers under a grant from the Fund for the Republic. The fund was set up by he Ford Foundation but is now ndependent of it. The Fund for he Republic says its purpose is o support activities aiming at he elimination of restrictions on reedom.

The organizer of the survey is David Loth, formerly of The New York Times and The New York World. He has also been information director for various Government and nonprofit agencies.

The aim of the project, he said yesterday, is the preparation of a list of all instances of desegregation in northern areas where Negroes and whites were separated. The list, he explained, will include instances resulting from court orders, official mandates, pressure by organized groups, voluntary action or mere accidents of population shifts.

The survey, he added, will match a similar study of the seventeen southern and border states being made by the Southern Regional Council.

Job Is Strictly Reporting

"Ours is strictly a reporting job," Mr. Loth said. "We are trying to assemble the bare facts of desegregation without any comment or explanation. We propose to make an inventory of institutions, organizations or opportunities which, formerly confined to one race, now are open to members of both.

"We have divided these into the following categories: education on all levels, housing, jobs whether in factories or the professions, recreation facilities, transportation and public accommodations, religion, health facilities, official bodies such as juries or school boards and organizations of all kinds whether voluntary agencies or clubs or service groups or civic organizations."

Researchers are collecting data from the files of publications and national organizations here and in Washington. In addition, letters asking for information have been sent to several hundred state and local antidiscrimination commissons, church and professional groups, service and civic bodies, unions and individuals with experience in race relations. The study was begun a month ago.

"We have received the most encouraging cooperation," Mr. Loth said.

The inventory is confined to instances of the last two years.

"One reason is that this reduces the task to manageable proportions," Mr. Loth said. "Another is that it has seemed most appropriate to focus the similar southern inventory on the period since the Supreme Court decision in the public school cases.

Complete Picture Sought

"It is expected that both studies, North and South, will be published together to provide as complete a picture as possible of just what has been happening in this highly controversial area of American life.

"While we do not believe we will learn of every single instance of desegregation in the thirty-one states we are covering, we hope to present a thoroughly representative picture of what has taken place in the North in the last two years."

Mr. Loth said that "many leaders of both races have told us that such an inventory as we are compiling will be valuable in maintaining and continuing the orderly progress of desegregation."

"They and we believe," he added, "that it can give help to those who may be hesitating in a desegregation program, ammunition to those who face resistance or apathy in similar attempts and a more balanced account of facts to offset the sensational aspects of some current racial problems."

National attention has been focused on the South and border states, Mr. Loth noted. "But segregation is no less unjust because it is practiced in the North, as southern spokesmen frequently point out. Our inventory, we hope, will provide really comprehensive factual data on which to base a judgment as to how successfully the North is proceeding."

April 20, 1956

Mr. Joseph P. Lyford
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Joe:

Here is a copy of the latest issue of New South, in which we pull together some of the material dealing with the threat to the South's economic progress. We are sending this to Chambers of Commerce as a follow-up to our earlier letter on the subject.

We received permission to publish the speech by Opie L. Shelton, a copy of which I sent you the other day and I think that we can make additional effective use of that.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o
enc.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

April 24, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing a rewritten draft of a release on David Loth's project, about which I have already written you.

If you think there would be some point to our releasing this to a selected list of papers in the South, please let me know and return the draft with any suggestions you may wish to make.

Sincerely,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyford

April 26, 1956

Mr. Joseph P. Lyford
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Joe:

Thanks for your kind words about the latest New South. I am sending off thirty copies to you today and we are resolved to not ever split any more infinitives.

While I was dictating this, your letter enclosing the Loth release arrived. I think it is fine and have no changes to suggest. There is no reason why it should not be given publicity in the South; the simplest way would be through the wire services, though it might help to send it to some selected editors as well.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o
enc.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

April 23, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I couldn't find a thing wrong with the latest New South -- except a split infinitive. It was an excellent job.

Have you sent a marked copy to Sylvia Porter?

I believe we could use 30 copies here if you have them to spare. Our Board would be especially interested in this issue.

Sincerely,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyford

For JC —

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

May 28, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

"The New South" is being reprinted more and more. Enclosed is a photostat of a clipping from the Easton (Pa.) Express.

Sincerely,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyford

Enc.

Press Intelligence, Inc.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

EASTON (Pa.) EXPRESS

Circ. e. 45,032

Front Page | Edit. Page | Other Page

Date: May 17, 1956

Express Roundtable—

Racism Obstructing Dixieland's Economy

THE BRIGHT future of the South in industry is being dimmed by racial tensions. National industrialists, once eager to move South, are taking a second look at the Southern picture before investing capital in plant locations where racists are spreading their poisons.

This threat to Southern industrial development is twofold. Industrialists are fearful of the turmoil and violence that might result from racial bigotry. They look with a skeptical eye at areas where the economic boycott is being used against merchants and companies accused of having partisan interests in the segregation question.

Although it is being denied in some quarters, it is nevertheless true that national leaders are studying the long range effect the race question might have on industry. National writers are beginning to publish the facts that these leaders are uneasy over the situation. Southern boycotts against individuals and companies are beginning to receive full coverage by the press.

The economic boycott by white citizens first came into prominence in Mississippi and is now being practiced in Alabama and South Carolina. It has been used against Negroes who petition for their rights and against businesses which have been accused of aiding the process of integration.

More recently, the pro-segregation elements have discovered, to their dismay, that the economic weapon is a two-way street. Negroes have been using their tremendously increased purchasing power in retaliation for injustices heaped on them.

★

Despite denials from some Southern sources, many Southern leaders are definitely aware of the harm of racial violence, tensions, and boycotts. This awareness is evident even in Mississippi.

Late last year, Hugh White, then governor of Mississippi, said in regard to racial violence, "Our state's economy has been severely injured. If they can say state law has broken down, there's no telling what is going to happen."

In regard to boycotts, Mississippi State Senator William Alexander warned, "We have lifted the banners of bitterness and prejudice above our feeling of common sense and decency against some people and companies whose records for as long as a half century have been friendly and helpful."

After noting that a land of boycott is hardly a place to attract a new industry, he added, "We cannot afford boycotts. We have the problem with us of sustaining and augmenting the tremendous advances we have achieved in the postwar period."

Glenn Fowler writes in The New York Times that one of the country's largest plant location-consulting firms reports a "definite diminishing of the desire of industry to move South."

The Times article quotes Leonard Yaseen, senior partner of Fantus Factory Locating Service, as saying "This feeling may be temporary, but it's there. And it's based exclusively on hard-headed business prospects, not related to where the sympathies of management lie on the question of integration."

★

The feeling is shared, at least partly, by Boyd Campbell, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Campbell, who is chairman of the board of the Mississippi School Supply Co., president of the Mississippi State School Book Depository, and president of the Office Supply Co., in a speech to the Southern States Industrial Relations Conference, said:

"We all know that some Northern concerns have moved South or have thought about moving South to escape tension and in the hopes of conducting their businesses in an orderly, fair and equitable way. I am inclined to the opinion that not very many men will exchange a familiar kind of tension—not matter how irksome—for an unknown kind of tension."

Miss Porter again summed up the situation when she wrote:

"In Charlotte, N. C., the most encouraging thing I discovered was the beginning awareness of the economic force involved in this issue—as distinct from emotional, social, political, legal forces.

"It could be that the economic force will be the greatest of them all in helping the South toward a solution and thus helping it stay firmly on the road toward a brilliant destiny."

It could be — and let's hope it happens.

—From "The New South," Publication of the Southern Regional Council.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

June 22, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is another article concerning the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

Joe per JK

Joseph P. Lyford

Enc.

Mr. Demos
edit

June 26, 1956

Mr. Joseph P. Lyford
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Joe:

This is to acknowledge, with many thanks, the various newspaper articles reprinting material from New South. Your sending them to us is of much help, since otherwise we would not see some of them.

Some days ago, George Mitchell received a letter from you inquiring about our need for the Fact Sheets. I take it this was a standard letter sent to all grantees and that my verbal request to you for a thousand copies of each issue still stands. We have been getting them right along and are distributing them to our key people.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

HCF
What say?

June 7, 1956

RECEIVED JUN 15 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Place, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Fund is publishing a series of short Fact Sheets designed to explain various phases of its work in simple terms. The text of each of these leaflets is less than 1,000 words.

Since your organization has been a recipient of Fund support, we feel that you might find these pamphlets useful in answering questions about the Fund's objectives and activities. Copies of the three Fact Sheets published to date are enclosed for your information.

I would appreciate your letting me know soon whether you would like us to mail you any of these Fact Sheets, and, if so, which titles and how many of each.

We will be glad to handle requests of almost any amount, from one dozen to several thousand.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph P. Lyford

Joseph P. Lyford

Enclosures

The Fund for the Republic

FACTS

1.

AIMS and ORGANIZATION

60 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

- **Purpose:** To advance the principles of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence
- **Office Addresses:** 60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

  1444 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena, California
- **Chairman of the Board:** Paul G. Hoffman
- **President:** Robert M. Hutchins
- **Original Assets:** $15,000,000

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC is a nonprofit educational corporation, established in 1952 by the Ford Foundation with grants totalling $15,000,000. Its purpose is to eliminate restrictions on freedom of thought and inquiry and to promote the principles of individual liberty expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

Since its establishment, the Fund has been an independent entity. It has no connection with any other foundation. The policies of the Fund are determined by its Board of Directors.

The Fund does its work in a variety of ways. It carries on educational activities through the distribution of books, pamphlets, films, reprints of notable speeches, and other materials. It makes outright grants to individuals and organizations to enable them to conduct studies and programs in the field of civil liberties. Organizations which have received this kind of assistance include the YMCA, YWCA, Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago, American Bar Foundation,

the Institute of Social Order of the Society of Jesus, Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, Presbyterian Church in the United States, Columbia University, Stanford University, Southern Regional Council, Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., American Friends Service Committee, Vanderbilt University, and the University of Virginia.

The Fund also sponsors research projects which are carried out by individuals appointed by the foundation. The directors of these projects reach their own conclusions independently, and are responsible for the results of their work. Examples of such projects are: a survey of attitudes in U. S. colleges and universities, directed by Paul Lazarsfeld of Columbia University; a study of blacklisting in the entertainment industry by John Cogley; and a study of the influence of Communism in American life under the supervision of Prof. Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University.

The Fund gives a restricted number of grants-in-aid to individuals for research and writing on civil liberties topics related to other programs of the Fund. Studies authorized cover such topics as interference with religious freedom in California, race discrimination in federal government employment, discharges other than honorable from the U.S. armed services on the basis of associations prior to induction, and the rights guaranteed by the First Amendment.

As of May 1, 1956, the amount expended or committed by the Fund totalled approximately $6,500,000. Roughly one-third of this sum was devoted to educational activities in race relations in both the North and South. Another substantial proportion of the Fund's appropriations is devoted to educational programs designed to further understanding of basic documents of American history. A third major area of Fund interest is the study of problems that have arisen

as a result of Communism's threat to democratic values. The Fund's largest appropriation in this latter category has been $325,000 for the study of Communism, under Prof. Rossiter and his staff.

The Board of Directors of the Fund:

CHESTER BOWLES
Former Governor of Connecticut

CHARLES W. COLE
President, Amherst College

RUSSELL L. DEARMONT
Vice President, Missouri Pacific Railroad Company

ERWIN N. GRISWOLD
Dean, Harvard Law School

OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2ND
Theatrical producer and writer

PAUL G. HOFFMAN
Chairman of the Board, The Studebaker-Packard Corporation

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS
Former Chancellor of the University of Chicago

WILLIAM H. JOYCE, JR.
Chairman of the Board, Joyce, Inc.

MEYER KESTNBAUM
President, Hart Schaffner & Marx

ROGER D. LAPHAM
Former Mayor of San Francisco

M. ALBERT LINTON
Chairman of the Board, Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co.

J. HOWARD MARSHALL
Vice President, Signal Oil and Gas Co.

JOHN LORD O'BRIAN
Attorney

JUBAL R. PARTEN
President, Woodley Petroleum Co.

ELMO ROPER
Marketing consultant and public opinion analyst

GEORGE N. SHUSTER
President, Hunter College

ELEANOR B. STEVENSON
Oberlin, Ohio

JAMES D. ZELLERBACH
President, Crown Zellerbach Corporation

The Officers of the Fund:

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, *President*

W. H. FERRY, *Vice President*

DAVID F. FREEMAN, *Vice President-Treasurer*

FRANK K. KELLY, *Vice President*

ADAM YARMOLINSKY, *Secretary*

BETHUEL M. WEBSTER, *of Webster, Sheffield & Chrystie is the legal counsel to the Fund*

The Fund for the Republic

FACTS

2.

THREE-PART STUDY:

The COMMUNIST RECORD in the UNITED STATES

60 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

- **Chairman, Board of Directors, Fund for the Republic:** Paul G. Hoffman
- **President, Fund for the Republic:** Robert M. Hutchins
- **Chairman, Advisory Committee for Study of the Communist Record:** Arthur E. Sutherland, Professor of Law, Harvard University.
- **Amount and date of allocation:** $64,500—June, 1953

SHORTLY AFTER the Fund for the Republic was organized, the Directors issued a public statement expressing their conviction that Communism and the Communist influence in the United States was a major factor affecting civil liberties. The Directors declared that they proposed "to undertake research into the extent and nature" of domestic Communism in the hope of arriving "at realistic understanding of effective procedures for dealing with it."

In June, 1953, the Fund allocated $64,500 for preparation of three short-range studies of the official records of Communist activity in the United States over the past thirty-five years. From these projects came a microfilm collection and two books which are designed to serve as research tools for those studying the Communist problem in this country.

The microfilm library consists of the records and briefs of 23 important trials involving the issue of Communism. The proceedings range from *People v. Lloyd,* which affirmed the conviction for sedition of eighteen members of the Communist Labor Party who attended the Party's founding convention in Chicago in 1919, through *United States v. Rosenberg.* The eighty reels that make up the collection are on deposit at the following libraries:

University of California Library at Berkeley, University of Chicago Library, Cornell Univer-

sity Library, Florida State University Library at Tallahassee, Harvard University Library, Library of Congress, Midwest Inter-Library Center at Chicago, Mirabeau B. Lamar Library of the University of Texas, at Austin, New York Public Library, University of Washington Library at Seattle.

The two books are entitled *Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States* and *Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States.* The 474-page *Bibliography* is a topical listing of books, pamphlets, magazine articles and public documents, together with an author index, concerning Communist activity in the United States among special groups, such as youth and labor, and institutions such as government, schools and colleges, the church and the arts. It lists the publications of authors representing all political views. The *Digest,* 753 pages in length, is a compilation of two types of information: laws to control communism and information about communism itself which the public records provide. This publication includes federal statutes, regulations and decisions, state statutes and decisions and public documents issued by federal and state governments.

Most of the edition of 1500 "packages" containing both the *Bibliography* and the *Digest* were distributed in the spring of 1955 to libraries and educational institutions by the Fund. The remaining sets were sold to individuals and commercial organizations at $10 a set.

The Committee that supervised this project consisted of Arthur E. Sutherland, Professor of Law, Harvard University, Chairman; Clinton Rossiter, Professor of Government at Cornell University; and the Reverend Joseph M. Snee, S.J., Professor of Law at Georgetown University. Professor Charles Fairman of Washington University, St. Louis, had been a member of the Committee, but due to the pressure of other duties left the Committee in the fall of 1953 after the original planning was completed.

The *Bibliography* has received extended praise from such publications as the *Library Journal,*

Christian Science Monitor and the Harvard Law School *Record,* among others.

In January, 1955, prior to completion of the *Bibliography,* Prof. Sutherland indicated to the Fund Officers that updating of the original work would be needed in order to maintain the full value of the *Bibliography* as a reference. Prof. Sutherland also suggested that consideration be given to similar updating of the *Digest.*

In April, 1956, the Board of Directors of the Fund allotted $25,000 to produce a second edition of the *Bibliography.* Preparation of the *Bibliography's* new edition will be handled as an "integral part" of a large-scale current study of communism in the United States, which is being conducted by Prof. Rossiter in collaboration with a team of scholars and researchers. (A description of this project will be carried in a subsequent fact sheet.)

Prof. Rossiter will supervise preparation of the revised edition of the *Bibliography,* while Prof. Joel Seidman, Chairman of the Social Sciences staff of the University of Chicago will take direct charge of the project. Prof. Seidman, author of four books on American labor relations—two of which deal with problems of communism—has served with the National Labor Relations Board, and has been with the University faculty since 1947.

Prof. Rossiter has given two chief reasons for the decision to produce a revised edition of the *Bibliography:*

First, a careful revision will be a valuable tool to Prof. Rossiter and his colleagues in their present Fund-financed study of communism in the United States. It will also make it unnecessary to include elaborate bibliographies in the books which will result from the Rossiter project.

Second, it will carry forward one of the purposes for which the Fund for the Republic was established—to enlighten the American public on the nature and extent of Communist penetration into our national life.

The Fund for the Republic

FACTS

3.

GRANTS TO RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

60 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

- **Purpose of the Fund:** To advance the principles of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence
- **Office Addresses:** 60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York
  1444 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena, California
- **Chairman of the Board:** Paul G. Hoffman
- **President:** Robert M. Hutchins
- **Original Assets:** $15,000,000

AS OF MAY 31, 1956, the Fund for the Republic had allocated $732,000 to churches and church-affiliated organizations to support programs advancing the principles of freedom and justice set forth in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

Nearly all of the major denominations are included in the list of Fund grantees. In each case they have developed educational programs in one or more of the following five main areas of Fund concern:

(1) Helping to maintain equal protection of the laws and equality of opportunity.

(2) Studying the nature of the communist threat to American institutions.

(3) Working to maintain due process of law.

(4) Protecting freedom of speech and belief.

(5) Broadening understanding of the Bill of Rights.

The Board of Directors and the officers of the Fund have supported church groups acting in these areas, in recognition of the fact that the moral and spiritual leadership of American religious institutions is a decisive force on the side of all free institutions.

All grants were made according to requests presented by the churches and organizations themselves, based on their need for specific projects. Each recipient is responsible for the administration of its grant and is not directed by the Fund.

The greatest number of grants to churches and church-affiliated organizations was given under the division of the Fund's program relating to equal protection of the laws and equality of opportunity. Grants in this field with emphasis on educational work in race relations included:

- The National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA $40,750
- The Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago $23,000
- The Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, Northern $15,000
- The Board of Church Extension of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, Southern $15,000
- The Catholic Committee of the South $15,000
- The National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church $25,000
- The United Christian Missionary Society of the Disciples of Christ $15,000
- United Church Women $10,000
- Loyola University, New Orleans $10,000
- Young Men's Christian Association $20,000

- Young Women's Christian Association $25,000
- Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches $31,480
- Board of Social and Economic Relations, Methodist Church $25,000

The Methodist Church currently is carrying forward three other projects supported by the Fund. One of these is a study of the challenge of communism to Christianity, for which $12,500 was given. Another project for which the same size grant was made, is devoted to social thought and action in the Methodist Church. The remaining grant was $3,000 to the Women's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, to underwrite regional workshops on civil liberties.

The largest single grant to a church-affiliated group was $150,000 for a "Freedom of Conscience" program sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee (Quaker). The AFSC has also received support for such projects as educational work on school desegregation in the District of Columbia; a study of job opportunities and discrimination; and educational work among American Indians. These AFSC community relations projects total $176,000.

The Universalist Service Committee ($4,000), the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches ($20,000), and the Institute for Social Order—a Jesuit research organization at St. Louis University—($19,300), received their grants from the Fund for the Republic in conjunction with work to promote understanding of the Bill of Rights. These groups are sponsoring programs in cooperation with the "Freedom Agenda" project undertaken by the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., also a grantee of the Fund.

Other religious groups using Fund grants to assist in Freedom Agenda are the National Council of the YMCA ($6,000) and the National Board of the YWCA ($8,000).

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

June 29, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I appreciated your note, and am glad the Fact Sheets are moving.

Sincerely,

Joseph P. Lyford

AIRMAIL

October 3, 1956

Mr. Joseph P. Lyford
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Joe:

I have your letter regarding the Loth-Fleming catalogue which you dictated before our conversation last week. If after looking at the introductory material in my report, you feel it is inadequate for your purpose, don't hesitate to let me know. My feeling is that I have done there all the "highlighting" that is called for, but I would be glad to do posthaste anything else you wanted.

Many thanks for your help and advice last week.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

September 27, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

We are planning to put out a release on your book a few days after copies are in hand here, which we expect to be around the 10th of October.

I would like to suggest that you prepare a two or three page "highlight" on your phase of the study which I might use as the basis for a handout. I'm asking Loth to do the same for his section.

If this is agreeable, can you let me have the copy as soon as possible?

Best,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyford

Details before are unnecessary. If you change your mind let me know.

November 6, 1956

Mr. Joseph Lyford
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Joe:

In case I miss seeing you in New York later this week, a word of explanation about the voting release.

We weren't able to get all the data we needed until the last minute. Since there was no opportunity to clear the release with you, I finally decided it would be safer not to mention the Fund in the release.

The main findings will be turned loose, however, when we've completed the analysis of the state studies and publish our regional report. I will consult you well ahead of time on proper mention of the Fund at that time.

Best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
CC: Mr. Frank S. Loescher
w/enc.

November 12, 1956

Mr. Joseph P. Lyford
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Joe:

Thanks for the two clips on the Integration booklet. I'm glad your good release got wide play and am looking forward to seeing the digest you mentioned the other day.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

November 8, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Clips continuing to come in show that your book received excellent coverage. The Hartford AP story, copy enclosed, drew heavily from our release for specific examples.

Cordially,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyford

Encl.

RECEIVED NOV 9 1956

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

November 7, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

You were quite right in going ahead with the release as you did. Please keep me informed on the progress of the studies and when you plan publication of the report.

I am enclosing a copy of an editorial on your integration survey, which was carried in the Springfield Union.

Sincerely,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyford

ENCL.

The Fund for the Republic INC.

MEMORANDUM

To Frank Kelly Date November 13, 1956

From Joseph P. Lyford

Subject Press Coverage - Loth-Fleming Report

You may be interested in some of the details of the Fund's successful double play on publicity for the Loth-Fleming "Integration North and South".

The report received two separate news plays, six weeks apart. The first story was written by Bem Price of the AP, after we had given him an advance copy of the report and permission for him to do an exclusive piece. He filed a story approximately 3/4 of a column long on September 16, 1956. It ran in a sprinkling of newspapers in all geographical areas.

Since the Price piece was given rather unsatisfactory press and because it dealt only with the Fleming section of the report, we scheduled a second release for October 29 to coincide with the appearance of the report in the book stores. This release (see attached) was ten pages long and was backed up by state-by-state examples of integration and elimination of discrimination in various phases of our economic, social and political life.

This second release worked out very well. Both the AP and UP filed column long stories drawing extensively on the detailed examples contained in the release. Both wire services gave equal treatment to both phases of the report in contrast to the Price article. The leads of the wire service stories emphasize the same point: that the pattern of segregation in the South has been broken.

The AP and UP stories received top column play throughout the country and they were run without deletion in a high percentage of cases. While clippings are still coming in, those we have on hand indicate that the story was probably carried in most of the Northern and Western dailies and in a surprisingly high number of Southern papers as well. A few newspapers wrote their own stories directly from the Fund release instead of taking the wire service version.

Editorials discussing the significance of the report have run in such papers as the Denver Post, Rochester Times Union, and the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin. The Washington Post carried stories on two successive days. Mrs. Roosevelt devoted a sizeable portion of one of her columns to the report.

All the New York City afternoons carried the release. The most significant article appeared in the New York Journal American. This is the first time in two years that that paper has run a news story pegged on a Fund for the Republic release.

An article by Ben Segal, examining the Loth-Fleming report, and emphasizing the contributions made by labor unions, was sent out to 200 labor newspapers under the imprint of the Press Associates Institute.

The following is a partial list of newspapers which ran stories based on the Fund's release:

Birmingham Ala. Post-Herald
Memphis Commercial Appeal
Asheville, N. C. Times
Atlanta Constitution
Cincinnati Enquirer
Washington Post and Times Herald
Richmond, Cal. Independent
Chicago News
Tacoma, Washington News Tribune
Mobile, Ala. Register
Milwaukee Journal
Richmond, Va. Times-Dispatch
South Bend, Ind., Tribune
Chicago Tribune
Jacksonville, Florida Times-Union
Burlington, Vt. Free Press
Des Moines Register
Trenton Times
Lincoln, Neb. Journal
New Haven Journal-Courier
Raleigh, N. C. News and Observer
Madison, Wis. State Journal
Fort Worth Star Telegram
Hartford Courant
Rochester Times-Union
Chicago Sun Times
New York Journal American
New York World Telegram
New York Daily News
New York Post
Baltimore Sun
Washington News
Philadelphia Evening Bulletin
Denver Post

P's

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

December 27, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I was impressed by the Bem Price piece. The treatment the newspapers give this article should be very interesting. Could you find out from Price what the release date is, so that I can send a photostat to the Association for Education in Journalism people who are doing a study of press treatment of civil liberties matters. Price's story will be very hard for Southern editors to take.

I am curious about the unpublished studies to which Price refers at the end of his story. Have you seen them and if so, what is your opinion?

Sincerely,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyford

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

December 31, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I believe you know Lee Nichols of the Washington bureau of UP. If you don't, you should. He is an extremely able newspaper man who has been particularly interested in race relations. At one time we had something in mind for him to do but the plan did not materialize because, as I remember, Nichols' boss would not give him a leave of absence. He did what I think was the most inclusive and satisfactory news story on Adam Yarmolinsky's Case Studies of Personnel Security.

Recently I had lunch with Lee when he was in New York on a brief vacation. After being with the UP for twelve or fourteen years, he has had strong stirrings and wants to spend more time writing about the subjects he is especially interested in, such as the civil rights of Negroes. I have the greatest respect for him as a journalist. In addition, he has a good forceful personality and is a self-starter. During my conversation with him I thought of a talk we had some time ago, in which you spoke of how useful a full-time PR person would be in the Southern Regional Council. I had the impression then that you hoped to spend more and more time yourself in getting information out through the mass media in your area of interest. It occurs to me now that this may be somewhat difficult in view of your taking on additional administrative responsibilities and that Nichols would be an excellent hand for you if there was any possibility of your taking on an assistant.

I spoke of you to Lee and of your ideas about the need of developing better communications, and in the attached letter Lee has taken up this

possibility. I have marked a couple of places where he has put forth some excellent ideas which ought to be carried out. In addition to his competence as a professional, he seems to have good relationships with some rather important people in the civil rights field in Washington. I wish that Nichols could be enlisted. These suggestions are informal offerings.

Sincerely,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyford

ATT.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

December 31, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This came in just after I sent you my letter regarding Nichols.

Sincerely,

Joseph P. Lyford

1221 Simmons Drive
Rockville, Md.
Dec. 29

Dear Joe:

This is not in any sense a prod but only an inquiry.

If there is any way you can give me any intimation of the time element on any possible hookup with you fellows I'd appreciate it.

The reason is that I have several irons in the fire and several prospects seem to be warming up all at once. I am dickering with the Voice of America and the White House although things are inconclusive asyet.

As far as I can tell, I would rather do some of the work we discussed with you than most anything that has appeared on the horizon. But I am anxious to make a change soon, and I don't want to be in a position of taking one job only to have one I'd like better open up the next day.

So if you can give me any ideaof what stage any consideration of me personally might be at, and when something definitive either positive or negative might be arrived at, I'd be grateful.

As to the Harriman thing, I don't think that's for me, although I deeply appreciate your kindness in mentioning it to me. Maybe if everything else fell through I'd be tempted, but by then it will be too late anyway. I'd rather get into the thick of something more active on a national or international scale.

Regards, and best wishes for a real good New Year.

yours cordially

Lee

Lee Nichols

January 15, 1957

Mr. Joe Lyford
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Joe:

I thought you would be interested in knowing that I had a telephone conversation with Lee Nichols. He plans to come to Atlanta sometime within the next couple of weeks so that we can discuss his ideas at greater length.

Also, I have just learned that Bem Price's piece on the social scientists has been scheduled by AP for release on January 20 -- which would be next Sunday. There have apparently been some indications of interest on the part of Southern papers, one of them requesting an add on McGurk's views.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

January 15, 1957

Mr. Joseph Lyford
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Joe:

A short time back I sent Frank a thermofax copy of the enclosed monstrosity. I thought you might want this newly acquired original for your commendation file.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fc
Encl.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

RECEIVED JAN 18 1957

AGRI 01 NHC 0ZAIBZAEH

January 17, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am interested in knowing what comes of the talk with Lee Nichols. May I repeat that I think he has much to offer.

I was glad to learn of the release date for Bem Price's piece and to know that Southern papers are going to use it.

The White Citizens Council original will go into our file. The Evening Star editorial has gone to our Board.

Sincerely,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyford

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

January 30, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing a more recent draft of the piece on the progress in Catholic schools, hospitals, etc. as listed in your report. Can you let me know soon about this?

As you can see, I have made some substantial changes in the lead and added some background material at the end of the story.

Sincerely,

Joe.

Joseph P. Lyford

encl.

Discussed on phone 2-1-57

In a plea for equality of opportunity for all races, Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle of Washington, D. C. warned some months ago that America cannot "win the bitter war for men's minds in the world's struggle if the Communists can tell the hundreds of millions in Africa and Asia that they as Christians practice the doctrine that all men are equal."

Events in the South during the past year would justify an even more ominous observation. Without prompting from the Communists a large segment of the foreign press normally friendly to the United States has been printing a daily ration of such stories as the Till murder, the Lucy case, the bombings of Negro churches, the activities of White Citizens Councils -- the same type of stories which U. S. newspapers are headlining. Almost as serious, the "little events" in the segregation story leave a deep impression abroad. An example: Indian Opinion, the Natal (South Africa) newspaper edited by Mohandas K. Gandhi's grandson, recently front-paged half a dozen articles from different nations. The item from America told about the white Florida public health physician who was fired because she lunched with a Negro nurse. As Archbishop O'Boyle indicates, a steady flow of such infor-

mation can create an understandable suspicion of America and of Christianity.

Last month, however, the foreign press got a different picture of the situation in America, one which may help balance the stories of crime and strife. Asian, African and European editors received copies of a study which reports in detail how, quietly and without publicity, racial barriers have been falling in states all over the Union. The report, entitled Integration, North and South* lists more than 1100 cases of how the Negro is gaining equality of opportunity in the school, in public and private employment, in religious worship, in health facilities, in public accommodations and in social organizations.

Buried in the small type of the report, on page after page, was a story within a story: the account of how Catholic institutions have responded to the crisis over race relations in the South. Without diminishing the courageous and effective contributions of other denominational groups which have worked on behalf of desegregation, and whose work is outlined in the report, it is fair to say that the Catholic Church has set an example which has heartened all supporters of the Christian principle of racial equality. Its activities have been especially noticeable in such "black-belt" states as

* Integration, North and South, by Harold S. Fleming and David Loth, 1956, 110 pages, Meridian Books, 17 Union Square West, New York, New York

South Carolina, Alabama, ~~Florida~~ and Louisiana -- where the Negro population is densest, where segregationist sentiment is highest, and where the inflammatory activities of the "white supremacy" groups are most intense.

One of the centers of enlightenment in the heart of segregationist South is the Rock Hill school in South Carolina which integrated under Father Maurice Shean. (See The Sign, November 1956). Another, of course, is Archbishop of New Orleans Joseph Rummel, who is educating his parishioners to accept desegregation and who has supported the merging of Negro and white classes in catechism at Erath, Louisiana. But behind these comparatively well-known examples of progress in integration are previously unreported cases in dozens of communities and cities in states everywhere in the South.

What is most important, not only have many Catholic schools, churches and lay groups achieved integration quietly, but in almost every case the community has been deeply influenced by their action. Deep-seated prejudices have been quieted and have begun to evaporate as citizens watch, often in real amazement, the way in which Negro and white Americans have joined in sharing spiritual guidance and educational benefits on an equal plane. It might almost be said that the

initial success in breaking down segregation practices was really overshadowed by the subsequent effect that the sight of equality being practiced daily has had upon Southern communities.

Integration, North and South cites organizations and institutions of all descriptions and faiths in this national effort. Throughout the chronicle are citations of Catholic schools and organizations. Take, for example, this report:

"In six Southern and Border states, Negroes were enrolled with whites in Catholic and elementary schools before May, 1954, (the date of the U.S. Supreme Court Decision outlawing school segregation by race and the "separate but equal" doctrine).

"During the 1954-55 school year and in the following term, Negro children began attending formerly all-white Catholic grammar and high schools in 21 Southern cities, as well as in many smaller communities. States in which Catholic school integration occurred in whole or in part are Arkansas, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia."

In the field of higher education, the survey recounts the progress of Catholic colleges and universities. All-white Catholic institutions desegregating since the Supreme Court Decision included Spring Hill College, Mobile, Alabama; Barry College, Miami, Florida; Belmont Abbey College and Sacred Heart Junior College, Belmont, North Carolina; and St. Gregory's College, Shawnee, Oklahoma. An all Negro college, Xavier University, New Orleans, Louisiana admitted white students for the first time. As noted before, many of these colleges were located in the areas where desegregation moves could be expected to encounter the bitterest opposition.

In many Southern states hospitals have been centers of progress for the Negro in his quest for equal treatment. Here, too, Catholic institutions have figured prominently. Notable examples are in the border state of Missouri, where the 90-bed Queen of the World Hospital opened two years ago as the first non-segregated hospital in Kansas City with an integrated hospital staff as well. In Charlotte, N.C. Mercy Hospital began admitting Negro patients in September 1954 after

Bishop Vincent Waters of the Diocese of Raleigh requested superintendents of hospitals to make their facilities available to Catholic Negroes and to allow qualified Negro surgeons and doctors to take care of their patients. St. Francis Hospital in Charleston, West Virginia, admitted Negro nurses for training and service on an integrated basis which included housing.

Finally, reported Integration, North and South, the "Catholic church moved vigorously in several Southern areas to implement its pro-integration position" in various church-affiliated lay organizations. Paradoxically, ~~some~~ one of the most outspoken efforts occurred in one of the most difficult states, Alabama. In Mobile, Bishop Thomas J. Toolen conferred one of the church's highest honors, Knight of St. Gregory, upon a Negro layman: the recipient was the first Negro in the South to be inducted into the papal honorary society and one of only a few of either race in the entire country. ~~In Talladega, Alabama, white and Negro students from 10 colleges in the state held a student ecumenical conference last spring to explore Christian methods of reducing racial tensions.~~

The Knights of Columbus in Tulsa, Oklahoma accepted its first Negro member in 1955, and in the state of Delaware the same year, the Bishop Monaghan Council accepted the first Negro applicants for membership since the Knights of Columbus was organized in Delaware 50 years ago.

South Carolina, where integration progress has been almost entirely lacking, was the scene of important Catholic activity. The Catholic Youth Organization integrated on the diocesan (in this case statewide) level, and as a result both meetings and conventions have been bi-racial. Also the Diocesan Council of Catholic Women of Charleston and the newly formed South Carolina Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (a Catholic lay catechetical group) have been integrated.

In the context of the whole integration report, the part played by the Catholic institutions was impressive, but even this did not tell the whole story. The report did not claim to include every example of integration: much progress remains hidden in communities where the work of reducing racial tensions and creating equal opportunities has taken the form of education and discussion, rather than overt action.

nisent.

~~since~~ while

It should be pointed out too that, while the report lists only examples of desegregation since the Supreme Court decision, Much of the real progress of the Catholic Church and its laity in cutting down segregation barriers was being recorded long before May 1954. As far back as 1891, Catholic prelates like Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, Minnesota, were taking an unequivocal stand. "What do I claim for the black man?" declared the Archbishop. "That which I claim for the white man, neither more nor less. I would blot out the color line. White men have their estrangements. They separate on lines of wealth, of intelligence, of culture and ancestry. But let there be no barrier against mere color."

Since Archbishop Ireland's day, Catholic church leaders have repeated the substance of his views and in recent years such men as Samuel Cardinal Stritch of Chicago, Archbishop Richard Cushing of Boston, Bishop Henry Louttit of Florida and Bishop Russell McVinney of Providence have spoken out repeatedly on the subject. Helping to make their words effective have been such lay groups as the Catholic Interracial Council ~~movement~~ which now has units in 28 cities and cooperates with such organizations as the NAACP, the Southern Regional

ville?

Council, and the Urban League; also the National Council of Catholic Women, the National Council of Catholic Men, the National Federation of Catholic College Students, the Catholic Students Mission Crusade, National Catholic Educational Association, and the Catholic Press Association.

Integration, North and South is careful to caution its readers that it is "frankly one-sided" because it concerns itself only with the forward progress of integrating the Negro into religious, cultural, and community life. Publicizing of the backward steps, reasoned the authors, has more than adequately been taken care of by the newspapers. Chronicles of quiet progress are not usually considered news and have rated few headlines but, as a foreword by attorney Morris L. Ernst declares, the report is exactly that: "News of a high order", and an "inventory of hope." There is no mistaking the fact that Catholics, Protestants and Jews, Negroes and whites, doctors, priests, lawyers, businessmen and housewives can share credit for gradually deepening the meaning of freedom to all citizens of the republic, and for bringing a message about Christianity and democracy at work to the peoples of Africa, Asia and Europe.

January 31, 1957

Mr. Joseph P. Lyford
Room 5500
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Joe:

We like your manuscript. Considering you're a Yankee, you handle this Southern stuff exceedingly well.

Enclosed are the pre-May '54 highlights of parochial school and Catholic college integration, as well as the longer summary put out by the NCWC.

Of the hospitals you inquire about, we find only one -- St. Mary's of Knoxville -- listed in the Catholic Almanac. Presumably the others aren't Catholic.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

ROOM 5500
60 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

January 25, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing a draft of the piece on the work of the Catholic Church on integration in the South. I hope you can provide me with the highlights of what the Church accomplished prior to the Supreme Court decision. Also, if you want to send me the summary about which you spoke on the phone, I might find that useful, too.

If there are any additions or emendations, please don't hesitate to suggest them.

In your report, the section dealing with desegregation of hospitals makes reference a number of times to institutions which sound as if they were Catholic but are not identified as such. For example, there is in Austin, Texas a St. David's Hospital which hires Negro dieticians. I don't know whether this is Catholic or not. There are also references to other hospitals with such names as St. Mary's (Knoxville, Tennessee), and St. Margaret's (Kansas City) which are not identified as Catholic. Can you tell me what their religious affiliation is, if any?

I called George Hunton about pictures and he is going to give me some help there. Needless to say, the sooner you can return the manuscript to me the better.

Sincerely,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyford

ENCL.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . .

2-1-57

Paul -

Jos. Lyford at the Fund for the Republic would like us to brief him on what can be used as is, what must be obscured, & what can't be used at all in the summary of economic reprisals which you compiled. Will you advise me on this when you can?

H.

February 7, 1957

Mr. Joseph P. Lyford
The Fund for the Republic
Sixty East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Joe:

We have reviewed the round-up of incidents of economic pressure and reprisals. Since that was prepared for background purposes rather than with publication in view, it seems to me best to do another summary for you. Much of the same information would be in it, but it is hardly worth while to try to alter language, names, places, etc., in the report as it stands.

I have asked John Constable and Florence Irving, our information staff, to work this up as soon as they can. I hope this delay does not foul you up on your planning, but I really think that this way we will give you something better to work from.

Incidentally I had a good conversation with Lee Nichols by telephone last night. He is hoping to see us when we are in Washington. Maybe we can work something out.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

P. S. Thanks for the clip from the Jerusalem Post. This is really mileage!

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

RECEIVED FEB 4 1957

February 1, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have spoken to Frank Kelly about my idea of doing a piece on the incidents of economic pressure and reprisals. Meanwhile, I will wait until I hear from you as to which incidents can be mentioned and in which cases names can be used.

Sincerely,

Joseph P. Lyford

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

RECEIVED FEB 4 1957

February 1, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The first echo of our foreign release on your report has come in and a copy is enclosed. While the item in the Jerusalem Post only briefly mentions the report, I am sure its conclusions were inspired by our letter and release.

I thought Henderson Pastors' Diary was excellent.

Sincerely,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyford

encl.

February 8, 1957

Mr. Joseph Lyford
Sixty East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Joe:

John Constable and Florence Irving of our staff have pulled the attached material together at top speed. As you will see it consists of a number of instances of economic and other pressures, all of them on the public record as indicated. They are mostly in quite summary form, but if you want additional details let me know which ones and we will send them to you.

I hope this gives you at least the basic facts that you need for your article. Such a treatment as you have in mind could be useful.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

February 26, 1957

Mr. Joseph P. Lyford
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Lyford:

In Mr. Fleming's absence I acknowledge receipt of the copy of your letter to Mr. James Crotty dated February 25th, and the attached copy of the Johannesburg World news clip.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth A. Brantley
Secretary

eab/

February 25, 1957

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

RECEIVED FEB 26 1957

February 25, 1957

Mr. James Crotty
United States Information Agency
1776 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Crotty:

As I told you at our American Traditions dinner, we have a good clear tape recording of the proceedings, including Mr. Catton's speech. If the USIA is interested in a duplicate tape we would be glad to supply it without charge.

You may be also interested in copies of clippings which we have received from foreign newspapers, based on a release we sent them in January. The release dealt with the progress of racial integration in the United States, as reported by Integration - North and South which was written by Harold Fleming and David Loth.

Sincerely,

Joseph P. Lyford

bcc: James Real
Harold Fleming ✓
David Loth

JC

ROOM 5500
60 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

RECEIVED MAR 21 1957

March 21, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

America Magazine, the Catholic weekly, is running my article on Integration, North and South in an upcoming issue.

I wonder whether or not reprints of this might be useful to the SRC. You might want to mention the piece in New South.

Sincerely,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyfor

File

FOR YOUR INFORMATION
JC
PA

April 4, 1957

Note on HCF's calendar

Mr. Joseph P. Lyford
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Joe:

Thanks for the note about the Swiss writer-photographer team. We'll be glad to give them all the help we can.

Whatever happened to your own projected Southern trip?

Sincerely,

Wisconsin in "Vistas - Fourth"

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

ROOM 5500
60 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

RECEIVED APR 10 1957

April 8, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The trip is in abeyance for the time being. I am not sure if I will ever make it, but maybe maybe.

Sincerely,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyford

File

ROOM 5500
60 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

April 12, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED APR 15 1957

Dear Harold:

You will be interested in the article I have written in the attached copy of the current issue of America.

Sincerely,

Joe Lyford

Joseph P. Lyford

encl.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . JOHN CONSTABLE . . . .

May 30, 1957

To: HCF

Subject: Copies of Congressional Record report on Joe Lyford article.

30 copies went to each of state organizations.
1 copy each to board members

(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 85th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Race Relations Improve

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 18, 1957

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article from the April 20, 1957, issue of "America" was written by a friend and classmate of mine who has been working for the Fund for the Republic and writes with authority on this important subject:

RACE RELATIONS IMPROVE

(By Joseph P. Lyford)

In an outspoken attack on race prejudice, Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle, of Washington, D. C., warned some months ago that America cannot "win the bitter war for men's minds in the world struggle if the Communists can tell the hundreds of millions in Asia and Africa that they, rather than Christians, practice the doctrine that all men are equal."

The reaction abroad to the conflict over desegregation in the South justifies an even more ominous observation. Without prompting from the Communists, a large segment of the foreign press normally friendly to the United States has been printing a daily ration of such stories as the Emmett Till murder in Mississippi, the Autherine Lucy case at the University of Alabama, the bombings of Negro churches, the activities of White Citizens Councils—the same type of stories, in a word, that United States newspapers are headlining.

Almost as serious, the little events in the segregation story leave a deep impression abroad. An example: Indian Opinion, the Natal (South Africa) newspaper edited by Mahatma Gandhi's grandson, recently frontpaged half a dozen articles from different nations. The item from the United States told about the white Florida public-health physician who was fired because she lunched with a Negro nurse. A steady flow of such information can understandably create an unhealthy suspicion of America and of Christianity.

Recently, however, the foreign press has been getting a different picture of the situation in America, one which may help balance the stories of crime and strife. Asian, African, and European editors have received copies of a study, published toward the end of 1956, which tells in detail how, quietly and without publicity, racial barriers have been falling in States all over the Union. The report, by Harold Fleming and David Loth, is entitled "Integration, North and South" (Meridian Books, 17 Union Square West, New York 3, 110 pages, 40 cents). It lists more than 1,100 examples of how the Negro is gaining equality of opportunity in the school, in public and private employment, in religious worship, in health facilities, in public accommodations, and in social organizations.

Page after page of the report carries a story within a story: the account of how Catholic institutions have responded to the crisis over race relations in the South. Without depreciating the courageous and effective contributions of other denominational groups which have worked on behalf of desegregation and whose work is outlined in its pages, the report makes it clear that the Catholic Church has set an example that has heartened all supporters of the Christian principle of racial equality. The church's activities have been especially noticeable in such Black Belt States as South Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana, where the Negro population is densest, where segregationist sentiment is highest and where the flammatory activity of the white supremacy groups are most intense.

THE CHURCH AND INTEGRATION

One of the forces for enlightenment in a strongly prosegregation State is the Rock Hill School in South Carolina, which integrated under Father Maurice V. Shean, C. O. Another, of course, is Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel, of New Orleans, who is educating his people to accept desegregation and who has supported the merging of Negro and white classes in catechism at Erath, La. But besides these comparatively well-known examples of progress in integration, there are previously unreported cases in dozens of communities and cities in States everywhere in the South.

What is most important, not only have many Catholic schools, churches, and lay groups achieved integration quietly, but in many cases the community has been deeply influenced by their action. Deep-seated prejudices have been quieted and have begun to evaporate as citizens watch, often in real amazement, the way in which Negro and white Americans have shared spiritual guidance and educational benefits on an equal plane. It might almost be said that the initial success in breaking down segregation practices was really overshadowed by the subsequent effect that the sight of equality being practiced daily has had upon southern communities.

Integration, North and South contains dozens of citations of Catholic schools and organizations, mainly in the South, which have taken steps toward integration. The report says, in summary (p. 57):

"In six southern and border States, Negroes were enrolled with whites in Catholic and elementary schools before May, 1954 [the date of the United States Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation by race and the 'separate but equal' doctrine].

"During the 1954–55 school year and in the following term, Negro children began attending formerly all-white Catholic grammar and high schools in 21 southern cities, as well as in many smaller communities. States in which Catholic school integration occurred in whole or in part are Arkansas, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia."

In the field of higher education, the survey recounts the progress of Catholic colleges and universities. All-white Catholic institutions desegregating since the Supreme Court decisions include Spring Hill College, Mobile, Ala.; Barry College, Miami, Fla.; Belmont Abbey College and Sacred Heart Junior College, Belmont, N. C.; and St. Gregory's College, Shawnee, Okla. An all-Negro college, Xavier University, New Orleans, admitted white students for the first time. As noted before, many of these colleges were located in the areas where desegregation moves could be expected to encounter the bitterest opposition.

426414—62429

In many Southern States, hospitals have been centers of progress for the Negro in his quest for equal treatment. Here, too, Catholic institutions have figured prominently. In the border State of Missouri, the 90-bed Queen of the World Hospital opened 2 years ago as the first nonsegregated hospital in Kansas City, with an integrated hospital staff as well. In Charlotte, N. C., Mercy Hospital began admitting Negro patients in September 1954, after Bishop Vincent S. Waters of the diocese of Raleigh requested superintendents of hospitals to make their facilities available to Catholic Negroes and to allow qualified Negro surgeons and doctors to take care of their patients. St. Francis Hospital in Charleston, W. Va., admitted Negro nurses for training and service on an integrated basis which included housing. St. Mary's Hospital of Knoxville, Tenn., enrolled nine Negroes for training as practical nurses.

The Catholic Church also moved "vigorously" in several southern areas to implement its prointegration position in various church-affiliated lay organizations, reports Integration, North and South. Paradoxically, one of the most forthright demonstrations occurred in Alabama, a most difficult State. In Mobile, Bishop Thomas J. Toolen conferred one of the Church's highest honors, that of Knight of St. Gregory, upon a Negro layman. The recipient was the first Negro in the South to be inducted into the papal honorary society and one of only a few of either race in the entire country.

The Knights of Columbus in Tulsa, Okla., accepted its first Negro member in 1955; and in the State of Delaware the same year, the Bishop Monaghan Council accepted the first Negro applicants for membership since the Knights of Columbus was organized in Delaware 50 years ago.

South Carolina, where integration progress has been almost entirely lacking, was the scene of important Catholic activity. The Catholic Youth Organization was integrated on the diocesan (in this case statewide) level, and as a result, both meetings and conventions have been biracial. The Diocesan Council of Catholic Women of Charleston and the newly formed South Carolina Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (a Catholic lay catechetical group) have also been integrated.

In the context of the whole integration report, the part played by the Catholic institutions was impressive, but even this did not tell the whole story. The report did not claim to include every example of integration. Much progress remains hidden in communities where the work of reducing racial tensions and creating equal opportunities has taken the form of education and discussion rather than of overt action.

It is important to emphasize that the report lists only examples of integration occurring since the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation.

This point is unfortunately not made clear in Integration, North and South. The section of the report which deals with integration in the non-Southern States makes almost no mention of the work of Catholic groups. This omission arises from the setting of an arbitrary time zone to be covered by the report. By the date of the Supreme Court ruling, the Catholic Church and its affiliated organizations in the North had integrated almost completely. Thus, paradoxically, the church was a victim of its own forehandedness insofar as the report was concerned.

The author of the nonsouthern section of the report, David Loth, has acknowledged the validity of criticism directed at his report on this point. To clarify the record he explained, after publication, that in taking his "inventory" of integration since 1954, he had found that "Catholic churches and religious orders provided some of the outstanding examples of institutions which had desegregated almost entirely in the North before the period covered in our survey." Further, he declared, "The examples of successful integration by religious groups, therefore, would have been vastly increased by the remarkable record of the Catholic Church and a few others if the report had been extended to the last 10 years instead of the last 2."

CHURCH LEADERS SPEAK OUT

An historical review of the Catholic Church's position on race-relations matters demonstrates its unequivocal doctrine on the subject. As far back as 1891, Catholic prelates like Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, Minn., were taking a clear stand. "What do I claim for the black man?" asked the archbishop. "That which I claim for the white man, neither more nor less. I would blot out the color line. White men have their estrangements. They separate on lines of wealth, of intelligence, of culture and ancestry. But let there be no barrier against mere color."

Since Archbishop Ireland's day, Catholic Church leaders have repeated the substance of his views, and in recent years such men as Samuel Cardinal Stritch of Chicago, Francis Cardinal Spellman of New York, Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans, Archbishop Robert E. Lucey of San Antonio, Archbishop Richard J. Cushing of Boston, Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter of St. Louis, Bishop Russell J. McVinney of Providence, Bishop Waters of Raleigh, and Bishop Toolen of Mobile have spoken out repeatedly on the subject. Their call for interracial justice is strengthened by papal encyclicals issued in recent years—that is, Quadragesimo Anno (Pius XI, 1931), Mit Brennender Sorge (Pius XI, 1937), Sertum Laetitae (Pius XII, 1939) and Mystici Corporis (Pius XII, 1950)—as well as by editorials in Osservator Romano.

LAYMEN TAKE ACTION

Helping to put principle into practice have been lay groups like the Catholic Interracial Councils, which now exercise great influence in 23 cities and cooperate with such organizations as the NAACP, the Southern Regional Council, and the Urban League. The National Council of Catholic Women, the National Council of Catholic Men, the National Federaiton of Catholic College Students, the Catholic Students' Mission Crusade, the National Catholic Educational Association, and the Catholic Press Association have done their part, too, to advance integration.

The effectiveness of the church and its lay affiliated groups prior to 1954 can be measured by the fact that in Washington, D. C., and Maryland, parochial schools have been integrated since 1949, and that in St. Louis school integration was completed in 1947. Other States where parochial school desegregation was begun or completed in advance of the Supreme Court decision include Delaware, Kansas, Kentucky, Texas, and West Virginia. In higher education, 25 Catholic colleges, universities and seminaries in the District of Columbia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, Texas, and Mississippi had desegregated before 1954.

This record has been an outstanding part of the total movement of all United States educational institutions toward equal treatment of all races. Despite outbreaks of violence in the South, successes like those described above are slowly strengthening the public belief that the days of segregation are numbered—and the people of other nations are beginning to comprehend this, too. Commenting on the events described in Integration, North and South, the Jerusalem Post said recently that the United States appears "determined to follow the difficult road toward full civic equality for her colored citizens."

Read by itself, of course, Integration, North and South presents a completely optimistic picture, and the authors are careful to caution their readers that the report is frankly one sided because it concerns itself only with the forward progress of integration of the Negro into American life. The publicizing of backward steps, reasoned the authors, has more than adequately been taken care of by the newspapers. Chronicles of quiet progress have rated few headlines, but, as a foreword by Morris L. Ernest declares, the report is "news of a high order," and an "inventory of hope." It makes unmistakably clear the fact that Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, Negros and whites, doctors, priests, ministers, lawyers, businessmen, unionists and housewives can share credit for deepening the meaning of freedom to all citizens of this Republic, and for bringing a message about Christianity and democracy at work to the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Europe.

426414—62429

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1987

June 5, 1957

Mr. Joseph P. Lyford
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Joe:

Thanks for your two recent letters. The issue of the Firing Line is the smoothest destructive job I have seen in some time. We are considering, not too hopefully, what may be done to counter it.

It is good to know that the fame of integregation North and South continues to spread, even to the psychiatrists. Only the other day, I had occasion to refer the Labor Department's information man to it. He was about to be off to the ILO Conference in Geneva and wanted to arm himself with positive information on race relations in this country.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED JUN 4 1957

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

June 3, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Integration - North and South is mentioned in "Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation" just published by the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, as well as What's Happening in School Integration.

Sincerely,

Joseph P. Lyford

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

RECEIVED MAY 29 1957

May 28, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is the May 15 issue of the American Legion's Firing Line in which I thought you would be interested.

Sincerely,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyford

encl.

July 11, 1957

Mr. Joseph P. Lyford
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Joe:

I thought you might like to see how Waring handled my letter. Not too bad, though his editorial prerogative came in handy!

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Secretary

HCF/mf

Enclosure - Clipping, NEWS & COURIER

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

Dear Joe:

I thought you might like to see how Waring handled my letter. Not too bad, though his editorial prerogative came in handy!

Sincerely,

HCF

enc

Clipping, News + Courier

RECEIVED JUL 3 1957

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

July 1, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Your letter to Waring was excellent. Did he print it? I would guess not.

Sincerely,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyford

July 30, 1957

Mr. Joseph P. Lyford
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Joe:

You did an excellent job of answering Ryan in America. I didn't see his article, but I get a good idea of its contents from your able rebuttal.

I was also pleased to see your article reprinted in the Interracial Review.

The findings of our voting survey have been getting very wide and favorable play. Of course, we had drawn the fire of the Confederate contingent of the Senate. If you have time for some recreational reading see The Congressional Record for Friday, July 26, 11590-5, 11625-7, 11631-7. At least we aren't obscured!

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

July 25, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to America on some of the questions Mr. Ryan raised on Integration - North and South.

Sincerely,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyford

encl.

July 30, 1957

Mr. Joseph P. Lyford
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Joe:

You did an excellent job of answering Ryan in America. I didn't see his article, but I get a good idea of its contents from your able rebuttal.

I was also pleased to see your article reprinted in the Interracial Review.

The findings of our voting survey have been getting very wide and favorable play. Of course, we have drawn the fire of the Confederate contingent of the Senate. If you have time for some recreational reading see The Congressional Record for Friday, July 26, 11590-5, 11625-7, 11631-7. At least we aren't obscure!

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

File

MEMORANDUM

December 2, 1957

Dear Harold:

I thought you might be interested in seeing the enclosed from the December 1 issue of the Wall Street Journal.

Joe

Enc
Article by Roscoe Born

JOSEPH P. LYFORD

December 5, 1957

Mr. Joseph Lyford
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Joe:

Thanks for the Wall Street Journal clip. Born, the reporter who did the story, spent quite a while at the Council getting background, but we hadn't seen what he wrote.

Wuid pro quo, I send you the enclosed Atlanta Constitution version of the AP story on the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission's report. I'll bet you didn't know until now that Hal DeCell was responsible for the Fund's new program.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 article - Atl. Const., 12/3/57

Mississippi Cites Gains in North's Press

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 2 (AP)—Mississippi's "watchdog" agency over segregating the races reported today it has been able to win better treatment of the South in the nation's home town newspapers and one national television network.

The state sovereignty commission, in a report to the special session of the legislature, said it had spent $65,466.95 of its $250,000, mostly for public relations.

"Over 200,000 pieces of direct mail have been sent outside the South to home town radio and television stations, newspapers and in some cases, state legislators," the report said.

FAIR TREATMENT

The mailings and personal contact by Hal Decell, fair treatment commission public relations director, have resulted in "more fair treatment given the state editorially in home town newspapers," the commission said.

DeCell has attended meetings of and worked with the National Editorial Assn., the New England Press Assn., and other newspaper groups.

The commission said one of the more difficult problems is to gain "less slanted reporting" from the television networks but that "some headway has been made by at least one of the three major networks." The network was not identified.

The report said the Fund for the Republic with 15 million dollars to spend was "one of the richest organizations opposed to us" and "concentrated through at least 28 different projects toward attempts to integrate and aid integration in the South."

GET THE FACTS

"In an effort to get the facts and our side of the story to these people Mr. DeCell was successful in obtaining a meeting with President Robert Hutchins and other officials of the fund for the Republic in Los Angeles and Pasadena, Calif.," the report continued.

"As of last July, the Fund for the Republic has withdrawn from the integration picture in the South with the exception of one financial grant which they continue to make to the Southern Regional Council, an organization which is not active in Mississippi."

The commission said DeCell acted as adviser in production of an NBC television show on Clarksdale, Miss., schoools, exercising "advisory rights in ascertaining the complete objectivity of the complete film.

"The program was scheduled for showing on Aug. 26, 1956, but we were informed from New York that a top NBC official had canceled the show because 'it would make him look like a segregationist.'"

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

File

December 9, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for the clip from the Atlanta Constitution. It is being circulated around to the staff.

Sincerely,

Joe

Joseph P. Lyford

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

December 18, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The enclosed Wall Street Journal clipping might prove useful.

Sincerely,

Joseph P. Lyford

enclosure

Nichols, he

FSL
DFF

Dec. 27
1221 Simmons Drive
Rockville, Md.

Dear Joe:

Sorry for the delay in getting this to you but New York was hectic and Washington was hectic-er, what with PTA Xmas tree selling, shopping et al.

It was swell meeting you, and talking for the first time almost you might say in a lifetime with folks who talk and think about things I mull over more or less in solitude. You sometimes get the idea your ideas are wacky until you find some substantial folk who not only see sense in them but are doing something about those very ideas.

My thoughts on useful activity along civil rights lines will be set down somewhat at random, since I have had no occasion or opportunity to [redacted] anything out in formal outline. Also, as I have remarked, I have little experience in setting up formal projects involving more people than myself. I consider my views rather as broad outlines of useful activities, with a personal slant often woven in, rather than a blueprint.

To begin with, I find on reflection that many of the things I have been thinking of doing personally would fit in better than I had thought with the idea of working in conjunction with the Southern Regional Council. I had felt at first such a connection might be too confining but after talking to you, I realize it need not be.

Well, let us ramble. Now, I may overlap the two Funds and the Foundation in my discussion but you will readily be able to sort out proper lines for future activity by the different organs. The Foundation and the Funds in my opinion have contributed <u>immeasurably</u> to the intelligent, sensible and adult progress of race relations in America in the past five to six years. Their assistance to the preparation of the District of Columbia's school integration program was of undoubted value, and the experience and knowledge gained thereby has spilled over to the aid of others—for example into my county in our school integration thinking.

The program that led to the Ashmore series of books and the Southern School News has provided more light on the school integration subject without generating needless heat than any other single thing I can think of. A continuation of this sort of thing is vital and I am writing the Education Fund simultaneously at the specific request of Phil Coombs, of some ideas for some follow-up books.

I am not as familiar as I might be with the detailed work of the Southern Regional Conference and other Fund for the Republic sponsored activities in this field, but I do know the general outlines and the basic value of the Conference's work.

We spoke, you and I, of the value of bringing additional information on civil rights--particularly on progress steps--to the attention of the general public through or in conjunction with Fleming's operation.

I need hardly tell you how vital I think it is to help keep the public informed clearly and constructively on this crucial issue. To me one of the great tragedies of our age is that, with so much real honest-to-God progress in this field, so much of our daily newspaper fare is of riots, bombings and school strikes. I know intimately the journalistic setup that contributes to this. But there are ways to combat it--from without if not from within our media.

For example: The National Planning Association has from time to time published reports of successful job integration advances in the South. These, with accompanying news releases, have always been carried at some length on our wires. So have any other formal types of news releases from any reputable organization.

This sort of thing could be done on an expanded scale, with a carefully worked out plan to get the maximum coverage. A series of first-hand studies could be made of successful school integration in southern and border areas and the results published in the form of reports. Studies of other steps of a forward-looking nature in racial fields could be undertaken. Public opinion studies could be sponsored where they might prove valuable. For example, and this is important, I think: Long, detailed opinion surveys by professional outfits preceded and accompanied the army's integration program and the documented findings--of which I have a complete summary--are one of the most signi-cant and little known revelations of how generally favorable the public can be to such a controversial subject. As part of any project, I would like to undertake to get some of these still-secret findings published, which I think I could do since I have them all in my possession physically, and supplemented by some wider surveys among students, educational people and others throughout the South.

Another aspect of the work I envisage, besides making new studies, would be to pull together, assemble and find ways to bring to the attention of both the public and particularly persons directly concerned other data and reports available on the subject. There is a lot of good work being done in the way of studies etc. by NPA (cited above); the President's Committee on Contract Compliance whose chief PRO I know very well and who has done some excellent survey work on his own; undoubtedly labor groups have much valuable material; and so on.

There needs to be some central clearing house to search out and assemble this material, supplement it with needed new work some of which will suggest itself from available material, and see that it gets across to those who need it--including the general public. In addition to just publishing the material, some expert studies might flow from the gathered material spelling out the lessons of experience to date and making practical suggestions to schoolmen and others seeking to work out specific integration problems. (In addition to reports, news releases etc., continuing efforts could be made to secure useful radio and TV programs; magazine articles could be stimulated, etc.)

This is only a hint of the scope of what I have been mulling about in my mind. There is still much darkness on this much-discussed subject and it needs more and more light in every available way--dispelling the various myths, shedding the cold light of objective fact on the many unfounded fears, etc.

I think in a sense what I am envisaging is a sort of public relations man for civil rights as a whole--a somewhat large concept. But I have felt that this would fit in admirably with my background and

present contacts and ideas. For example, I enjoy some measure of confidence with the president's racial adviser; with the Justice Department's civil rights head; am close personal friends with Lyndon Johnson's right hand man with useful access to southern leadership thinking and personae if necessary; believe I have very good rapport with Negro organizations and leaders; and know I have deep ties and close personal friendships with northern liberal leaders such as Sen. Humphrey et al.

Now it seems to me that this sort of relationship, plus the background in the field, could pay off handsomely in conjunction with a public relations-personal contact sort of operation. For example: part of my keenness for publicizing civil rights advances comes from the guy in the Justice Department whom I asked recently what the press could do best to help in the civil rights crisis. He said: "Tell the story of where integration is succeeding." That was all he said. Give the public the full picture, in all its perspective, and they will see that this thing if decently handled is few if any of the things it is touted to be.

The new U.S. Commissioner of Education is a man whom I understand has a very intelligent, forward-looking attitude toward school integration. I believe I could work with him in helping to develop ideas in this field that would be helpful. For instance, not only could a person in the role I envisage engineer projects himself, but could try to stimulate others to things that appeared useful. I have been thinking that the Office of Education might well do more informational work in the school integration field and hope to suggest that to Commissioner Derthick.

I know I could work with the president's Committee on Contract Compliance in furthering assemblage and publication of useful data on job equality.

In addition, I have much useful material still smoldering (?) in my files which ought really to be brought out and made available in some form. My notes on the armed forces integration, containing the gist of many otherwise still-secret documents and buried data, plus interviews with the actual men who handled the process, seem to me to be invaluable not only to enlighten the subject as a whole but to future scholars. Yet they are still just scribbled notes for the most part. It would be a real project to assemble and translate and collate them.

In the process of the various lines I have suggested, I glimpse at least one rather important book in the offing somewhere: an as yet-unwritten summary of all racial progress since Myrdal's famous opus, with particular emphasis on the gist of experience to date in various fields for the guidance of professionals or others involved in similar problems.

Well, I warned you I was going to ramble. But when you live a rambling existence as do most newspapermen, with your diet everything daily from atom missiles to filibusters to next month's corn outlook, you have little occasion to plan hard, concrete, practical programs--even in your mind.

You are welcome to all these ideas and any expansion or discussion of them of which I am capable at any time. If they are of value to your work, with or without my addition, I will be happy. I have already told you of my personal desire to become directly involved in some such type of work at the earliest moment.

regards

Lee Nichols Lee

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 EAST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-3170

H of
to answer

June 3, 1955

JUN 6 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Rm. 432 , 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

You will be getting direct from the publisher, probably within the next ten days or so, 50 copies of "The Strange Career of Jim Crow." We're sorry we couldn't do more but I hope you will be able to use this number effectively.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Reed

ER:ss

June 10, 1955

Mr. Edward Reed
The Fund for the Republic
1 East 54th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Reed:

Many thanks for your letter advising us that we will receive 50 copies of "The Strange Career of Jim Crow." The book is excellent in every way, written simply and well by a highly respected Southern historian.

When Frank Loescher was here the other day, we discussed ways in which the Council might fit in with the Fund's materials distribution program. One way, of course, is through distribution to top people in the Southern Regional Council and its affiliated state groups. Many of these people play key roles in their communities and in state, regional, and national organizations. They are, to be sure, among the persuaded; but they reach a great many of the unpersuaded, and they need professional help in doing so effectively. We consider it an important part of our job to supply them with "ammunition."

We also maintain up-to-date lists and directories of other individuals and organizations in the region: editors, state officials, legislators, state and local school officers, college presidents, church leaders, and the like. We frequently send out appropriate materials to people in these categories.

The next time I get to New York, I will hope for a chance to meet and talk with you. Meanwhile, we will appreciate your keeping us in mind whenever the Fund has materials that might be used to good effect in the South.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-1250

AUG 22 1955

August 19, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Place, North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

You will soon receive a copy of the first Report of The Fund for the Republic, covering our activities from our establishment to May 31, 1955.

If you would like extra copies yourself (in any quantity) or if you would let us know of any individuals or organizations who you think should see this report, we would be glad to oblige.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Reed

September 6, 1955

Mr. Edward Reed
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Reed:

Thank you for the letter of August 19th about the forthcoming first report of the Fund for the Republic.

Something depends on what amount (and quality) of distribution you wish. We could helpfully get out 500 copies to SRC Board members, members of the Boards of affiliated state organizations, and our state staff people. Or we could do a pinched-down job of getting out about 50 to state chairmen and vice-chairmen, and principal state staff people. Either way, and just shipt to us, if you will.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

P. S. Report has come. Beautiful job. More the better.

November 4, 1955

Mr. Edward Reed
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Reed:

We have met an unanticipated demand for copies of the Funds annual report and find our supply exausted.

Would it be possible for us to get 200 to 300 additional copies.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/ys

FR - ~~Publicity~~ ?

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

MEMORANDUM

Date: December 12, 1955

TO: Members of the Board
and Consultants

FROM: Edward Reed

The following books are being sent out to you for your interest.

1. Prejudice and Your Child by Kenneth Clark. Several organizations have said they wished to distribute copies of this book. It will be listed on the possible distribution schedule presented to the Board in January.

2. The Changelings by Jo Sinclair. This is a new novel by the second prizewinner in the Fund's television script competition. Its subject is the same as that of the play: An urban neighborhood, predominantly Jewish, faces the problem of renting or selling its homes to Negroes.

20 Dec. 1955

Dear Mr. Felming:

Attached is a copy of ltr to Edw. Reed that I am sending air mail, special delivery, tonite. I apologized to him for its appearance, and I do to you, but Secy is gone and I wanted to get it off tonite so he'd have time to read it before Loescher arrives in N.Y. on Thurs.

BIW

20 December 1955

Mr. Edward Reed,
The Fund for the Republic,
60 E. 42nd St.,
New York, New York.

Dear Mr. Reed:

I write you at the suggestion of Mr. Frank Loescher with whom I have just talked on the telephone. He will talk with you about the proposition here outlined when he comes to New York on Thursday. The proposal that I am submitting has been discussed several times, and at length, with Mr. Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council.

At the Southern Historical Association's 1955 Annual Meeting, held at the Peabody Hotel, Memphis, Tenn., November 10, 11 and 12, the best attended and most enthusiastically received session was a dinner meeting held on the night of November 10 in the hotel ballroom. Title of the session was "The Segregation Decisions" (see marked copy of the program attached) and the speakers were William Faulkner, Benjamin Mays, and Cecil Sims. Mays was substituting for Chas. S. Johnson who had to renege owing to a board meeting in New York. Ashmore had to decline also, owing to involvement in the Adlai Stevenson campaign work, and the discussion was led instead by Weldon James of the Louisville Courier Journal. At the suggestion of the program committee who arranged the program, nominal sponsorship of the dinner was by Phi Alpha Theta, national honorary historical fraternity.

Because of the excellence of the papers, the heartiness with which they were applauded by the 500 plus members of the association and their wives who heard them (Benjamin Mays was interrupted three times for applause - a thing unprecedented in the 21 years of the association's history - and the fact that here in the deep South, during the same week that a Mississippi grand jury was releasing the alleged kidnappers of Emmett Till to the cheers of the Citizens' Councils, three leading Southerners, one of them a Negro, denounced segregation and pled for integration before the largest learned society in the South (The Southern Historical Association now has over 1900 members) at a dinner meeting that was not segregated ~~[illegible]~~ to the approval of the overwhelming majority of those present, I am very anxious to have the papers printed in pamphlet form and given as large a circulation as possible. I should add that I am president of the Association for 1955.

On returning to Atlanta I polled the Executive Council of the Association - 12 leading Southern Historians - about the SHA publishing the papers. All but two voted in favor, but some, still a minority, expressed the fear that publication of the papers with the SHA imprint might alienate some of the conservative members of the association whom we hope eventually to win over. The editor of the Journal of Southern History, J. Merton England, was one of the dissenters who expressed these apprehensions. He is liberal in his own thinking, but he thinks the cause of liberalism will be better served in the association by not publishing the papers as an association publication.

He insists that the papers ought not to be published without referring the matter to membership, after thorough discussion by the Council. This would take so much time as to postpone publication to a date so far in the future as to lose much of the value of publishing.

So, after much deliberation, and consultation with Professor Silver (who was chairman of the program committee and is a member of the Council, and is as fine a liberal as you'd find anywhere), I concluded to try to find some other publisher than the association. Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council had already expressed interest in the program. He will be glad to publish the papers, with his regular printer doing the work. But he has not the funds for publication; nor are any available to me.

Silver and I think that the Southern Regional Council, being a deep South organization, is a most appropriate outlet for the papers. We want to stress the fact that this is a Southern project through and through. The papers were read by Southerners, to Southerners, in a Southern city. In a preface which I shall write, I shall emphasize that fact. I shall also tell of the response to the papers and point up the fact that at this time when Citizens Councils and other similar groups are preaching hate and intolerance, the largest learned society in the South sponsored this meeting and heartily applauded the anti-segregation papers; that the fact indicates that many thinking Southerners do not approve the rantings of the haters, but look to the working out of a constructive program of integration; that the situation of today differs markedly from that of 100 years ago, when no group of college teachers, or any other respectable organization, would have dared lift its voice against the incubus of slavery. Silver and I think that my preface, which I shall sign as president of the Southern Historical Association (I'll have to write it before the end of 1955 to sign it thus, and I shall) will give the papers a tie with the Association, as will the fact that this was a session of the Association. In other words, such an arrangement will have all the advantages of SHA sponsorship, without the official stamp, and will not cause offense to our conservative members and create harmful cleavages in our group.

Our request of the Fund for the Republic is this: the fund to agree to purchase 5,000 copies of the pamphlet, which will be a booklet of 32 pages, attractively designed with 80 pound duplex cover, size 8 1/2 X 5 1/2, at 20 cents a copy. This will make it possible for the Southern Regional Council to publish 10,000 copies of the pamphlet. The Southern Regional Council would hope that you would deposit with it for distribution some of the 5,000 copies that you buy; the Southern Historical Association and the Council will distribute to its members and to other organizations (possibly to Phi Alpha Theta) the other 5,000 copies. We could easily distribute all 10,000 copies)

We earnestly request a quick reply. The printer can go into production immediately, and complete the job in about two weeks. I should like to be able to report on the matter to such members of the SHA Council as attend the American Historical Association Meeting in Washington Dec. 27-31. Hence, I shall appreciate your wiring your decision to me at 966 E. Clifton Road, N. E., Atlanta, when you have acted.

Sincerely,

Bell I. Wiley,
Prof. of History

Faulkner, Sims and Mays have consented to publication of the papers in pamphlet.

The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

MEMORANDUM

December 20, 1955

TO: Members of the Board and Consultants

FROM: Edward Reed

Attached is a copy of the November 17, 1955 issue of The Reporter. Your attention is called, in particular, to:

"Divesting," note on page 5.

"The Case of Roger Tuohy," by Milton Mayer, page 12.

"The Nightmare Adventure of Irving Markheim," by Paul Jacobs, page 30.

"Shooting our Own Sentries," by Eric Sevareid, page 31.

"Channels - The Hot Documentary," by Marya Mannes, page 37.

Attached, also, is a copy of "If You Are Arrested," a pamphlet prepared by The Association of the Bar of the City of New York and the New York Civil Liberties Union. This is the pamphlet approved by the Board in November for distribution by the Fund.

7. for R.

The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

MEMORANDUM

December 20, 1955

TO: Members of the Board and Consultants

FROM: Edward Reed

SUBJECT: "The New American Right"

We are sending you separately a copy of this recent book, published by Criterion Books. It includes writings by Daniel Bell and Nathan Glazer, who ~~was~~ are among the participants in the Fund's study of Communist influence in American life directed by Professor Rossiter. "The Polls on Communism and Conformity" by Mr. Glazer and S. M. Lipset discusses Samuel A. Stouffer's book, "Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties."

7 Jan R -
GC -
1956

January 12, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Reed:

I don't recall that I have expressed our thanks for the unexpected and very welcome shipment of "The Strange Career of Jim Crow".

It was very thoughtful of you to arrange for them to be sent, and we will put them to effective use.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

January 14, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Ed:

I hope I haven't delayed too long in answering your letter about "America's Tenth Man". I wanted to check with one or two Agencies about the possibility of other channels of distribution. We feel that the division of 100 for public libraries and 350 for Negro High School libraries is a bit disproportionate. As you know, the YMCA and YWCA have student Y's on college campuses throughout the South, as elsewhere. The YWCA staffers here say that copies supplied to their student units would be widely used. They have about 200 student Y's in the South, some all white, some all Negro, and some mixed. What would you think of allocating 100 to 150 copies to this distribution? If you think well of it, we will secure the best list from the Y office here. (The YWCA handles these things somewhat better than the YMCA, but the copies distributed might be expected to be shared by the student units of both.)

We will be glad to supply the list of desegregated public libraries and to write a letter to each of them, as you suggested. You were altogether right in supposing that we would like for you to undertake to mail it.

I am sorry to learn that the Carmichael film didn't work out. We may proceed unilaterally to try to get a print.

My warmest thanks for your kind words about the new job. With best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

file

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

January 4, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

About "America's Tenth Man": we are thinking of ordering 500 copies, 50 for internal use and 450 for other purposes. I have talked to Frank about the best possible circulation. What would you think of 100, say, for desegregated public libraries in the South and the balance for Negro High School libraries? Have you alternatives to these groups?

We think it would be useful for you to send out a letter to those who would ultimately get the book, saying something like: "Through the courtesy of the Fund for the Republic you will receive a copy of 'America's Tenth Man' which etc. etc."

About the mechanics: are you able to send out the 450 yourself or would it be easier for us to undertake the mailing? I suspect the latter. If I am right, would you be able to provide us with the proper lists?

Have I wished you a Happy New Year? I think not, and I most assuredly do, and the best of good fortune in your new post.

Yours,

Edward Reed

ER:sw

HF

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

January 20, 1956

RECEIVED JAN 23 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Place, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I've taken the liberty of ordering for you twenty-five (25) copies of the recent book, Citizen's Guide to De-Segregation, by Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg. We think it is a useful contribution to the subject, and hope you can distribute these copies to good purpose. We trust this will be satisfactory.

I imagine it will be at least ten days before delivery can be expected from the publisher to you.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Reed

ER/blp

February 25, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Reed:

I enjoyed our brief conversation at the Fund's office last week.

If you still have undistributed copies of the ACLU's Annual Report, we could use about a hundred of them to good effect.

Best Regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/mef

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

February 28, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We will be glad to send you copies of the ACLU's Annual Report. It will be a ~~short~~ while before we can do so, as they have not as yet been ordered.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Reed

ER:vmd

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

March 29, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

What's the news on the booklet of the Southern Historical Association? Have you heard anything?

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Reed

ER:vmd

ack
4-3-56
HCF

Neu. File

January 30, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Reed:

This will acknowledge your letter of January 25 and the enclosed check for $1,000.00 for the printing and distribution of 10,000 copies of a pamphlet containing three speeches delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Historical Association. An official receipt is enclosed.

We regard ourselves, in this instance, as somewhat in the role of agents. Accordingly, I will handle the project in full collaboration and agreement with Bell Wiley.

We appreciate this opportunity to assist in the dissemination of these significant speeches.

Cordially yours,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

January 25, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Following up our telephone conversation, I am enclosing a check for $1,000 to permit the printing and distribution of 10,000 copies of a pamphlet containing three speeches delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Historical Association last November. According to our understanding 5,000 copies of this pamphlet will be distributed by the Southern Historical Association and the Southern Regional Council and the remaining 5,000 will be available to the Fund for such distribution as it may wish to make.

We assume that you will work with Professor Bell I. Wiley, representing the Southern Historical Association, in carrying out this project.

For your information I am enclosing a copy of a letter received from Professor Wiley the other day. With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Reed

ER:ss
Enc

April 11, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your letter advising me that we will be receiving 300 copies of the March issue of the Annals. These will be very helpful to us and to our affiliated state groups.

With appreciation and best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

April 9, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

We have placed an order with the American Academy of Political and Social Science for 300 copies of the March issue of the Annals, to be shipped directly to you. This issue is devoted entirely to the desegregation question.

We have done this on the basis of your previous interest in materials distributed by the Fund on discrimination and we hope that you will find these copies of the Annals useful and productive.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

CO

Edward Reed

ER/blp

May 22, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Ed:

All of us here like the first issue of the Fund's Bulletin very much and would like to distribute copies to our Board members and the key people in the state organizations. Would it be possible for you to supply us with 2,000 copies for this purpose?

With apologies for dealing with two matters in one letter, a word about the forthcoming pamphlet containing the speeches of Faulkner, Mays and Sims. Bell Wiley tells me that he will need 2,500 copies for the Southern Historical Association mailing list. Our standard mailing list is about 5,000. If you are looking for a useful way to use 2,500 copies of your quota of 5,000, we submit our mailing list for consideration. Otherwise, I will send you the full 5,000 copies due the Fund under the original agreement.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

RECEIVED MAY 16 1956

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

May 14, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

You will soon receive, if you have not received it already, a copy of the first issue of a Fund for the Republic Bulletin. This one is devoted to the Fund's work in race relations.

Please let me know if you want extra copies. Feel free - we have lots!

Sincerely yours,

Ed

ER/sw Edward Reed

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

May 25, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks very much for the offer to distribute 2000 copies of the Fund Bulletin. They will go out to you shortly.

I think it would be fine if you took over the extra 2500 copies on the Southern Historical pamphlet. Please hold them and use them.

We will expect to get 2500 for our own purposes. I think I've already said that they should be shipped, when ready, to: Andy's Mailing Service, 122 East 25th Street.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

ER:sw

Edward Reed

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

May 28, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Jim Real asked me on the phone Friday whether you had talked to me about a proposal for a film which would trace the journeying of a dark skinned non-Negro through the South today.

Are you still interested? If so, would you care to put it down on a piece of paper, then send it on to me? I'd like to see it and then pass it on to Real.

Best.

ER:sw

Edward Reed

Joe - didn't we mimeo this? HCF
Yes

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

May 29, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am sending you a copy of the April issue of the "Independent." On Page 5 is a sermon entitled 'I'm Glad I'm White, But...', which I find very appealing and instructive. I notice in the May issue of the "Independent" that reprints of this are going to be run off.

I send it to you on the chance that you might be interested in distributing some of these reprints.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

CO

Edward Reed

ER:sw
attachment

EXPOSE NOW BECOMES . . .

Follow your path and let people say what they will.
—Dante Alighieri

The Independent

Issue 53 April, 1956 Publication office New York, N. Y.

TRUJILLO THE TYRANT

By Lyle Stuart

The Dominican Republic this month took full page advertisements in major newspapers to persuade Americans that she is a "friendly, progressive" country.

The full page ad which appeared in the New York Times and other papers on April 13 began, "Most North Americans know little about their progressive Caribbean neighbor . . ." The Independent herewith proposes to help erase this ignorance.

The ad appeared one month and a day from the time Dr. Jesus de Galindez disappeared from his apartment in New York City in what is believed to be another murder by thugs, directed by Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo, dictator of the Dominican Republic.

Dr. de Galindez, 42, had been seeking a publisher for a book exposing Trujillo. He had been threatened by persons who didn't want it published.

The F.B.I. has entered the case.

Three years ago, another New York City resident, Andres Requena, was shot and killed after publishing a pamphlet critical of the Trujillo regime.

Dr. de Galindez was a Spanish Republican exile and a Professor of International Law at Columbia University.

(The disappearance of de Galindez was noted by the Inter American Press Association which met early in April and in a strongly worded resolution condemned Trujillo "and all stooges of dictators."

(The IAPA board named Sergio Bencosme and Andres Requena as

two other victims of Trujillo-style political terrorism. All were either kidnapped or killed in the United States.)

The full page ads in the newspapers were signed "Dominican Republic Cultural Society" though they were placed by the Dominican Republic In-

(Continued on Page 6)

Drug Makers Seek More Profits For Their Helpful Pretty Pink Pills

By Sidney Margolius

Drug manufacturers this month were extending their scheme for making the public pay higher prices for drugs. They put them under brand names and get the doctors to prescribe by these names.

Particularly if you need one of the newer antibiotics must you pay a stiff tax to the drug industry. The going rate is often $6 for a dozen little pills or $4.50 an ounce for an antibiotic in liquid form.

A single prescription these days may cost you as much as $10 or $12.

The drug industry argues that this is still a cheap price to get well sooner and without as many complications as before these drugs were available. But there is no legitimate reason for modern drugs to be so expensive. The drug industry claims the high prices of the various new drugs helps finance research for more new medicines of benefit to the public. The truth is, the real gainers, financially at least, have been stock market traders who have found a new Eldorado in the spiraling prices of drug-company stocks.

One of the most important of the newer antibiotics—tetracycline—is now packaged under different names by different manufacturers even though the medicine is the same or very similar in all cases. The doctor no longer prescribes standard ingredients for the pharmacist to compound. Instead he writes an Rx for a brand name product. It may be achromycin, steclin, panmycin, polycicline or tetracyn which are the same or very similar drugs under different names. Or it may be aureomycin or terramycin (an older group of antibiotics).

Only Brand Names

Nor can the retail druggist simply buy the basic ingredients at a reasonable cost, as he can the penicillin which fathered the

(Continued on Page 8)

F. D. R. Jr.—The Hired Hand

Murrow Says Ike Should Act

News analyst Edward R. Murrow was on record this month as blaming the segregation fight on lack of leadership by President Eisenhower.

Murrow told Lowell Brandle of the *St. Petersburg Times* that the intergration issue was a "crucial business (which) can tear this country apart, setting up antagonisms that cannot be erased for generations."

Murrow declared that adults must be educated and the man to educate them should be the President.

"Yet," said Murrow, "President Eisenhower has not done this in any manner I can see. He has exhibited no leadership. I saw a newspaper headline yesterday that made me laugh . . . 'Eisenhower Calls For Leadership in Segregation Battle.' "

Although the interview appeared on the front page of a paper published in the south, it was not given any play by northern newspapers.

Inside the Nation's Press

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer

Although many weeks have passed since the Academy of Motion Picture Arts & Sciences made its 28th annual "Oscar" awards, the studios in Hollywood are buzzing with talk that Metro's Dore Schary is on the way out. "On the way out" could mean two years to go, but there is no doubt that publicity-hungry Schary was placed in an uncomfortable position by the brushoff given to MGM's films.

The feeling seems to be that if Schary can't produce money-making films, at least he ought to make award-winners.

Years ago, MGM could have brought in the Oscars by virtue of its huge studio payroll of people who vote in the Academy contest. Now, however, the studio payroll has been slashed, and Los Angeles is overrun with former personnel who are bitter at the studio because "if someone had to go, they should have kept me and given the other fellow the gate." These people apparently took special pains to bypass the Metro product when they voted.

Perhaps the cruelest blow to Schary was the failure of his "The Battle of Gettysburg".

Schary had personally produced it at a cost of more than $100,000 to the studio. It was entered in the two-reel competition though it actually ran three reels. As one cutting room wag explained: "You could get it on two reels if you wound it tight."

But as tight as Schary wound it, even this one failed to win so much as an honorable mention.

Henry Miller

Most of the best of Henry Miller's works including his "Tropic of Cancer" and "Tropic of Capricorn" are banned in this

(Continued on Page 3)

Philanthropy Is Very Big Business

Philanthropy ranks as one of the ten big industries in America, the Russell Sage Foundation said this month. Each year, Americans contribute more than $5,400,000,000 to religious, charitable and philanthropic groups.

In terms of capital investment, the value of philanthropic and religious organizations is estimated by the foundation at more than $40,000,000,000.

Post Office Bans Hemingway & Mark Twain From The Mails

The Post Office Department this month held up 1,500 parcels of books without notifying their shipper that it was doing so. It quietly banned thirty-five titles from the mails, among them the collected poems of Ernest Hemingway, and "1601" by Mark Twain.

The move was part of what seemed to be a campaign to put a book publisher out of business.

The publisher, Sam Roth, is now in a Federal prison. He was convicted on four (of more than twenty he'd been charged with) counts related to sending "obscene" matter through the mails.

With Roth in prison, the Post Office began to detain his company's outgoing mail without notifying it of the action.

The publishing house became aware that its books were being held only when it received hundreds of complaints from people who had paid for books, and to whom books had been shipped, but who hadn't received their parcels.

Only after attorney Martin J. Scheiman sought an injunction in the U. S. District Court to compel the Post Office to release the mail did the Post Office authorities admit that they had been holding it. The action had been taken without due process of law.

The legal action forced the Post Office to release parcels that didn't contain titles the Post Office had moved against.

Among the books being held were the Hemingway and Mark Twain items. The Post Office has said that both are unmailable.

Also being held: "My Sister and I," "Tomcat In Tights," "The Nude In The French Theatre," "Geraldine Bradshaw," "Sinful Cities of the Western World," "Tatooed Women and Their Mates," "Venus In Chains," "Dark Desires," "Renee," "The Demon at Noon," "Men Into Beasts," "Margaret," and "I Love You, I Hate You."

Generally speaking, the Post Office seems to act on the premise that some people object to the sight of the human body, and it is the job of the P. O. to protect them from embarrassment.

Post Office decisions on what is obscene are frequently arbitrary, and have been overturned by long expensive court battles.

The Post Office has refused to provide booksellers with a list of banned books. Nor will it "clear" a book.

"You mail it and then see if we move against it," is the often expressed attitude of the Post Office solicitor's department.

'I'm Glad I'm White, But . . .'

Editor's Note: The Rev. Robbins Ralph is associate superintendent and minister of church extension of the Florida Congregational Christian Conference.

He recently delivered this provocative sermon which he called "The Unfinished American Revolution."

Because of the controversial nature of his remarks, we welcome the opportunity to give it a wide audience.

By Robbins Ralph

"I'm glad I was born white, since this is a white man's world.

"There are lots of reasons. I can go into any kind of a store, for example, a clothing store, and be fitted for a suit. My wife can try on a dress in any dress shop in any city in the country.

"We can board a bus or train or boat, if we can pay for the ticket, and we can occupy any seat that is available, and no questions asked.

"I'm glad I am a white man. I can go to any theatre, and choose my own seat. If I were a Negro, I could not do that. I enjoy baseball, and when I go to Al Lang Field, all I have to have is one dollar and I can enter the main gate and go anywhere I choose in the great shaded grandstand. The Negroes have to sit on bleachers out in the sun. I'm glad I'm a white man.

"I'm glad my children have the privileges and advantages of freedom. The public schools that have been open to them are fine schools. They could attend any private school or college in the country to which I could afford to send them and for which they are intellectually qualified. They may choose their own careers. They may apply for any job in the country, and the only requirement is that they have the ability to perform the work and that they be white, since this is a white man's world.

"One of my sons turned out to have a good deal of musical ability. He specialized in the clarinet. He played with the High School orchestra, then joined the St. Petersburg Symphony orchestra and worked up to first clarinet. When the road show "South Pacific" came to St. Petersburg for a week, they needed a clarinetist and he played with their orchestra and earned as much in a week as I earned in a week as a minister. We were proud of him. And glad he was white. If he had been a Negro, he could have played in the Negro High School band—and that is good—but not in the city's symphony orchestra or in "South Pacific."

"I'm glad our family is white, since this is a white man's world.

But Not Altogether

"And yet I'm not altogether glad that I'm a white man. There is something on my mind. Since this is a white man's world, I rather naturally get the impression that I'm a better man than the Negro. More intelligent, more cultured.

"Take the matter of money, for example. I know how to use money fairly wisely. I don't spend it as fast as I get it, and then go on relief when it is gone.

"I don't own a television set because I can't afford it. I don't drive a Cadillac because, for my money, there are other values in life more important. But the Negroes who live in tumble-down shacks have forests of TV towers over their quarters. They love to drive flashy and powerful cars. Their cultural scale is obviously lower than mine. Or so I am tempted to think.

"And yet, something bothers me. It just happens that I like to live in an adequate and modern house, set on a spacious, landscaped lot, in a pleasant neighborhood. How do I know what I would do if this privilege were denied me?

"How do I know what I would do if I had to live in the narrow confines of a crowded slum? If it were impossible for me to go out and buy, or build, or rent the kind of a house I like? If I could not go to the better churches, could not spend my money at the better theatres, could not play golf at the country club? I imagine I'd get a television set as soon as I could manage the down payment. Would I be able to keep up the payments? I don't know.

"If a white man and I work together in a certain place and the employer has to let one of us go, I'll be the one laid off. I can't be sure of the future anyway. I might as well enjoy TV while I can. And if they have to take the set back to the store, so what?

The Cadillac Symbol

"And as for the Cadillac. This is a white man's world. And in the white man's world, a Cadillac is a symbol of success, achievement, of power and prestige.

"Since I happen to be a white man, there are also other ways in which I can satisfy the urge to be somebody; other ways in which I can prove myself successful. I don't need a Cadillac. But if these other avenues were closed to me; if I could not have a good house to live in, if I could not hob-nob with the best people; if I could walk through the hotel dining room as a waiter but not as a diner; if I could go out on the Municipal pier with a broom to sweep the floor but not with a pole to catch the fish; if my wife could go into the homes of the rich and elegant to serve tea but not to take tea—you know, I think a Cadillac might be tempting.

"No, I'm not altogether happy about being a white man in a white man's world. This world gives me the impression that I'm a better man. But the horrible and disturbing thought is that I may be wrong! The cards are stacked in my favor. The comparison is not fair. Maybe I'm an inferior person, and don't know it.

"And I'm not entirely happy about my children being white. I suppose, like any fond father, I thought my boy was the best clarinetest his age in town. But how do I know? There were hundreds of youngsters who never had a chance to show.

"Maybe I'm unconsciously afraid that I'm not a better man. Maybe I'm not really sure my boy is such a superior musician. Maybe I'm afraid a black boy might beat him out. Is that why I'm glad he's white? May God have mercy on me.

"We went to see "South Pacific," even though the price was steep. It was worth the price of admission just to hear one certain song in that play.

*A song that goes like this:

You've got to be taught to hate and fear,
You've got to be taught from year to year,
It's got to be drummed in your dear little ear,—
You've got to be carefully taught.
You've got to be taught to be afraid
Of people whose eyes are queerly made,
Of people whose skin is a different shade,
You've got to be carefully taught.
You've got to be taught before it's too late,
Before you are six or seven or eight,
To hate the people your relatives hate;
You've got to be carefully taught.

* (From "South Pacific," Richard Rogers and Oscar Hammerstein II. Copyright—Williamson Music, Inc.)

"We white people have been taught, carefully taught, by the culture in which we live, that we are the superior race. It has been drummed into our dear little ear until we believe it. The only trouble is, it just possibly isn't so.

Something Gnawing . . .

"No, I'm not entirely happy about being a white man in a white man's world. There is something gnawing on my conscience. It is on my conscience that I and my sort are depressing my brother and his children. His children can't go where mine can. His children can't do the things my children can do. There are doors that close.

"When we elevate ourselves by stepping on the colored race, by the same act we send the colored race down.

"When we deceive ourselves into notions of innate and God-given superiority, by the same token we sometimes force upon the Negro a sense of inferiority which dooms him to live way below his best. If he is sensitive (and he is human), something gets crushed. Why fight against a stone wall? Why push in where you obviously are not wanted? You can always go back to shanty-town, the television, the Cadillac. For excitement and adventure you can always turn to moonshine liquor and the bolita game.

"And I am the white man who sends him there. I am not altogether happy about myself. My conscience is bothering me. May God have mercy on my soul.

"I love this church, and the

(Continued on Page 6)

Skepticism Is Genius Quality

Dr. Ernest Jones, biographer of Sigmund Freud, declared this month that skepticism was one of the characteristics of genius.

The British psychoanalyst said that genius was not a quality but only a quantitative difference in attributes contained in all persons.

Jones cited the qualities as: skepticism, originality, a sense of the really significant, absolute honesty, the power of concentration, inspiration, cycles of production and spontaneity.

special

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The Independent
225 Lafayette Street
New York 12, New York

As Jim Crow Flies

By JIM PECK

"Our people are no longer afraid." This is perhaps the most outstanding result of the Montgomery bus boycott, according to E. D. Nixon, one of its leaders and regional representatives of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Nixon is a man who has been unafraid for many years. A story to illustrate this point was told by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood as he recently introduced Nixon to a small group of us assembled in his office.

When Nixon, many years ago, became Montgomery representative of the Brotherhood and went into his first negotiations with the local superintendent of the Pullman Company, he was received as an inferior. He thereupon told the company official: "I am not here today as Pullman porter in my uniform: I am here as a representative of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and as such, I must be dealt with on a basis of equality."

The superintendent refused to talk with Nixon any further and the matter was referred to company headquarters.

The superintendent was then instructed by Pullman that he was obligated under the union contract to bargain in good faith with whomever the Brotherhood designated as its representative and that if he refused to do so, he could not retain his position. Bargaining relations between Nixon and the superintendent have been amicable ever since.

Following this introduction in Randolph's office, Nixon spoke. In a manner as casual and unassuming as if he were relating something strictly routine, he told about his role in helping to initiate the Montgomery protest action.

"My wife phoned and told me that Rosa Parks had been arrested on the bus. (Her case is now being appealed as a legal challenge to segregation on city buses). I went down and put up the bail for her.

"That night I started thinking. I told my wife: 'Our people should just stop riding the buses.' She said: 'Stop daydreaming: put out the light and go to sleep.' But I didn't. I took out a piece of paper and started writing down the names of all the people who should be contacted.

"When the ministers first got together to talk things over, the discussion went on and on. Finally I got up and asked: 'Am I to tell our people that you are cowards?' Rev. King (Martin L. King) raised his hand to signify that he was not. Before you know it, he was nominated, seconded and became president of the Montgomery Improvement Association (the organization leading the protest action).

"From the start of the protest action, luck was with us. A few of our people might have been scared into going back on the buses. But they saw that the city had put two policemen on each bus and concluded: 'Maybe we're not allowed to.' Then the buses were taken off so nobody could ride them even if they wanted to."

That's how the Montgomery bus boycott got started in early December. Soon thereafter, the buses were back on the streets again—but almost empty because Montgomery's Negroes stood firm and unafraid and have maintained their non-violent protest ever since.

The Negroes' renunciation of fear, which Nixon emphasized, was demonstrated by the uninhibited manner in which they testified about their longstanding grievances at Rev. King's recent trial.

Georgia Gilmore told of how a driver ordered her: "Come out, nigger, and go in the back door" and then drove away as soon as she got off the front steps. Sadie Brooks testified that she saw a Negro man forced from a bus at pistol-point because he did not have the correct change. Della Perkins related how a driver had called her an "ugly black ape."

Richard Jordan told how his pregnant wife had been forced to give her seat to a white woman as a result of the prevailing system under which as many as nine Negroes have had to give up their seats to accomodate one white person. Martha Walker related how her blind husband's leg was hurt when a driver shut a door on him.

Stella Brooks testified that her husband had been shot to death for disobeying a driver, but her testimony was stricken from the record because she had not eye-witnessed the act.

Inevitably—since the trial was in the deep south—Rev. King was found guilty. His trial was under a 1921 state anti-conspiracy law directed originally against unions. But instead of imposing a heavy prison sentence such as is generally meted out to Negroes in southern courts, Circuit Judge Eugene Carter merely fined Rev. King $500. (In setting the fine at $500 rather than $1,000, Judge Carter took cognizance of how Rev. King has succeeded in keeping the protest action non-violent.)

And instead of prosecuting the 89 other leaders of the protest action indicted on similar charges, the state postponed their trials until final determination of the King case in the higher courts, which may take several years.

Since the indictments in late February, Montgomery's white spokesmen apparently have learned that the protest action cannot be halted by threatening to imprison its leaders. Possibly they have begun to realize the significance of Nixon's statement: "Our people are no longer afraid."

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TRUJILLO

(Continued from Page 1)

formation Center. They claimed that "the Republic today is a model of social and industrial progress . . . a proved friend of democracy."

No mention was made of the fact that Trujillo seized power illegally, that he has on his hands the blood of twenty thousand Haitians slaughtered on his orders. Thousands of Dominicans have similarly been brutalized, tortured and murdered.

The ad contained a photograph of "Generalissimo" Rafael Trujillo, which covered 25 square inches of space. It did not identify him for what he is: one of the world's most ruthless dictators and a onetime forger, cattle rustler, informer, and pimp.

From his earliest days in public life, Trujillo has shown clearly that 1) he is a personal coward and 2) that he rules with the aid of hired thugs and killers.

In 1930, when the tyrant was seeking power, he suffered a setback when the courts ruled that an honest elections committee must be named.

Albert C. Hicks described what happened then in his "Blood In The Streets:"

"Dominicans, anxious to hear the details of the higher court's decision, crowded the courtroom. The secretary rose to read from the papers he held in his hand. Suddenly his hand began to tremble. From the rear of the courtroom, several men suddenly appeared, submachine guns in their hands.

"There was a wild scramble for the exits and the court was unceremoniously adjourned, the judges' decision never becoming law."

It was then that the opposition party candidates announced that they would withdraw rather than participate in the farce of a Trujillo-style election.

During his first days as dictator, Trujillo ordered the arrest and murder of hundreds who expressed opposition to him. When he wasn't signing death warrants, he selected his henchmen to fill cabinet posts. But they could only have the jobs after they had put their signatures to their own undated resignation.

Early in his career, dictator Trujillo selected his own slogan, *Dios y Trujillo*, God and Trujillo.

Today his henchmen and the prostitute press of the island frequently reverse the words to paraphrase the slogan as: "Trujillo and God."

This does not disturb the dictator's relations with the Vatican. On June 16, 1954, Trujillo met with the Pope to sign a church-state concordat, which, in Trujillo's words: "confirmed adherence to the Catholic Church as the protectress of order and Christian civilization in the world . . ."

Shortly after he'd been in office, Trujillo treated his neighboring Catholics, the Haitians, to a dose of his brand of "Christian civilization."

Quentin Reynolds, who made an on-the-spot investigation of the incident, reports that Trujillo killed between 15,000 and 20,000 Haitians.

When he decided to destroy the Haitians, Trujillo chose soldiers who were known for their sadism.

Then this happened: Some 1,900 Haitians were rounded up and herded into a courtyard in Santiago. The courtyard was surrounded by government buildings.

The victims were shackled together in groups of ten, twenty and thirty. Their hands were tied behind their backs.

Machine guns would have done the job quickly. But Trujillo directed that the murders be done with the most primitive weapons.

According to Bert Hicks, the soldiers "entered the courtyard gripping great and small clubs, jagged clubs, smooth clubs, iron bars.

"The cries of the Haitians rose up out of the courtyard and filled the city. Despite the heat, many residents of Santiago closed their doors and their shutters to shut out the horrified cries of more than a thousand terriorized Haitians screaming for help . . ."

Throughout the Dominican Republic and Haiti, stories were heard of brutalities unequaled in modern history. Haitians were hacked to death with machetes, stabbed with knives, tossed on bayonets. Babies were seized from the arms of their mother and beaten to death against the sides of houses or the trunks of trees.

An American priest, Father Barnes was profoundly shocked by the massacre. He wrote a letter to his sister in America describing what he'd seen. The letter never reached his sister. His body was found lying in a pool of his own blood, shot and brutally beaten to death.

Trujillo told the Haitian government that the butcherings were "a regrettable incident." He paid $750,000 to Haiti to close the matter. This is less than $50 for each Haitian murdered.

This is but one incident in the career of the man many call "the scum of the Caribbean."

Trujillo's dictatorship could not have been established and could not now exist without the active support of the U. S. State Department.

In his early days, Trujillo employed as his agent, the native Fascist hate-peddler Hamilton Fish.

Today, the man who has registered as a foreign agent for the Trujillo dictatorship is Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

Roosevelt was hired on a $120,000 retainer for two years. This equals $5,000 a month.

His law partner is Charles Clark, a lobbyist for the Franco dictatorship.

(Clark is the man who assaulted columnist Drew Pearson in 1952.

(Young Roosevelt had himself come out for support for Franco several years ago.)

With such highly placed puppets, Trujillo is now able to celebrate his 25th year as the bloody tyrant of the Dominican Republic. And to continue to direct the murder of his opponents both at home and in the United States.

"The Defense of Western Europe"

By DREW MIDDLETON

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The Independent

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Oral Roberts Is Mum On Flopped Miracle

Oral Roberts, a television "healer," hasn't told his TV audience what happened to Mrs. Vonderscher.

Mrs. Vonderscher saw one of the "Healing Waters" programs conducted by Roberts. She'd undergone surgery for cancer and had been given up as a terminal case.

She flew with her husband to Cincinnati, where Roberts used his usual treatment of "the laying on of hands" and prayer.

Two months later she flew to Los Angeles where she appeared on the Oral Roberts show to say that she'd been healed of cancer of the spine.

She died twelve hours later.

Roberts has yet to tell his audience that this one of his "miracles" didn't quite come off.

WHITE

(Continued from Page 5)

people in it: I love them very greatly. Could I come to church some Sunday morning with a Negro friend and could we worship quietly together? I don't know. We had better be doing some thinking and some praying about these things.

Our Ancestors

"We can now look with pride on the struggle carried on by our spiritual ancestors in the founding of a nation freed not only from foreign domination but freed from a caste - ridden nobility, freed from the overlordship of an aristocracy born above the common man.

"We need to be reminded that less than two centuries ago, in most of the world, 90 per cent of the people, regardless of race, were thought to be unworthy to be educated, unworthy to vote. People like you and me, children like yours and mine, were not good enough to go to school, at least with the silk-clad children of the aristocrats. It was folly to think of educating common people like us.

"What was the point of it? What did we know about the finer things of life? Your ancestors and mine were born for the heavy work, the dirty work, the servile work. We had no business aspiring to greatness or achievement in art or science or music or business or politics. It would only spoil our usefulness to let such notions get into our heads.

"But we repudiated that kind of thinking in this country. This was to be not a rich man's country, not the aristocrats' country. But it is still a white man's country. The revolution is not yet finished. The struggle for freedom, for justice, for equality of opportunity is not yet won.

Don't Boast of Freedom

"At present, it is still a white man's country, the American Negro today being where all our ancestors were 200 years ago, where all women were 100 years ago. We do not do well to boast of freedom until the last battle has been fought and won.

"I happen to be white. I want to be a Christian. The white man part of me is satisfied the way things are. The Christian part of me is restless and unhappy and guilty and ashamed. The Christian part of me will not be at peace until this is not a white man's country, not a black man's country but God's country. For all men are His children.

"I beg your pardon if I have spoken in such a way as to disturb your thinking. I beg God's pardon if I have not."

Doctors Have a Gang-Bang With Victims of Malpractice

By Olin O. Dobbs

I took a forbidden look this month into the doctor's little black bag of tricks. I found proof that pills are not the only bitter dose a trusting public swallows.

Medical malpractice victims—or, in many cases, their survivors—have long pondered the menace of the incompetent or careless doctor. Darkening the menace is the reluctance of the medical fraternity to furnish "expert testimony" against an erring brother.

Few malpractice suits are won by the patient. Yet a staggering increase in claims has alarmed doctors. The reason for their concern: A mass withdrawal of underwriters from the growing risks of malpractice liability insurance.

In a recent issue of *Medical Economics*, Dr. Louis J. Regan gave his ailing profession what he called a "horse-whipping," applying the lash with an article titled "How We Can Lick the Malpractice Menace."

But as author of an article on the same subject in mass-circulated *Look* magazine, the same doctor dropped his horse-whip and assumed a more conventional bedside manner.

(Dr. Regan is Clinical Professor of Forensic Medicine at the University of Southern California School of Medicine. He is also a practicing attorney of the California bar, and is author of many medico-legal books.)

I have borrowed the medical technique of "comparative anatomy" to record how Dr. Regan, mixing identical ingredients, brewed a purgative for the doctors and a narcotic for the public.

Dr. Regan in *Look:* "No patient has the right to sue for damages because the physician does not do more than his legal obligations demand."

Dr. Regan in *Medical Economics:* "Whether we like it or not, a potential law-suit is one of the rights that go with visiting a doctor."

Dr. Regan in *Look:* "What can you do if you feel that you have been the victim of malpractice? You can put your case before a local, county or state medical society, with all the assurance of getting a fair hearing."

Dr. Regan in *Medical Economics:* "Even in the face of the grossest negligence, too many local medical societies have been content to put on blinders."

Dr. Regan in *Look:* "As a further aid to justice, some of the larger medical societies have established panels of specialists in the various fields of medicine on whom a patient's lawyer can call for an impartial examination of the case . . ."

Same doctor in *Medical Economics:* "The weakness of most medical - society - sponsored 'defense committees' is their inability to make sound, objective medico-legal evaluations."

Dr. Regan in *Look:* "Doctors are human beings and therefore are subject to human accidents and human errors."

Same doctor, different magazine: "DON'T let yourself or your employees make any statement to the patient or a third party that could be construed as an admission of fault on your part."

Dr. Regan in *Look:* "To assure that every patient is cared for with meticulous attention, medical groups are constantly bringing up to date the requirements of good practice in their respective fields."

But in *Medical Economics:* "The public ought to be made to understand this fact . . . that unwarranted malpractice claims make doctors hesitate to use all the scientific advances at their disposal."

Typifying the course of a *valid* malpractice claim, in *Medical Economics* Dr. Regan posed the case of a mythical Dr. X, general practitioner, who has given X-ray therapy to a patient with a chronic lesion on the right hand. The patient suffers severe radiation burns, and permanent disability.

The patient files suit.

Medical men, of course, are the only legally acceptable source of "expert testimony," so a "defense committee" of doctors probes the alleged offense on behalf of the litigants.

The committee finds that Dr. X has had "little prior experience with X-ray therapy," and that his machine has not been checked since it was bought secondhand.

But what would the doctors report?

Dr. Regan hazarded an educated guess for the readers of *Medical Economics:*

"Despite the damning evidence, Dr. X's case gets a nothing-wrong-here report from the defense committee. Is this surprising? After all, the doctor is a neighbor of one committee member, a fellow alumnus of another, and an associate hospital staff officer with another."

But here is what Dr. Regan told the readers of *Look:*

"The popular belief is that 'doctors stick together and won't testify against each other.' This oft-repeated allegation simply is not true."

As Dr. Regan wrote in *Medical Economics*, "The handwriting is on the wall. Unless doctors take heed, it's only a question of time before *all* insurance carriers withdraw from the field of professional liability coverage."

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The Independent

225 Lafayette Street • New York 12, New York

June 7, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

This is an attempt to describe briefly the idea, which I have discussed with Jim Real, of a possible picture-text story on a foreign visitor's travels through the South.

The Southern Regional Council has for years played host to foreign visitors from countries throughout the world. Naturally they discuss with us their own reactions to the racial situation in the South and the way in which our racial problems are viewed in their respective countries. Unfortunately, however, courtesy inhibits their expression of these views to Southerners and other Americans who might be offended by them. I have felt for some time that we need a skilful treatment of this theme by some magazine of mass circulation, or possibly one of the other mass media. The objective of the treatment would be to enable the American reader to identify with the foreign visitor and, so far as possible, view the situation through his eyes; hence the idea of a picture story.

A series of imaginative pictures and a sensitive commentary, probably under the by-line of the foreign visitor himself, are the basic elements. The effectiveness of an article of this kind will depend not on the idea as such, which is not particularly original, but on the execution.

Obviously there are various possible approaches to this theme. The most appropriate one can best be determined by those skilled in this form of presentation. The most dramatic effect might be achieved by assigning a reporter-photographer to accompany a dark-skinned foreigner (rather than a European) on a swing through the South. Some of the paradoxes and inconsistencies of segregation could be pointed up if the visitor were an African with special status and prestige which prompted privileged treatment.

(Jim Real knows of a royal Nigerian who might fill the bill.) In any case, it is true that a colored person, once identified as not an American Negro, is often exempt from segregated treatment. This, of course, does not prevent him from observing the normal racial patterns; if anything, it sharpens his awareness of them.

If the idea seems to you to warrant exploration, the staff of the Council and our state affiliates will be glad to cooperate in every way.

It was good to see you the other day.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
CC: Mr. James Real

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

June 8, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

A couple of us have read the Shelton talk and don't think it contributes vitally. Why don't you just go ahead on your own.

Best.

ER:sw

Edward Reed

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

June 20, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks very much for the outline of the picture-text story, a copy of which I note you have also sent to Jim Real.

We will be in touch at some point - if we ever get out from under!

Best to you.

Sincerely yours,

ER:sw

Edward Reed

AIRMAIL

July 5, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

This is to confirm my off-the-top reaction to your telephone call day before yesterday concerning the request from Robert Patterson.

I have discussed this with George Mitchell and other staff members, and they concur with my initial reaction - namely, that the best thing to do is to send Patterson a small number of copies of the Bulletin with an impersonal letter of transmittal. I should say twenty-five or fifty copies, certainly not more than one hundred. If you have any kind of mimeographed or printed form letter with which you acknowledge routine requests for material, I would certainly use that. (In fact, I would be petty enough to concoct one in order to avoid dignifying the request as anything special).

This is our best judgment, but of course we would have no qualms if you decided to do something else, from ignoring it altogether to supplying the quantity requested.

I will write you in a few days suggestions for distribution of The Negro Potential and "The Angry South".

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

July 13, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-second Street
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Delighted to be an ersatz Loescher, if that is possible.

First, as to "The Angry South," I have reread it and confirm my earlier impression that it is a solid piece of work. We would gladly distribute a couple thousand of them; furthermore, if you have a large number, I should think that any of the Fund's grantees would be glad to have a supply.

We very much want to get The Negro Potential into the hands of some of the more receptive economic leaders in the South. If you will send us some copies, we will see that that is done. I do not know what quantity you are prepared to consider, but we can make good use of as many as five hundred copies.

The Alistair Cooke series is a puzzling piece of work. It is shot through with streaks of prejudice and pettiness which I am at a loss to understand. In any case, it is my feeling that his serious lapses in good taste and good judgment disqualify his articles as constructive informational material. A pity, because some passages are quite good.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

July 10, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks very much for the note about the Bulletin. I am sending 50.

Will you be our Loescher? You already are, of course, and I look forward to hearing from you about "The Negro Potential" and "The Angry South." Here's one more - articles by Alistair Cooke - reprinted from the Manchester Guardian. I'd welcome your advice on what you think of this reprint and its possibilities.

Many thanks and best to you.

Sincerely yours,

Ed

Edward Reed

ER:sw
attachment

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

July 17, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks a lot for your report on the various and sundry materials. I'll see that 2500 copies of "The Angry South" are shipped out to you.

When I can get down to business on "The Negro Potential," I'll remember that you can use 500; you'll undoubtedly get that number in time.

I'll abandon Alistair Cooke; I think perhaps this is a case of style superseding content.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

ER:sw

Edward Reed

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

July 18, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

We have just completed a mailing on the "Segregation Decisions" and we have almost no copies left.

Sorry to say that you will have to fill the order for Southern Illinois University, if you can.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

ER:sw

Edward Reed

August 3, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

I suggested to Robert McKay that he send you a reprint of his article on school segregation which appeared in the New York University Law Review.

It struck me as a remarkably good and comprehensive analysis of the whole question, and I think people who have a serious or professional interest in the field would find it a very useful document. Anyway, I thought you should see it.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

August 6, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Harold's letter of August 3rd was written before I had read Huddleston's book. I would add to his letter some further blush of enthusiasm.

The book can do quite a lot of good hereabouts, by stirring up religious people toward their duty.

I have already drafted a letter to go out with the book to up to one hundred people, mostly bishops and head parsons.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Mr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

RECEIVED AUG 9 1956

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

August 7, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Considering the rigmarole we have to go through these days, I don't think it's worth bothering about Huddleston's book for the sake of 100 copies. Thanks anyway for the advice.

Sincerely,

Edward Reed

August 6, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Harold's letter of August 3rd was written before I had read Huddleston's book. I would add to his letter some further blush of enthusiasm.

The book can do quite a lot of good hereabouts, by stirring up religious people toward their duty.

I have already drafted a letter to go out with the book to up to one hundred people, mostly bishops and head parsons.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Mr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

August 3, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Thanks for sending me a copy of Trevor Huddleston's book. I referred your question to George Mitchell, who is the expert on Africa around here. His feeling, which seems right to me, is that the book could very usefully be put into the hands of a selected group of church men in the South - about 100 of them.

Such distribution could be worked out through the various denominations, but this is cumbersome. Alternatively, if you will supply us with 100 copies, we will carefully prepare a list and get them out.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

July 27, 1956

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I'm sending you separately a copy of the book, "Naught For Your Comfort," by Trevor Huddleston. There are some striking parallels here between North Africa and the south, as of course all of us realize. Do you think we would prove anything by doing some distribution of this book, I'd appreciate your advice.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Reed

Edward Reed

ER:jj

RECEIVED AUG 9 1956

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

August 7, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

You should soon be receiving 400 copies of "The Negro Potential" direct from the publisher, Columbia University Press. The remaining 100 copies will reach you a month later. I hope you will use them advantageously.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Edward Reed

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

August 17, 1956

Mr. David Loth
Piermont
New York

Dear David:

Morris Ernst is going to do a foreword to the pamphlet by you and Harold Fleming. I hope this will please you.

He has sent back the manuscript from his cruising holiday with some comments, which I think you will want to see. I suggest that if you want to take advantage of any of these, you do so when I send you proofs. Meanwhile, however, I am forwarding the manuscript to you for preliminary thinking. I would suggest that we ignore the suggestion for inserting statistics on population of the various towns and cities mentioned. At this stage of production, I'm afraid this would be too messy a problem. And I don't think it's too vital.

Ernst's assistant tells me that Bessie at Harper's has expressed interest. He is Ernst's son-in-law. I will send him a set of proofs as soon as we get them. I haven't any great expectations. Even if Bessie is interested, I suspect that the delay in producing it through Harper's (this is the book publisher, not the magazine) would kill much of its effectiveness. However, we'll see.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Edward Reed

ER:sw
attachments

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

August 27, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Here are galley proofs (and the original copy) on your section of the booklet. The proofs are rough, and so far, unread. They lack headings and all other display type. You will, of course, see page proofs, at which time the job will be in complete form.

I think we should try to catch as many errors as possible - if any! - in galleys, so I hope you will read these fast. I think it would be best if you could call me with any corrections you have; if there are complicated ones that cannot easily be transmitted over the phone, at least send the proofs back special delivery. I prefer the former method, however. Please return both copy and proofs in time.

David Loth is getting his section later this week; the printer worked on yours first. I will do the same with Loth as I am doing with you.

Morris Ernst has agreed to do the foreword and you will see this when we get to the page proof stage.

Time is creeping up on us and I am afraid that we are not going to get this in circulation before shool time. I should think it might be ready and out before the end of September, however.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Reed

ER:sw
attachment

Suspend Nov. 1st

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

August 30, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am sending you separately two (2) prints of "Desegregation: Baltimore Report" which I understand you wanted. This is the Sherwood Award winner for the independent station category as you know. I'd be interested to know how it goes.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Reed

ER:sw

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

September 7, 1956

Mr. Bem Price
AP News Features
Star Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Price:

Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council called me yesterday to say that you were preparing a story for September 15 in which you would like to use some of the material from the study he and David Loth have made of successful examples of integration throughout the country.

I am sending you galley proofs on the study, which will be published by the Fund in a booklet format. I hoped to have page proofs for you but I'm afraid they will not be off the press in time. These galleys lack headings and contain a number of typos, but I think the material will be clear to you.

Your story will have the first mention of the booklet in the press, it will come ahead of actual publication date, and it will probably preclude any great play in the press at any later date. We hope, therefore, that you will give the booklet as much prominence as you can with title, authors and publisher (the Fund). It will be on sale at 40¢ for a single copy and at reduced prices for bulk orders. Incidentally, it will have a foreword by Morris Ernst, on which I don't have any proof at all as yet.

Please don't take the previous paragraph as a half-hearted gift. We are delighted that you want to make use of the material and certainly we could hope for no wider play than in an AP feature story. I just want to make sure that all the credits are included and the booklet's availability from the Fund at a given price is made clear.

If there is any further information I can give you, please be sure to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Reed

ER:sw
attachments

b. c. c.: Harold Fleming

September 17, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Enclosed is a copy of the AP story as it ran here; I have also seen the Herald Trib version.

Clearly from my point of view, it is a good story! But I was perturbed to find that Bem Price had by-passed completely Loth's report. I called Bem about this, and his explanation was that, in view of the recent ruction down here, AP felt that the Southern findings were the news.

I take some comfort from the thought that the Northern report is still virgin and, along with Ernst's introduction, can get a major play when the booklet is ready for release.

I am way behind in acknowledging with thanks the several shipments you have sent recently. I hope to catch up on that and other things with you when I am in New York next week.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

RECEIVED SEP 19 1956

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

Discussed in NYC 9-25-56

September 17, 1956

5 yr = 497.00
10 yr = 819.00

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold

Do you suppose we can get 5000 more copies of the pamphlet "Segregation Decisions? Would you check for me or let me know who the printer is so that I can check directly?

Thanks.

Yours,

ER:sw

Edward Reed

Thanks for the bring —
C

October 2, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I have placed the order for 5,000 additional copies of Three Views of the Segregation Decisions that should be mailed to Andy's Mailing Service soon.

I have just received a copy of the reprint of Dick Bolling's entry in the Congressional Record. Is there any chance that we could get fifty to one hundred copies of this?

It was good to see you last week.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

RECEIVED SEP 26 1956

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

September 24, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This is for when you get back: would you mind asking the printer of "Segregation Decisions" to run off 5000 copies for us.

Please bill the Fund for the $497. which you say it will cost. Have them sent directly to Andy's Mailing Service, 122 East 25th Street, New York, 10, N. Y.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

ER:sw

Edward Reed

AIRMAIL

October 3, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Ed:

We talked the other day about the possibility of our getting some copies of the integration report for complimentary distribution.

If we include our own Board on the list, we will need about 250 copies. It just struck me that I never thought to inquire how many copies you were printing. If this request is excessive, don't hesitate to let me know; if it is unduly modest, we can use more. In any case, I promise not to undercut the market, and as evidence of my good faith only today I steered an inquirer to the Fund at 40¢ a throw.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

October 5, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I have your memo inquiring about the need for extra copies of the Fund's Three-Year Report. We received only two, and could use as many as one hundred if they are available.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

10/3

HCF:

Two copies only were received in this office.

(1 directed to you and 1 to Dr. Mitchell)

mbo

Do we have any?
H.

RECEIVED SEP 19 1956

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC INC
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

September 17, 1956

Dear Harold —

We have extra copies of the Fund's Three-Year Report, a copy of which you received in late June. If you think it would be of interest to individuals affiliated with your organization who have not already seen it, we would be very glad to send you copies, or to mail them ourselves to lists you might provide.

Sincerely yours,

ER

Edward Reed

October 8, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your complimentary note about the SPSSI speech.

Your clipping service probably will turn up all of these, but I thought you would be interested in our returns on the AP story dealing with the integration report. As of now, various people have sent us clips of the story from the following newspapers:

Atlanta Journal
Chattanooga Times
San Antonio Express & News
Norfolk Virginian-Pilot
Birmingham News
Tampa Tribune
Providence Journal
Cleveland Plain Dealer
Kansas City Star
Minneapolis Tribune
St. Paul Pioneer Press
Madison Times
Syracuse Herald American
Boston Globe
New York Herald Tribune

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Ed Reed

✓ Atlanta Journal
✓ Chattanooga Times
✓ San Antonio Express + News
✓ Norfolk Virginian-Pilot
Birmingham News
✓ Tampa Tribune
✓ Providence Journal
✓ Cleveland Plain Dealer
✓ Kansas City Star
✓ Minneapolis Tribune
✓ St. Paul Pioneer Press
Madison Times
✓ Syracuse Herald American
✓ Boston Globe
✓ New York Herald Tribune

AIRMAIL October 10, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Ed:

As I told Frank on the telephone yesterday, we have written the New York Times Magazine for permission to reprint Charles Johnson's article. Assuming the permission is granted, we have not yet decided on the form and quantity of the reprint. Would you have need for copies?

We have also read with interest Carmichael's article in the New York Times Magazine of October 7th. It would have considerable usefulness as a printed counterpart of the "Face the Nation" film. I wish we could talk some education group into reprinting it and making it available.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

October 2, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I asked Frank what you and he had agreed on, if anything, with regard to Johnson's piece in the "New York Times Magazine" of September 23. He couldn't remember. Are you going to do anything about it?

As you know, we can't undertake anything new until mid-November, if then. However, if we are authorized to proceed then, and you haven't done anything about Johnson, we still might because I don't think it dates itself. But will you let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Reed

ER:sw

File

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

October 16, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Yes, we would use some copies of the reprint you might do of Johnson's article from the Times. But I can't give you a definite answer until the Board Meeting on November 15, at which time it will be included in items recommended for distribution.

So far as Carmichael's piece in the Times goes, I wonder what "education group" you could be talking about! I suspect we may add this to the distribution items too, provided we undertake to buy some prints of the film. It would make a good supplement to hand out at showings of "Face the Nation."

Again, nothing till November 15.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Reed

ER:sw

AIRMAIL

October 30, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

As Dave or Frank may have told you, copies of Integration North And South arrived at the Tuskegee meeting in the nick of time. Somebody deserves high marks for the layout; the booklet is handsome enough almost to convince people that it is bedtime reading. Joe Lyford's release was well done too.

We will help in every way we can to move the book. A bountiful supply of promotional circulars will help. I have been wondering also whether it might not make sense for us to stock a goodly supply of books on consignment, so that we can fill small orders directly from this office. If you think well of this idea, how about having Meridian Books send us a thousand copies or so with a consignment invoice.

I have sent a couple copies to friends of mine in the U.S.I.A. Maybe they will buy some copies - who knows?

Enclosed is a copy of the UP story which ran in the Atlanta Constitution. I hope the release got good play elsewhere.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

October 24, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Two-hundred and fifty copies of "Integration North and South" go out to you this week. Release date to the press is October 29, as you no doubt know.

As we have already discussed, I'd like to keep the free distribution as low as possible. The orders so far have not been extensive - 550 from the ADL, 301 from the Congregational Christian Churches and 200 from the Urban League - but I have hopes.

Meridian Books, which is handling the bookkeeping on these sales, is making up a little promotion circular and I will send you a lot of copies of it as soon as it is off the press. I suspect you can put them to good use, as we will also try to do here.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

ER:sw

Edward Reed

10,000 have been printed. How's chances?!

November 6, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Thanks for arranging the consignment shipment of Integration. We will handle as you suggest.

We have made only limited use of the "Henderson Pastor's Diary" - with the Tuskegee group, Mrs. Tilly's conference, and our state affiliates' staffers. I know of no other reprints, though there may be some. It would be excellent for distribution by the various religious groups.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

November 1, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The Integration booklet is being stored by our mailing house so I will have them send you a 1000 copies of it directly from there.

Since you appear to be willing to take on the retailing of this job, I suggest you collect the proceeds and every so often send on a check made out to Meridian Books, so that it can go to their accounting department and be incorporated with the other sales that they will (I hope) be making for us.

I'll send you the promotion circulars as soon as they are ready, which I trust will be the early part of the week.

I read today the "Henderson Pastors' Diary" from the Christian Century - in the mimeographed form, which I gather you are using. I think it's a very moving and relevant document and maybe we should do something with it. However, before we do, will you let me know what you yourself are doing, either with the mimeograph version or reprints, if any? Has Christian Century made any reprints on its own, so far as you know?

Best.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Reed

Edward Reed

ER:sw

File

RECEIVED NOV 14 1956

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

November 12, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

"Henderson Pastors' Diary" is apparently out so far as we're concerned, although if you ask me why I wouldn't be able to tell you. Perhaps you might be able to get single copies circulated among the denominational groups on the chance that some of them might be interested enough to take on their own duplication.

I'm sorry to have been so brief and ~~brisk~~ brusque on Friday. You'll forgive me?

Best as always.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Reed

ER:sw

November 14, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Frank passed your manuscript along to me and I have read it with interest.

This presents the same problems to us that it does to you, I suppose, in that the article is pretty diffuse. I shouldn't be surprised but what there is a magazine article in Shaffer's personal experiences in Tuscaloosa, but he hasn't cast it in usable form.

Would there be any point in asking Joe Lyford if he knows of a magazine writer who might be interested in drawing on Shaffer's material for a kind of post-mortem on the Lucy incident, perhaps supplemented by a current visit to Tuscaloosa? A pretty tenuous idea, I'll admit, but the only possibility that I can think of at the moment.

As you know, I'm always glad to see anything of this kind that comes your way.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

AIRMAIL

December 7, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

A thousand pardons for this delayed answer on the Warren book and the Carmichael reprint. Since I got back from my travels I have been having my annual bout with the virus and my mail has gone neglected.

I think we could give effective distribution to as many as 250 copies of Warren's opus.

Could we have a thousand copies of the Carmichael piece? I'm sure that many of our state affiliates would want to have some for distribution.

Thanks and best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

December 4, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

What do you want to do about Robert Penn Warren's book on Segregation?

Best.

Sincerely yours,

ER:sw

Edward Reed

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

November 20, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

As a result of the Board Meeting last Thursday we will be undertaking the following among other things. What is your pleasure on them?

1. Segregation by Robert Penn Warren. We may order up to ~~the~~ 1000 copies. How many would you undertake to distribute to officialdom, "opinion makers," etc.

2. Omer Carmichael on Louisville, as printed in the New York Times Magazine. We will want to use these in connection with the distribution of the "Face the Nation" film prints but we will also use them separately. This will be a cheap reprint and we can order an indefinite amount. Feel free in your "request."

The other items approved, as I look over them, don't seem to be particularly up your alley. However, you will undoubtedly be getting single copies of them as they come along. You can then determine for yourself whether any of them would be useful to you.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Reed

ER:sw

AIRMAIL

December 12, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Ed:

Thanks for letting me see the bound pages of America's Tenth Man. It is a very impressive job.

Its greatest value, of course, is as a reference book, particularly for use by school children and young people of both races. That would suggest school and public libraries and perhaps youth centers of various kinds as the logical repositories. Organizations like the Council and the state affiliates could also use copies for reference and display purposes - though not, I think, in any large quantities. If you decide to distribute it and we can help with Southern libraries or otherwise, we would like to.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

December 5, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

"America's Tenth Man" is about to be published as a book, to sell for $7.50.

Frank has been talking with the publisher. What do you think?

I'm sending you the bound pages separately. They have to be returned.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Reed

ER:sw

Edward Reed

December 29, 1956

Mr. Edward Reed
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your letter of December 26 with the good tidings about the Scientific American article and the Public Affairs pamphlet. Your sending one thousand copies of the former was perfect as to both quantity and timing.

As to the Public Affairs pamphlet, we could usefully distribute up to one thousand of them through our state groups. (I made myself re-read it the other day and found that I think better of it now than I did when the manuscript was just completed.) However, if you have other demands for that thousand, don't consider our request imperative.

My warmest good wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

December 26, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

We will be distributing 20,000 reprints of "Attitudes toward Desegregation" by Herbert H. Hyman and Paul B. Sheatsley, the lead article in the December 1956 issue of the Scientific American. I'd send you a copy if I had an extra one. I am taking the liberty of sending you 1000 of them directly. If this is unsuitable or if you can profitably use more, let me know.

We also want to distribute 15,000 of your Public Affairs Pamphlet. Your usual sterling performance. Under our new regulations viz-a-vis the Directors, I am letting them know of our desires today. If I hear no objection from them by January 2nd, we will proceed. I'd like to restrict this distribution to the South, culling our own lists and using some southern library lists from the outside. I also plan to send it to organizations working in the South with a special note suggesting that they take a number of copies. Tell me if you want to join the parade.

The best of holidays' to you and a fine 1957.

Yours,

Edward Reed

ER:sw

Edward Reed

signed in Mr. Reed's
absence.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

January 7, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Our plans for purchasing 16 mm. film prints of the CBS "Face The Nation" television program which featured Omer Carmichael, Superintendent of Schools of Louisville, Kentucky, were based on the expectation of getting a sizable number of purchase orders from interested organizations and individuals.

The response has been so meager that we have been compelled to cancel our plans. We are very sorry, therefore, that we cannot fill the order which you sent us for this program.

I suggest that if you are interested in proceeding in some other way, you get in touch directly with the Columbia Broadcasting System.

We very much regret that this proposal did not prove possible.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Reed

ER:sw

January 15, 1957

Mr. Ed Reed
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Ed:

I have just received a copy of the January Bulletin of the Fund -- a very thought provoking issue. Naturally I was also glad to see the plug for Integration North And South. Would it be possible for us to get 100 copies of this issue for distribution to our policy people?

Incidentally, we have sold several hundred copies of Integration North and South and will be forwarding a check to Meridian Books in a day or two. I will send you a copy of the forwarding letter.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

C O P Y

January 15, 1957

Mr. Edward Reed
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Ed:

The South being just naturally slow, the "see-it-now" film on Clinton wasn't shown here until yesterday. We were all most impressed by it, and I naturally wondered whether you have considered distribution of it. If you are considering it, we would cast a very strong affirmative vote.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

Blind copy sent to: Arthur Morse
CBS

File

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

RECEIVED JAN 18 1957

January 16, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have a note from Frank telling me of your interest in the Murrow program on Clinton, Tenn.

The Murrow-Friendly team frankly hopes to win the documentary award in the Sherwood competition this season. Naturally, they could not if the Fund were involved in any way. So we will not be doing anything with kinescopes. I don't suppose this explanation should be broadcast, although there is nothing particularly odd about it; after all, it is the Sherwood jurors, not the Fund, who would be making the decision come June.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

ER:sw

Edward Reed

February 1, 1957

Mr. Edward Reed
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
Sixty East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Ed:

Here at last are the lists for distribution of America's Tenth Man. They add up to more than you called for, but you may cut at will. The YM and YW lists were supplied by their field staffs, so that as far as we know one name is as important as another.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

JC - Reply awaiting your findings. Maybe we should explore YMCA angle, after all. H.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

January 17, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter about "America's Tenth Man." I am putting the book through the mechanics of approval, etc. While this is in process, I would appreciate it if you would try to pull together the lists of Y's and libraries. Your breakdown sounds okay to me.

We will handle all details from here as soon as we have your names and addresses.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Reed

ER:sw

NATIONAL STUDENT YWCA-SOUTHERN REGION

1956-57

COLLEGE	STAFF, ADVISOR OR EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Alabama	
Alabama College Montevallo	Mr. Davis Yeuell
Birmingham-Southern College Montgomery 4	Miss Adrien Hughes
Huntingdon College Montgomery	Mrs. Paul T. Stone
Miles College Birmingham 8	C. Zenobia
Selma University Selma	Mrs. A. B. Jackson
State A & M College Normal	Mrs. M. H. McCalep
State Teachers College Florence	Mrs. Viola Clark
State Teachers College Livingston	Marilyn Seale
State Teachers College Mobile Branch Mobile	Miss Fredericka Evans
State Teachers College Montgomery	Mr. Felix James
Stillman College Tuscaloosa	Miss Myrtle Williamson
Talladega College Talladega	Mrs. Alphonse Hunnicut
Tuskegee Institute Tuskegee Institute, Ala.	Mrs. Maree Toland
University of Alabama University	Miss Grace Baker

Florida

COLLEGE	ADV., EXEC. DIR., OR STAFF
Bethune-Cookman Daytona Beach	Mrs. Joyce Engram
Fla. A & M University Tallahassee	Mrs. T. B. Cooper
Florida State University Tallahassee	Marion Black
Jacksonville Jr. College Jacksonville	Svea M. Ristc
Rollins College Winter Park, Fla.	Miss Clara Adolfe
Stetson University Deland	William McCammon
University of Miami Coral Gables	Miss Olive Horton

- -

Georgia

Agnes Scott College Decatur	Mary Boney
Albany State College Albany	Mrs. S. M. Ellis
Andrew College Cuthbert	Mrs. J. Mark Miller
Berry College Mt. Berry	Miss Merle Wade
Brenau College Gainesville	Dr. L. A. Fletcher
Clark College 240 Chestnut St., S.W. Atlanta	Mrs. Eva S. Martin
Ft. Valley State College Ft. Valley	Mrs. S. B. Watson
Wesleyan College Macon	Miss Gertis Davis
Georgia State College for Women Milledgeville	Delanie Boney

Georgia (cont'd)

Georgia Teachers College Collegeboro	Dr. Fielding Russell
LaGrange College LaGrange	Mrs. Margaret Cubine
North Georgia College Dahlonega	Miss Joan White
Paine College 1235 15th Street Augusta	Mrs. Gwendolyn Hall Grissom
Shorter College Rome	Miss Rowena Sessoms
Savannah State College Savannah	Miss Madeline Harrison
Georgia Southwestern College Americus	Macy Bishop Gray
Spelman College Atlanta	Mrs. A. E. Manley
University of Georgia Athens	Miss Miriam Thurman
Valdosta State College Valdosta	Mrs. C. C. Whittle
Wesleyan College Macon	Dr. William Hinson

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Kentucky

Berea College Berea	Faye Feltner
Eastern Kentucky State College Richmond	Miss Willie Moss
Kentucky State College Frankfort	Mrs. Ann Heartwell
Midway Junior College	Mrs. Belle Riley
Morehead State College Morehead	Mrs. Kate B. Hill
Murray State College Murray, College Station	Mrs. Mary Brown

Kentucky (cont'd)

Pikeville Junior College Pikeville	Mrs. Wesley Pinkerton
Sue Bennet College London	Miss Julia Rose
Transylvania College Lexington	Dr. Irwin Lungar
Union College Barbourville	Mr. M. A. Miller
University of Kentucky Lexington	Miss Joyce Laase

- -

Louisiana

Dillard University New Orleans	Dr. Sam L. Gandy
Grambling College Grambling	Mrs. Zola Ernest
Louisiana State University Baton Rouge	Miss Margaret Lilly
Southern University Baton Rouge	Dr. Elsie Edmondson

- -

Mississippi

Alcorn A & M College Lorman	Mrs. Chase McJunkins
Campbell College 1500 Lynch Street Jackson	Miss Verlene Delaney
Copiah-Lincolm Jr. College Wesson	Miss Edna E. Edwards
East Central Jr. College Decatur	Mrs. Janie Sullivan
Gulf Park College Gulffort	Miss Pat Turner
Hinds Junior College Raymond	Miss Gertrude Davis
Holmes Junior College Goodman	Mrs. Zilpha Mansell

Mississippi (cont'd)

Jackson College Jackson 29	Mrs. Ernestine Lipscomb
Millsaps College Jackson 20	Mrs. K. E. Hederi
Mississippi Industrial College Holly Springs	Mrs. H. P. McGowan
Mississippi Southern College Hattiesburg	The Rev. Riley Munday
Northwest Junior College Senatobia	Miss Louise Crosby
Okolona College Okolona	Miss Mary R. Perrin
Perkinston Junior College Perkinston	Mrs. Frances Thomas
Rust College Holly Springs	Miss Frances N. Eaton
Tougaloo Southern Christian College Tougaloo	Mrs. Bobbie D. Mangrum
Mississippi Vocational College	(omit)
University of Mississippi University	Miss Katherine Rae
Wood Junior College Mathiston	Mrs. Ruth Duncan

- -

North Carolina

A & T College Greensboro	Mrs. Natalie Vaughan
Appalachian State Teachers College Boone	Miss Barbara Stephenson
Atlantic College Wilson	Dr. Vere Rogers
Barber-Scotia College Concord	Mrs. Sarah B. Cordery
Bennett College Greensboro	Mr. John Bryan
Catawba College Salisbury	Mrs. A. R. Keppel
Duke University Durham	Miss Barbara Benedict

North Carolina (cont'd)

East Carolina College Greenville	Dr. Elizabeth Utterback
Guilford College Guilford	Dr. Frederick Crownfield
Fayetteville State Teachers College Fayetteville	Miss E. Louise Murphy
High Point College High Point	Miss Clarice Bowman
Lenoir-Rhyne College Hickory	Mrs. George S. Bowden
Queens College Charlotte	Miss Elizabeth Black
Livingstone College Salisbury	Mrs. Louis Reeves
Louisburg College Louisburg	Miss Ruth Merritt
Meredith College Raleigh	Miss Maxine Garner
North Carolina College Durham	Mrs. Rae Williams
Salem College Winston-Salem	Miss Margaret Barius
Shaw University Raleigh	Mr. Moses N. Delaney
State Teachers College Elizabeth City	Mrs. Dorothy Thomas
University of North Carolina Chapel Hill	Miss Ann Queen
Winston-Salem Teachers College Winston-Salem, North Carolina	Mrs. Gloria C. Goore
Woman's College of Univ. of N. C. Greensboro	Dr. Warren Ashby
Elon College Elon	The Rev. W. J. Andes
East Carolina College Greenville	Miss Hazel Clarke

South Carolina

Miss Thelma C. Combo	Allen University Columbia 13
Mrs. Edyth Peterson	Benedict College Columbia
Mrs. Leola L. Gilmore	Claflin College Orangeburg
Miss Elizabeth Newell	Coker College Hartville
Mr. Harris Parker	Columbia College Columbia
Mrs. E. A. Sloan	Erskine College Due West
Miss Roberta Major	Lander College Greenwood
Dr. E. J. Trueblood	Limestone College Gaffney
Mrs. Sarah McDaniels	Morris College Sumter
Prof. J. B. Bedenbaugh	Newberry College Newberry
Mrs. Zvenia Brown	South Carolina State College Orangeburg
Miss Barbara Thompson	University of South Carolina Columbia
Miss Elizabeth Stowe	Winthrop College Rock Hill
Miss Marguerite Chiles	Woman's College Furman University Greenville

Tennessee

Mrs. Mary O. Luter	Bethel College McKenzie
Mr. Wilson Q. Welch	Fisk University Nashville
Miss Eldred Davis	Knoxville College Knoxville 8
Dr. Jewell Phelps	George Peabody College Nashville

Tennessee (cont'd)

Miss Vera McClain	Lane College Jackson
Miss Juanita Williamson	LeMoyne College 807 Walker Avenue Memphis
Miss Lena Saine	Lincoln Memorial University Harrogae
Miss Carolyn Blair	Maryville College Maryville
Mr. Bob Corlew	Middle Tennessee State College Murfreesboro
Miss Doris Deakins	Memphis State College Memphis
Mrs. W. M. Crawford	Morristown N & I College Morristown
Mrs. J. O. Embrey	Southwestern College N. Parkway, East Memphis 12
Mrs. L. B. Watson	Tennessee State University Nashville
Dr. T. J. Farr	Tennessee Polytechnic Institute Cookeville
The Rev. Edward Wing	Tusculum College Greenville
Miss Helen Henderson	University of Tennessee Knoxville
Mr. Jack Nesmith	Vanderbilt University Nashville 4

- -

Virginia

Bridgewater College Bridgewater	Dr. Warren Groff
Mr. Charles H. Flax	Hampton Institute Hampton
Mr. Norman Grover	Hollins College Hollins
Miss Helen Draper	Longwood College Farmville
Mr. Allen Stanger	Lynchburg College Lynchburg

Virginia (cont'd)

Miss Helen Evans	Marion Junior College Marion
Mr. B. W. Partlow	Madison College Harrisonburg
Miss Margaret A. Garrett	Mary Baldwin College Staunton
Miss Naomi Morton	Norfolk Division of Virginia State College 812 Wood Street Norfolk
Mr. R. L. Hilldrup	Mary Washington College Fredericksburg
Miss Frances Johnson	Radford College Radford
Miss Sue Yates	Randolph-Macon Woman's College Lynchburg
Mrs. Ethel Ruppersburger	Shenandoah College Dayton
Mrs. M. E. Souder	Southern Sem. & Jr. College Buena Vista
Miss Bess Ava Guthrie	Sullins College Bristol
Dr. William Mallard	Sweet Briar College Sweet Briar
Mrs. Beulah Reifel	Virginia Intermont College Bristol
Mrs. Joe W. Guthridge	Virginia Polytechnic Institute Blacksburg
The Rev. E. Leonard Terrell	Virginia State College Petersburg
Mrs. Lillian Jordan	Virginia Union University Richmond
Miss Frances Gregory	Westhampton College Richmond

February 15, 1957

Mr. Edward Reed
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Ed:

Not having heard from you further on the showing of "A City Decides," we have proceeded to send out the enclosed memo to key people over the South.

In addition, we sent enclosed a mimeographed notice with each copy of the current issue of New South. This reaches some 5500 potential viewers.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

March 15, 1957

Mr. Edward Reed
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
Sixty East Forty-Second Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Ed:

I have had a letter from Mary Alice Baldinger inquiring about the possibility of getting 200 copies of Integration North and South (free!) for distribution at the forthcoming Civil Liberties Clearing House Conference.

We have enough copies left out of our consignment to supply them, but the Council is not in very good shape to bear this cost. You may feel that the Fund has distributed all the complimentary copies it cares to, but I pass the request along for your consideration.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

April 8, 1957

Mr. Edward Reed
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Ed:

I am glad to know that "A City Decides" is ready for distribution. We will probably want to buy at least one print ourselves, and we will certainly want to make the availability of the film known as widely as we can. So send us a goodly supply of the promotion circular when it is ready.

As for the film on Frederick Douglass, I should think that the best market for it in the South would be Negro organizations and institutions. (Douglass is not a popular figure among white Southerners.) If Contemporary Films hasn't circularized Negro high schools and colleges, they are missing a bet.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:mm

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

April 3, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The film described in the enclosed circular is being handled by the outfit that has taken over distribution of "A City Decides."

As you will see from my pencil scratches to Frank, Contemporary tells me that they have had absolutely no luck whatever in getting this film seen in the South - on either side of the question - and they can't quite figure out why. They say that the film is perfectly good technically and I suppose one must assume that it is; I haven't seen it.

Frank suggests that you might be interested in this bit of information.

For your information otherwise, 16 mm. prints of "A City Decides" will be sold through Contemporary Films at $75 per and rented at the rate of $7.50 per booking. If you can do anything about it, pass on all hopefuls to Contemporary Films. I hope you will be able to do something. I'm preparing a promotion circular and I will send you some copies when it is off the press if you feel you can use them.

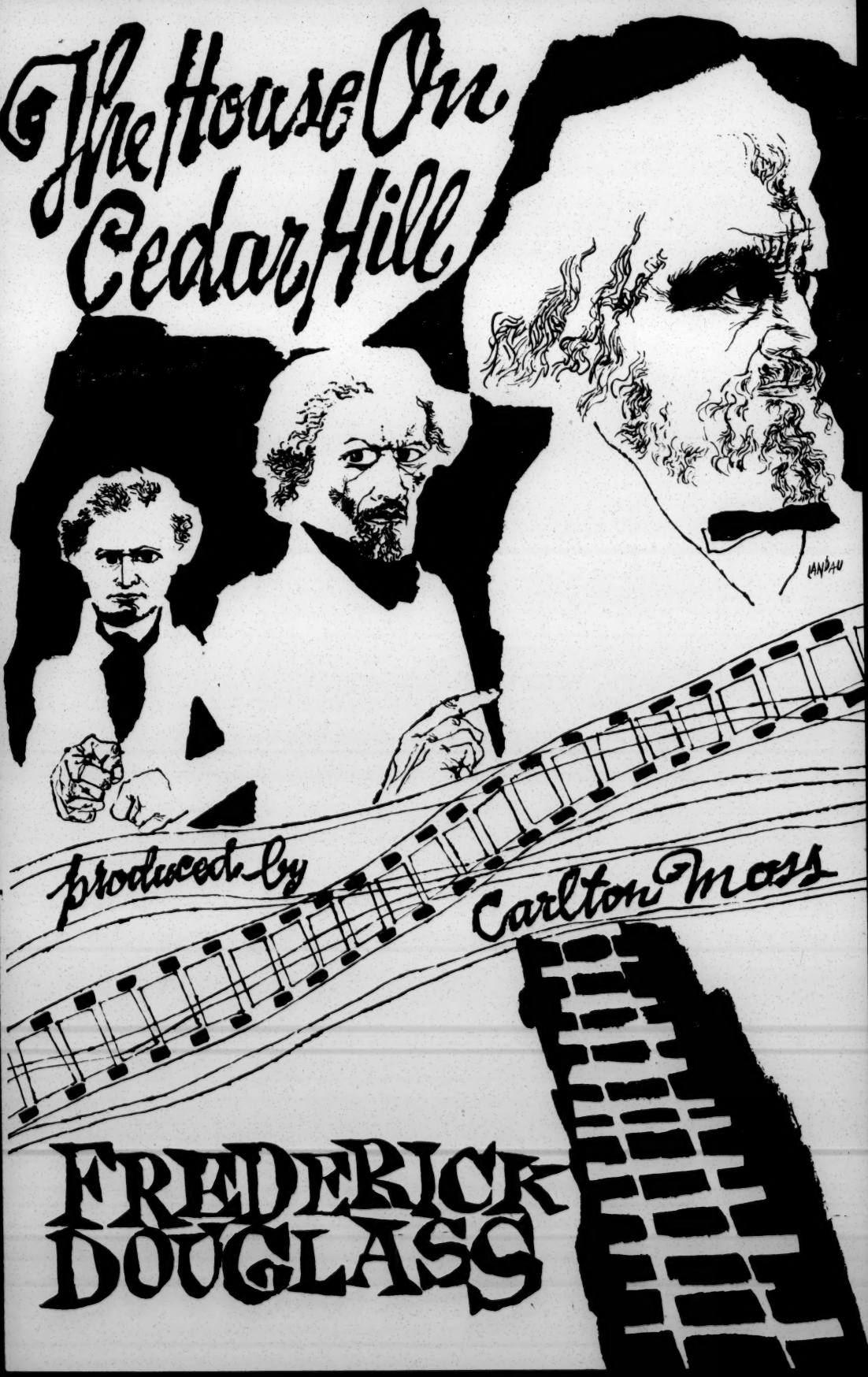
Best, as always.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Reed

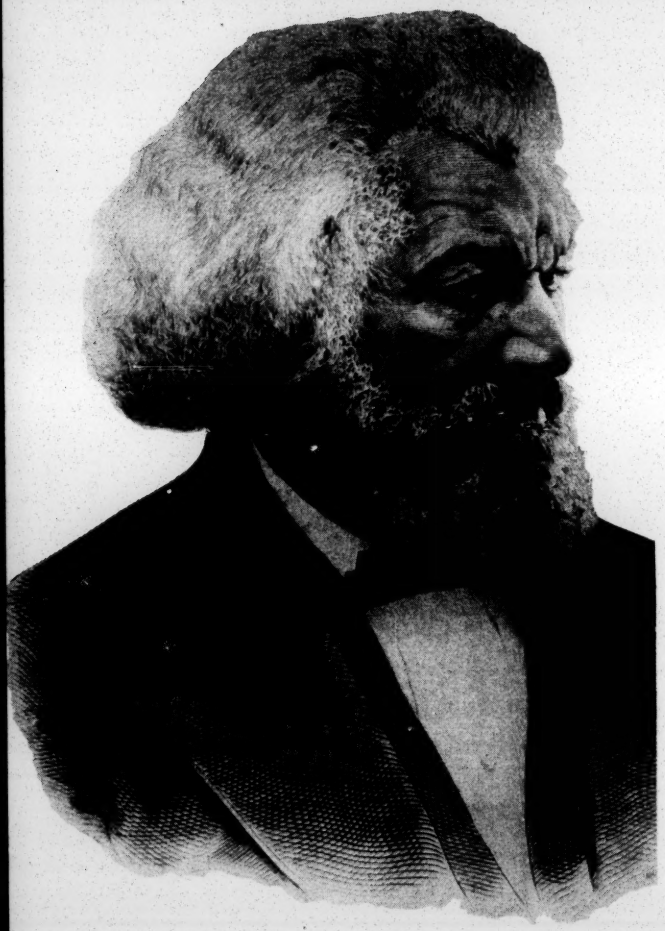
ER:sw
attachment

The House On Cedar Hill



produced by Carlton Moss

FREDERICK DOUGLASS



The House
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Narrated by Jo
Fr
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Choral Music b

Written, produced and di

THE HOUSE ON CEDAR HI
of one of America's epic
dom—Frederick Douglass
in scenes of inspiring dram
as writer, orator, statesm
Negro people. Through the
drawings, this sensitive ar
film vividly penetrates th
our history.

Douglass is seen as both a national and folk hero, deserving of an honored place in the hearts of his countrymen, alongside such names as Lincoln, John Brown, Susan B. Anthony, enlightened voices of liberty with whom he was associated.

This informative film about Douglass relates his dramatic rise from runaway slave to American statesman, author and publisher of interntional repute and authority. We glimpse in it the vital events in American history his leadership directly influenced.

THE HOUSE ON CEDAR HILL

16 mm, Black & White **Running Time - 17 Minutes**

Rental: $6.00 **Sale: $100.00**

The House On Cedar Hill

Narrated by Jacqueline Wood
Frank Silvera
Jeff Corey
Choral Music by Hall Johnson

Written, produced and directed by Carlton Moss

THE HOUSE ON CEDAR HILL is a stirring biography of one of America's epic fighters for human freedom—Frederick Douglass (1817-1895). It portrays in scenes of inspiring drama his great contributions as writer, orator, statesman and leader of the Negro people. Through the use of photographs and drawings, this sensitive and intelligently produced film vividly penetrates the little known areas of our history.

nd folk hero, de-
of his countrymen,
Brown, Susan B.
th whom he was

elates his drama-
statesman, author
nd authority. We
history his leader-

Focusing on the Douglass Memorial Home near Washington, D.C. and the personal mementos of the man, the film moves from "live" sequences to capture his distinctive personality and characteristics through art materials and photographs that survive. A very real dynamic quality is further implemented by the use of a narration drawn from excerpts of his own writings and a musical score that is based upon Negro folksongs.

1

ng Time - 17 Minutes

0

Available exclusively from

CONTEMPORARY FILMS, Inc.

13 East 37th Street **New York 16, N. Y.**

Acclaimed!

8th International Edinburgh World Film Festival

Freedoms Foundation Award Winner

Some Interesting Comments

"Takes an obscure but important element of U. S. History and presents it with dignity, understanding and excellent film treatment. Draws together many important happenings of history (the underground railway, work of Susan B. Anthony, W. L. Garrison, Lincoln's proclamations on slavery, Harper's Ferry incident, etc.) but is a unique and oblique approach to understanding them."

-Cameron Macauley, University of Wisconson

"A very graphic view of the anti-slavery movement."

-Minneapolis Public Library

"An excellent film painting the true story of a great man."

-Bertha Landers Film Review Bulletin

"The film is moving and dramatic. Very good photography. Background material accurate."

-Audio Visual Resource Guide, National Council Churches of Christ

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CONTEMPORARY FILMS, INC.
13 East 37th Street
New York 16, N.Y.

☐ Please send us a new print of THE HOUSE ON CEDAR HILL for purchase, on approval, at $100.00

☐ We wish to rent THE HOUSE ON CEDAR HILL for showing on ..... (alternate date .....) at $6.00 per day.

Name .....

Organization .....

Address .....

City .....Zone .....State .....

June 11, 1957

Mr. Edward Reed
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Ed:

Thanks for sending us the information about the June 16th telecast of "Segregation and the South." I saw the film when George Martin was here not long ago and agree with you that it is an excellent job.

When we learned of the ABC scheduling through George Martin, we immediately sent out notices to our state groups. We will use the information you sent to spread the word further.

All best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

RECEIVED JUN 10 1957

June 7, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

More acceptances of the "Segregation and the South" film for June 16 from southern stations, as follows:

KTEN, Ada, Okla.
WLOS-TV, Asheville, S. C.
WBTV, Charlotte, N. C.
WSUN-TV, St. Petersburg, Fla.

For your general information and for action if any is called for.

Best,

Edward Reed

ER:sw

RECEIVED JUN 10 1957

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

June 6, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

As you have probably heard by now, ABC network will telecast on June 16 the Segregation film put together by George Martin et al. Enclosed is the release sent out by ABC. It contains all the necessary facts. I hope you will do what you can to alert all and sundry. It's an excellent time spot and ABC is apparently really plugging it. If you will put your machinery into operation too, I think we ought to get some good coverage. Incidentally, it's an excellent film.

As of today ABC in New York had a list of 19 stations which have said they would be picking it up. They say that "Open Hearing" has been normally carried by more than 40 stations and they would expect even more stations to carry the film of the 16th. As usual, we will not know all that will or won't. The stations in the South that have already accepted the program are as follows:

WLMA, Atlanta, Ga.
WAAM, Baltimore, Md.
WSVA-TV, Harrisonburg, Va.
WHTN-TV, Huntingdon, W. Va.
WSIX-TV, Nashville, Tenn.
KCMC-TV, Texarkana, Tex.
KTVX, Tulsa, Okla.
WMAL-TV, Washington, D. C.

All the best to you.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Reed

ER:sw
attachment

J
FI

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

RECEIVED JUN 10 1957

June 6, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed please find a booklet, "Children, Together" which is being distributed by the American Jewish Congress.

Please note that page 59 should be of particular interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

Sarah Weinberger

Sarah Weinberger
Secretary to Mr. Reed

attachment

abc NEWS 7 WEST 66TH ST., NEW YORK 23, N.Y.
television network

May 24, 1957

"SEGREGATION AND THE SOUTH," FULL-HOUR DOCUMENTARY,
WILL BE SPECIAL "OPEN HEARING" PRESENTATION JUNE 16

"Segregation and the South," a full-hour documentary film study of progress and reaction in the three years since the Supreme Court ordered integration of the nation's schools, will be shown on ABC Television's "Open Hearing" Sunday, June 16. Because of the length of the film, "Open Hearing" will start one half hour early, at 5 PM, EDT.

The picture, made by the Fund for the Republic, traces the effects of the Court's epochal 1954 school ruling and subsequent integration orders in other fields, through the sometimes peaceful desegregation in "fringe" communities, the rise of White Citizens' Councils and the reborn Ku Klux Klan, the Montgomery, Ala., Bus Boycott, violence and martial law in Clinton, Tenn., and the current stirrings toward interracial cooperation in even Deep South areas.

Key figures of the desegregation struggle featured in the special "Open Hearing" study include the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Sen. Herman Talmadge (D., Ga.), Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Sen. James O. Eastland (D., Miss.), Thurgood Marshall, General Counsel for the NAACP, and John Kasper, leader of violent anti-integration sentiment.

"Segretation and the South" was written and directed by James Peck. Executive producer was George M. Martin, Jr. The producer was Herbert Bernard.

ABC Washington Bureau Chief John Secondari will introduce "Segregation and the South."

The first half hour of the special "Open Hearing" broadcast is in the time now occupied by the "Dean Pike" program. "Dean Pike" ends its season on June 9.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Boswell, Mr. George B.
11 Rue Girardon
Paris 18, France

REGARDING:

Civic Adult Education (info. request for)
(Request sent to FER and passed on to SRC
by Edward Reed)

DATE:

February 14, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

General Correspondence "BO"

September 12, 1958

Mr. Edward Reed
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Ed:

Frank Kelly has written me that we can look forward to 5,000 copies of the transcript of the Mike Wallace-James Dabbs interview. This is good news, indeed, and we're grateful.

We plan to distribute them to a substantial part of our mailing list, plus distribution to some key persons not among our regulars. If you need details of the distribution let me know.

It's good to have business together again!

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

Copy to Mr. Dabbs
Sent 9/22/58

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

September 17, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Five thousand copies of the Dabbs Interview will be going out to you direct from the printer, probably within the next few days.

I can't imagine a more appropriate and useful outlet for this interview - and it was a fine one, perhaps even the best of the bunch.

I hope things are going fine with you.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

ER:sw

Edward Reed

SURVIVAL & FREEDOM

A Mike Wallace

interview with

James McBride Dabbs

Produced by the American Broadcasting Company
in association with

The Fund for the Republic

VIA AIR MAIL

October 16, 1958

Mr. Edward Reed
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Ed:

Irving Brant's article in the Washington Post and Times-Herald is an imaginative and effective job. If you do reprint it, we could make good use of one or two thousand copies.

Thanks for thinking of us and all best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

October 13, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harry:

Did you happen to see this story in the September 14 issue of the Washington Post and Times-Herald? It has been suggested that we buy some reprints for distribution. Is it something that you would find useful to circulate? If so, how many copies could you profitably use? Could you let me know soon?

Best, as always.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Reed

Enclosure

November 5, 1958

Mr. Edward Reed
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Ed:

Many thanks for the reprints of Irving Brant's article, which have arrived. We will probably distribute the largest part of them through the Virginia Council on Human Relations, though we would want to give it distribution in other parts of the South as well.

The very best as always.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED OCT 24 1958

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

Write Pilling

October 21, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

We are ordering reprints of the Irving Brant story from the Washington Post. I have asked the Post to send 2,000 copies directly to you. They will arrive in 8 1/2 x 11 size folded.

I am sure you will put them to good use.

Best as always.

Sincerely yours,

ER

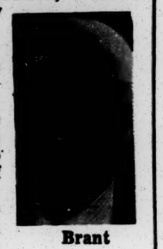
Edward Reed

ER:sw

Virginia Voices of Past Speak on Today's Problems

By Irving Brant

In this imaginary interview between a Virginia Politician and George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, much of what these early statesmen say duplicates their writings, differing in occasional condensations and such incidentals as the change of verbs from present to past tense and of pronouns to their antecedents. All remarks found in their writings are printed in blackface type. In no case is there a deviation from context or alteration of meaning. The positions ascribed to the Virginia Politician are faithful to recent political and editorial utterances in the state. The article is by Irving Brant, American historian and biographer of James Madison.



Brant

VIRGINIA POLITICIAN: Your return to the Old Dominion, gentlemen, is nothing less than an act of Providence. You have heard, I am sure, that the United States Supreme Court, by a ruthless seizure of power in defiance of the Constitution, is attempting to destroy the sovereignty and independence of the independent and sovereign State of Virginia, to consolidate the union of free and independent states into a Federal tyranny and wipe out the liberties of the people.

Jefferson: That is distressing indeed. I uttered many warnings against the Federal judges in my day. They were them, in fact, the corps of sappers and miners, steadily working to undermine the independent rights of the states, and to consolidate all power in the hands of that government in which they had so important a freehold estate. But tell me, what particular liberty is the Supreme Court taking away from Virginia?

V.P.: It is trying to establish equality between whites and Negroes—demanding that Virginia admit Negroes to white schools and state parks.

Jefferson: I hold this truth to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with inherent and inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

V.P. I agree with you completely, Mr. Jefferson, in the sense of those words as you understood them in 1776. But should the Supreme Court give them a different meaning today?

Jefferson: Assuredly not. Self-evident truths have an eternal quality.

V.P.: You agree, then, that since Negroes were held in slavery in 1776—all of you gentlemen, in fact, were slave-owners—you did not declare them to be equal to white men, and the Supreme Court cannot draw upon the Declaration of Independence for its newfangled ideas about life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness?

JEFFERSON: Wait a moment, my dear sir. Read what I said about the slave trade in my original draft of the Declaration: **The King of Great Britain has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither.**

V.P.: Ah, but that was stricken out.

Jefferson: **Severe strictures were disapproved by some Southern gentlemen whose reflections were not yet matured to the full abhorrence of that traffic.**

V.P.: But it conflicted with the prevailing thought of the day.

Jefferson: Eternal principles often have no worse enemy than prevailing thought.

V.P.: You come close to saying that nobody but yourself believed that slaves were included in the declaration of the right to life, liberty and happiness. I doubt that even your friend Mr. Madison would agree with such a view.

MADISON: I remember when my valet Billey ran away in Philadelphia, while I was serving in the Continental Congress. It was customary when runaway slaves were recaptured to ship

tury later their actual condition was better beyond comparison than it was before the Revolution. They were better fed, better clad, better lodged and better treated in every respect.

V.P.: Are you ascribing that to the the establishment of independence?

Madison: One cause was Mr. Jefferson's breaking up of great estates through abolition of entail and primogeniture, but I should set down, first, the sensibility to human rights and sympathy with human sufferings excited and cherished by the discussions preceding the establishment of independence, and the spirit of the institutions growing out of that event.

Washington: After the Revolution I never meant (unless some particular circumstance should compel me to it) to possess another slave by purchase.

V.P.: This is all very interesting, but I'd like to shift to a much more important aspect of the Declaration of Independence—its bearing on the independence and sovereignty of the sovereign and independent State of Virginia. I'm sure you all will agree—you, Gen. Washington, as commander-in-chief of the armies of independence; you Mr. Jefferson, as author of the Declaration, and you, Mr. Madison, as Father of the Constitution—that there was no such thing in 1776 as the United States of America.

Washington, Jefferson and Madison in chorus: What are you saying?

V.P.: Merely what you must be well aware of, that your immortal Declaration of Independence, Mr. Jefferson, did not hail the birth of a sovereign nation. It asserted the existence of 13 independent sovereign states which were combined into a nation by the Constitution of 1787.

Madison: To be sure, that document established a national supremacy which had been lacking before, but what leads you to say that there was no United States of America in 1776?

V.P.: I say so on the authority of Thomas Jefferson.

Jefferson: This is interesting. Please go on.

V.P.: You no doubt will recall, sir, that in the original manuscript of your Declaration of Independence, the mem-

sovereign and independent State of Virginia in which you were born?

MADISON: I was born in a British colony. Do you know anything about Henry Laurens?

V.P.: Who doesn't? The dying hero who cried, "Don't give up the ship."

Madison: That was James Lawrence. Henry Laurens was a South Carolinian, a former President of the Continental Congress, appointed American Minister to Holland but captured at sea and imprisoned in the Tower of London. He petitioned the House of Commons for his release. **This petition was stated as coming not from a citizen of the United States but a native of South Carolina.**

V.P.: Exactly my idea.

Madison: But not mine. **What was this but indirectly relinquishing the claim of independence which we had so solemnly declared and pledged ourselves to maintain at the risk of our lives and fortunes?**

V.P.: Did you say so at the time?

Madison: I did, on the floor of Congress. I said further that such a petition would be **unworthy a private citizen of the United States** but coming from a man commissioned **to represent the sovereignty of these United States** the effect was **to deny the sovereignty of the country he was appointed to represent.**

V.P.: That was fine, high-sounding language, but—

Madison: Exactly what the South Carolina delegates in Congress replied.

V.P.: Ah ha! Trust South Carolina!

Madison: It was true, they said, that Laurens did not call himself a citizen of the free and independent states of America, but what member of Congress would have done better after 14 months of imprisonment, illness, solitude and deprivation?

V.P.: Your language seems to make him a citizen of 13 states.

Madison: Of course. The 13 United States of America.

V.P.: That, gentlemen, clinches my argument. The 13 United States are not the name of a nation.

WASHINGTON: Do you not refer today to the 48 United States?

Jefferson: 49.

V.P.: That is different and I will prove it. Look at the wording of the

due to them as the grand representative body of America.

V.P.: Anyway, when the power was gone it was gone. The Articles of Confederation delegated no authority to compel the states to furnish money.

Madison: Congress had the express power to demand money and the implied power to compel payment.

V.P.: Implied power? Under the Confederation?

MADISON: By Article XIII, **a general and implied power was vested in Congress to enforce all the articles against any of the states that violated any of them.**

V.P.: But, sir, was it not written in

MADISON: **In case of a deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise of powers not granted by the said compact, the states, who are parties thereto, have the right and are in duty bound to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil.**

V.P.: The right to interpose! On that ground, Virginia interposes against the unconstitutional actions of the Supreme Court.

Madison: Do you stand also on my explanatory report a year later, that such declarations by citizens or legislatures, whether affirming or denying the constitutionality of measures of the federal government, cannot be deemed,

Presidency, when the Governor of Pennsylvania used state troops to prevent a Federal marshal from executing a decree of the Supreme Court.

V.P.: What followed?

Madison: I informed him, in conciliatory language, that I was expressly enjoined, by statute, to carry into effect any such decree where opposition may be made to it.

V.P.: Did you overwhelm the state militia with Federal troops?

Madison: That question never arose. The commander of the state troops, and the soldiers who obeyed his orders, all were indicted on a charge presented to the Federal grand jury by Justice Bush-

We therefore the representatives of the United States of America

From Jefferson's rough draft of the Declaration of Independence, page 4. Note that he capitalized "United."

Article II that each state retained its sovereignty and independence and every power not expressly delegated to the United States?

Madison: To be sure. The purpose was to protect the internal police of the states. But every compact includes the implied power to enforce it against violators.

V.P.: And how did you intend to coerce the states?

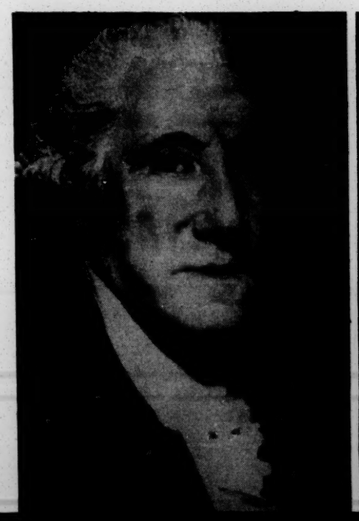
Madison: **Two or three vessels of force employed against their trade would have made it their interest to yield prompt obedience to all just requisitions on them.**

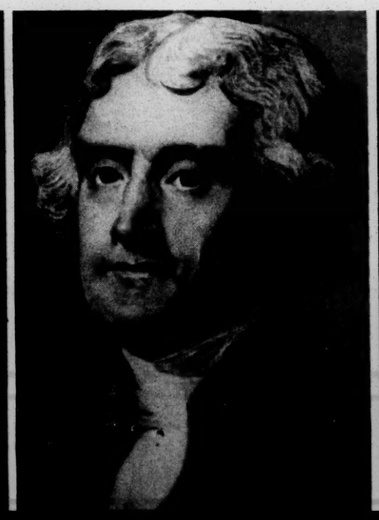
V.P.: You actually asked Congress to assert such a power?

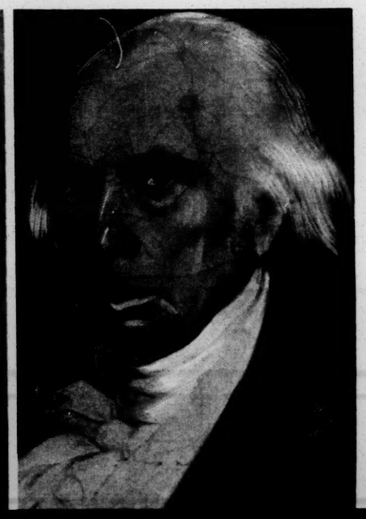
Madison: No. In such a matter I thought it **most consonant to the spirit of a free constitution** to ask for an amendment authorizing Congress **to employ the force of the United States as well by land as by sea.**

V.P.: Did you agree with this proposal, Mr. Jefferson?

Jefferson: I saw no need to amend the Articles. **When any one state in the American Union refused obedience to the Confederation by which they had bound themselves, the rest had a nat-**







in any point of view, an assumption of the office of the judge?

V.P.: Not an assumption of judicial authority, but superior to it.

Madison: **The declarations in such cases are expressions of opinion, unaccompanied with any other effect than what they may produce on opinion by exciting reflection.**

V.P.: That was not Virginia's understanding of it.

Madison: My report, including those words, was formally adopted by the Virginia Legislature in 1800.

V.P. I appeal to Mr. Jefferson. Did you not say in the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 that "every state has a natural right in cases not within the compact, to nullify of their own authority all assumptions of power by others within their limits"?

Jefferson: Of course they have a **natural right** to do so.

Madison: **There is nothing which excludes a natural right in the states individually more than in any portion of an individual state, suffering under palpable and insupportable wrongs, from seeking relief by resistance and revolution.**

rod Washington.

Washington: My nephew.

Madison: They were convicted and sentenced to prison, but I thought that was going too far and pardoned them.

V.P.: Why didn't you prosecute the governor?

Madison: He was a well-intentioned man led astray by bad legal advice.

WASHINGTON: One thing puzzles me in this matter of school integration. It must have required some very smart lawyers to bring about the change in constitutional interpretation. How were the Negroes able to secure white lawyers of high enough caliber to win the cases for them?

V.P: They didn't. The lawyers are Negroes.

Washington, Jefferson and Madison in chorus: What?

V.P.: It's the work of the NAACP—the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. They've built up a corps of Negro lawyers all over the South—all-fired clever ones—and brought in more from the North.

Jefferson: Amazing! So it was slavery, and not race, after all, that gave me the suspicion of inherent inferiority in the blacks.

V.P.: They are inferior, though I will say that the colored people have made remarkable progress. But why should they try to push into white schools when they have their own high schools, colleges and universities? Northern colleges are open to them, anyway.

Jefferson: If they can qualify intellectually and morally for Northern colleges, what reason is there for excluding them from the University of Virginia?

V.P.: They've been going there for eight years, thanks to the Supreme Court. But that's the limit. If Virginia is forced to integrate the public schools, we will close the schools.

JEFFERSON: Do you know what you are saying?

V.P.: The law to close them is on the statute books.

Jefferson: Oh, Virginia, Virginia! I proposed the public school system in 1779 and it had not been established when I died. What a dream I had! **Enlighten the people generally and tyranny and oppressions of body and mind**

Jefferson: Assuredly not. Self-evident truths have an eternal quality.

V.P.: You agree, then, that since Negroes were held in slavery in 1776—all of you gentlemen, in fact, were slave-owners—you did not declare them to be equal to white men, and the Supreme Court cannot draw upon the Declaration of Independence for its newfangled ideas about life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness?

JEFFERSON: Wait a moment, my dear sir. Read what I said about the slave trade in my original draft of the Declaration: **The King of Great Britain has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither.**

V.P.: Ah, but that was stricken out.

Jefferson: **Severe strictures were disapproved by some Southern gentlemen whose reflections were not yet matured to the full abhorrence of that traffic.**

V.P.: But it conflicted with the prevailing thought of the day.

Jefferson: Eternal principles often have no worse enemy than prevailing thought.

V.P.: You come close to saying that nobody but yourself believed that slaves were included in the declaration of the right to life, liberty and happiness. I doubt that even your friend Mr. Madison would agree with such a view.

MADISON: I remember when my valet Billey ran away in Philadelphia, while I was serving in the Continental Congress. It was customary when runaway slaves were recaptured to ship them to the West Indies. **I could not think of punishing him by transportation merely for coveting that liberty for which we had paid the price of so much blood, and had proclaimed so often to be the right and worthy the pursuit of every human being.**

V.P.: What did you do with him?

Madison.: I disposed of him as an indentured servant and rehired him as my valet. Poor fellow! I had to notify his parents, after he gained full freedom, that he was swept from a ship at sea and drowned.

V.P.: But you gentlemen were merely reacting to the obvious horrors of the slave trade. The fact remains that when the principles of American government were established and human rights were defined, slaves were regarded as property, not as men.

Jefferson: I refer you again to the first draft of the Declaration of Independence. I called them men and spelled it in capital letters, M-E-N.

V.P.: They were men when British traders stole them from their homes. What were they to you and other slave-owners?

Jefferson: **Our suffering brethren. I sincerely prayed that all the members of the human family might, in the time prescribed by the Father of us all, find themselves securely established in the enjoyment of life, liberty and happiness.**

V.P.: And what if it takes another century and a half to come around to these modern ideas of liberty and happiness?

Jefferson: **I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just.**

V.P.: Gen. Washington, did you regard your slaves as property?

WASHINGTON: **A certain species of property which I possessed, very repugnantly to my wishes. There was not a man living who wished more sincerely than I did, to see a plan adopted for the abolition of slavery.**

V.P.: But your slaves were property. You paid taxes on them as you did on cattle.

Washington: They were men and women. **It was as much against my inclination as it could be against yours, to hurt the feelings of those unhappy people by a separation of man and wife, or of families.**

V.P.: Mr. Madison, you wrote that protection of property rights was the strongest motive in politics. How did you look upon your slaves?

Madison: I regarded them as members of the family.

V.P.: Did you call them that?

Madison: Certainly. I recall writing once to my father: **The family have been pretty well since you left us except Anthony.**

V.P.: I have read that letter in your collected writings. There is an editor's footnote saying: "His brother Anthony."

Madison: I had no brother Anthony.

V.P.: **If black men were really encompassed in the theoretical principles of American independence, why did the establishment of it have no effect on their situation in Virginia?**

Madison: Oh, but it did. **A half century and cherished by the discussions preceding the establishment of independence, and the spirit of the institutions growing out of that event.**

Washington: After the Revolution **I never meant (unless some particular circumstance should compel me to it) to possess another slave by purchase.**

V.P.: This is all very interesting, but I'd like to shift to a much more important aspect of the Declaration of Independence—its bearing on the independence and sovereignty of the sovereign and independent State of Virginia. I'm sure you all will agree—you, Gen. Washington, as commander-in-chief of the armies of independence; you Mr. Jefferson, as author of the Declaration, and you, Mr. Madison, as Father of the Constitution—that there was no such thing in 1776 as the United States of America.

Washington, Jefferson and Madison in chorus: What are you saying?

V.P.: Merely what you must be well aware of, that your immortal Declaration of Independence, Mr. Jefferson, did not hail the birth of a sovereign nation. It asserted the existence of 13 independent sovereign states which were combined into a nation by the Constitution of 1787.

Madison: To be sure, that document established a national supremacy which had been lacking before, but what leads you to say that there was no United States of America in 1776?

V.P.: I say so on the authority of Thomas Jefferson.

Jefferson: This is interesting. Please go on.

V.P.: You no doubt will recall, sir, that in the original manuscript of your Declaration of Independence, the members of Congress are termed "representatives of the united States of America." The word "united," as it appears there in your own handwriting, is a descriptive adjective, not part of a proper noun.

Jefferson: Preposterous! The image of that sentence is as clearly before me as if I held the paper in my hand. Give me a pen and I will duplicate it without deviating by the breadth of a microscopic hair. Look! Did I not write **the United States of America?**

V.P.: I am sorry, sir. I was relying on the Richmond News-Leader of July 4, 1958. But read the rest of your own paragraph, Mr. Jefferson. You declared that "as free and independent states, they"—note the plural—"had full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do." Was it not in your mind that Virginia, or Massachusetts, had the sovereign power of making treaties?

Jefferson: The same thing was in my mind that I caused to be placed in my instructions as minister to France: **That these United States be considered in all such treaties and in every case arising under them as one Nation, upon the principles of the Federal Constitution.**

V.P.: But there was no Federal Constitution at that time.

Jefferson: We thought there was—the Articles of Confederation.

V.P.: Gen. Washington, you surely do not agree with this. How were the states regarded in other countries during the Revolution?

WASHINGTON: **We were known by no other character among nations than as the United States. Massachusetts or Virginia was no better defined nor any more thought of by foreign powers than the county of Worcester in Massachusetts was by Virginia, or Gloucester county in Virginia was by Massachusetts.**

V.P.: Do you mean, sir, that nobody agreed with the interpretation I have made?

Washington: On the contrary, there were very distinguished supporters of your contention both in Europe and America.

V.P.: I thought so. Who were they?

Washington: The most distinguished was King George III, who issued a proclamation decrying "the present rebellion within the said colonies respectively." On this side of the ocean, the British commander-in-chief addressed a letter "to George Washington, Esquire." **I deemed it a duty to my country and my appointment** to send it back unopened. Lord Howe thereafter addressed me as "Gen. Washington, etc. etc. etc.," explaining that the ampersands were intended to indicate my position in the Army of the United States.

V.P.: Ah, but that concerned your military leadership of combined forces. Mr. Madison, did you as a civilian regard yourself during the Revolution as **a citizen of the United States or of the** America, but what member of Congress would have done better after 14 months of imprisonment, illness, solitude and deprivation?

V.P.: Your language seems to make him a citizen of 13 states.

Madison: Of course. The 13 United States of America.

V.P.: That, gentlemen, clinches my argument. The 13 United States are not the name of a nation.

WASHINGTON: Do you not refer today to the 48 United States?

Jefferson: 49.

V.P.: That is different and I will prove it. Look at the wording of the 1783 peace treaty with England and what do you find? It is declared to be a treaty entered into by the United States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and so on, right down to and beyond the independent and sovereign State of Virginia. How do you explain that if we were one nation?

Madison: My dear fellow, how else could our commissioners combat the doctrine of *uti possidetis*?

V.P.: Uti—you think that entered into it?

Madison: Think it! Why, Georgia and South Carolina were in a panic over it after the battle of Camden, when they heard that Catherine of Russia proposed American independence on that basis.

V.P.: What is the doctrine, exactly?

Jefferson: It means that each side keeps the territory that is in its possession.

Washington: Failure to name the states might have cost us parts of Georgia, South Carolina, New York, Maine and the Northwest Territory.

Madison: Congress met the danger, right at the outset, by giving notice of **the utter impracticability of our acceding to any treaty of peace on the principles of a *uti possidetis*, or on any other terms than an express or tacit acknowledgment of the sovereignty of each and every part of the 13 states. We authorized the signing of treaties consistent with the dignity and sovereignty of the United States as a free and independent nation.**

V.P.: Admitting all this, what power did the Continental Congress have at that time? What power did it ever have, except to beg from the states?

Madison: You take no account of the depreciation of the Continental currency between 1775 and 1780. When I entered Congress in 1780, **it was to be observed that the situation of Congress had undergone a total change from what it originally was. Whilst they exercised the indefinite power of emitting money, they had the whole wealth and resources of the continent within their command, and could go on with their affairs independently and as they pleased. After the resolution passed for shutting the [money] press, this power was entirely given up, and they became as dependent on the states as the King of England was on Parliament.**

V.P.: Why, sir, you squarely reverse the trend of national development. Did anybody else discover this splintering of central authority?

Washington: **I saw one head gradually turning into 13. I saw the powers of Congress declining too fast for the consequence and respect which were** yield prompt obedience to all your requisitions on them.

V.P.: You actually asked Congress to assert such a power?

Madison: No. In such a matter I thought it **most consonant to the spirit of a free constitution** to ask for an amendment authorizing Congress **to employ the force of the United States as well by land as by sea.**

V.P.: Did you agree with this proposal, Mr. Jefferson?

Jefferson: I saw no need to amend the Articles. **When any one state in the American Union refused obedience to the Confederation by which they had bound themselves, the rest had a natural right to compel them to obedience. Congress, if the case ultimately required it, would probably coerce by a naval force, as being more easy, less dangerous to liberty, and less likely to produce much bloodshed.**

V.P.: I am glad, Mr. Madison, that you did not advance such ideas in the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

Madison: There was no need to do so under the plan proposed by Virginia and approved by the Convention: **That a national government ought to be established consisting of a supreme legislative, executive and judiciary.**

V.P.: You wrote the Tenth Amendment, saying that the powers not delegated to the United States are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people. How does that leave any room for implied powers?

MADISON: It does so by not using the term "expressly delegated." **It was impossible to confine a government to the exercise of express powers; there must necessarily be admitted powers by implication, unless the Constitution descended to recount every minutia.**

V.P.: Was that discussed in Congress?

Madison: To be sure. Two attempts were made to insert the word "expressly" but both motions were defeated.

V.P.: Granting that, where does the Supreme Court get implied power to put Negroes and whites into the same schools? The Constitution says not one word about education.

Madison: I agree with you on that. What does the Court cite as the source of power?

V.P.: The Fourteenth Amendment—the clause saying that no state shall deny to any person the equal protection of the laws.

Madison: Then it is not a question of express or implied power over education. The question is whether Negroes—I assume you don't mean whites—are denied equal protection of the laws by compulsory segregation in public schools, public parks, transportation systems, and so on.

V.P.: We deny that the Supreme Court has any authority to deal with segregation in any field. In particular, we deny its right to change the decision it made more than half a century ago, that separate but equal schools are not a denial of equal protection of laws.

JEFFERSON: Are the schools equal?

V.P.: I do not say that they are.

Madison: If the Court has no right to make any decision whatever, how can you approve the one about separate but equal schools?

V.P.: We don't. We just accept it to escape something worse.

Madison: If the separate-but-equal decision became unchangeable after 50 years, how soon should the latest decision become unchangeable?

V.P.: Not in a thousand years. A wrong decision can always be reversed.

Madison: But who is to decide whether it is right or wrong?

V.P.: **The sovereign and independent State of Virginia—on your say-so, and Mr. Jefferson's. Have you forgotten, Mr. Madison, what you wrote in the Virginia Resolutions of 1798 against the Alien and Sedition Acts?**

V.P. I appeal to Mr. Jefferson. Did you not say in the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 that "every state has a natural right in cases not within the compact, to nullify of their own authority all assumptions of power by others within their limits"?

Jefferson: Of course they have **a natural right** to do so.

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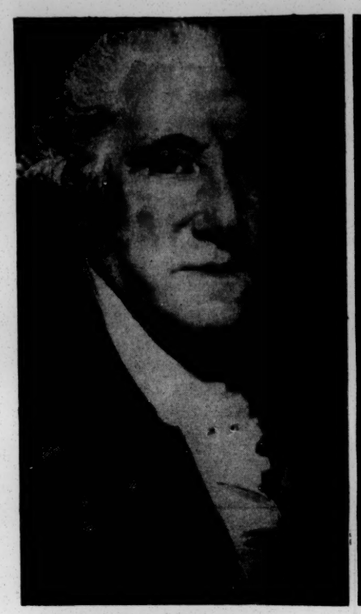
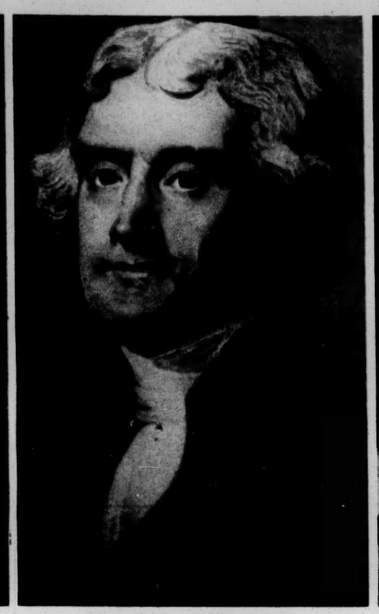


GEORGE WASHINGTON
". . . those unhappy people"



THOMAS JEFFERSON
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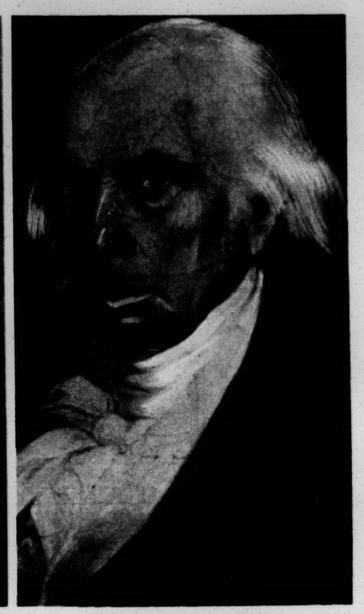

JAMES MADISON
". . . a farce or a tragedy"

Jefferson: Recall my earlier statement that Congress had **a natural right** to coerce any state that violated the Articles of Confederation.

Madison: History is repeating itself. In the 1830s, **it was remarkable how closely the nullifiers who made the name of Mr. Jefferson the pedestal for their colossal heresy, shut their eyes and lips whenever his authority was ever so clearly and emphatically against them.**

V.P.: We don't assert the power of a state to nullify Federal law. We simply deny, in all these school cases, the supremacy of the judicial power of the United States.

Madison: Those who make that distinction do not realize **the utter inefficiency of a supremacy in a law of the land, without a supremacy in the exposition and execution of the law.**

V.P.: But in the case of school integration there is no Federal law to execute. The Supreme Court assumes the right to interpret and enforce the Fourteenth Amendment without any supporting legislation. Here, read the final paragraph of that amendment: "The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article." Congress has not done so.

Jefferson: I observe a similar provision in the Thirteenth Amendment. Do you contend that if a Negro should be reduced to slavery in the United States, the Federal courts could not set him free without an act of Congress?

V.P.: There are laws based on that amendment.

Jefferson: Could Congress reestablish slavery by repealing them?

V.P.: You can't enforce Supreme Court decrees with bayonets.

Madison: They cannot be nullified by bayonets, or by mobs, if the President performs his duty.

V.P.: You mean the man now in the White House?

Madison: I was thinking of my own the Negroes able to secure white lawyers of high enough caliber to win the cases for them?

V.P: They didn't. The lawyers are Negroes.

Washington, Jefferson and Madison in chorus: What?

V.P.: It's the work of the NAACP—the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. They've built up a corps of Negro lawyers all over the South—all-fired clever ones—and brought in more from the North.

Jefferson: Amazing! So it was slavery, and not race, after all, that gave me the suspicion of inherent inferiority in the blacks.

V.P.: They are inferior, though I will say that the colored people have made remarkable progress. But why should they try to push into white schools when they have their own high schools, colleges and universities? Northern colleges are open to them, anyway.

Jefferson: If they can qualify intellectually and morally for Northern colleges, what reason is there for excluding them from the University of Virginia?

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JEFFERSON: Do you know what you are saying?

V.P.: The law to close them is on the statute books.

Jefferson: Oh, Virginia, Virginia! I proposed the public school system in 1779 and it had not been established when I died. What a dream I had! **Enlighten the people generally and tyranny and oppressions of body and mind will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day.**

V.P.: If we are forced to reopen them to both races, they'll get no more state money.

Madison: **Liberal appropriations for a general system of education cannot be too much applauded. A popular government, without popular information, or the means of acquiring it, is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy; or, perhaps both.**

V.P.: Popular governments are less important than popular governors.

Jefferson: The most popular float with the shifting tides.

Madison: Nearly 150 years ago I advocated that as Negro slaves were freed they should be helped to return to Africa on account of **existing and probably unalterable prejudices in the United States.** Otherwise, **under the degrading privation of equal rights political or social, they must always be dissatisfied with their condition as another form of oppression.** My effort failed and five generations have fixed the roots of the colored population as deeply in American soil as those of the whites. In these last few minutes, I have learned of a greater change than I could have dreamed of. I see the colored people dissatisfied with conditions which the freedmen of my day would have regarded as paradise.

V.P.: The more they get, the more they want.

Madison: The more they deserve, the more they will get, not merely by deserving but by winning it for themselves. That, I think, is what underlies the Supreme Court's altered definition of equal rights, and that is why, in spite of pain and trouble, partly inescapable, partly needless, the change will go on.

Washington: Sir, do you know why the Marquis de Lafayette fought for American liberty? Out of the same feeling for humanity that made him buy an estate in French Guiana in order to emancipate the slaves on it. **Would to God,** I wrote to him, **a like spirit would suffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country.** I still do not see that spirit, but my old despair is gone.

Jefferson: The struggle today is between those who fear tomorrow and those who welcome it. When it comes, it will be found that there are soil and sunlight enough for all.

Christian king of Great Britain determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought & sold he has prostituted his negative

From Jefferson's rough draft of the Declaration of Independence, page 3, wherein he referred to slaves as MEN.

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Savannah State College (YMCA) Savannah, Ga.	Eugene L. Isaac
University of Georgia (UGRA) Athens, Ga.	Rev. Robert Ayers, Chaplain
Emory University (SCA) Emory University, Ga.	Rev. Sam Laird, Director Box 399
Berea College (YMCA) Berea, Ky.	Joseph Peacock
Transylvania College (SCA) Lexington, Ky.	Dr. Irvin E. Lunger
University of Kentucky (YMCA) Lexington, Ky.	Bart M. Peek General Delivery
Louisiana State University (YMCA) Baton Rouge 3, La.	Hollis Hayward General Delivery
Southern University (YMCA) Baton Rouge, La.	Dean Edwin A. Kennedy Box 9909
Dillard University (SCA) New Orleans, La.	Sam Gandy, Dean of Chapel
Alcorn A & M (YMCA) Alcorn, Miss.	Mr. W. T. Peters
Jackson College (YMCA) Jackson, Miss.	Chaplain A. L. Rice
Miss. State College (YMCA) State College, Miss.	Ed. Rider, Box 1515
Perkinston Junior (YMCA) Perkinston, Miss.	Winfred L. Moffett
Tougaloo College (YMCA) Tougaloo, Miss.	John D. Mangram
Atlantaic Christian Coll. (SCA) Wilson, N. C.	Prof. Vera Rogers

COLLEGE	STAFF OR FACULTY ADVISOR
A & T College (YMCA) Greensboro, N. C.	Jimmy Barber
Catawba College (YMCA) Salisbury, N. C.	David Sessoms
Davidson College (YMCA) Davidson, N. C.	Dr. George Staples General Delivery
Duke University (YMCA) Durham, N. C.	Rev. Harvey Floyd
East Carolina College (YMCA) Greenville, N. C.	Dr. Jim Bennett
Guilford College (SCA) Guilford, N. C.	Dr. Fredrick R. Crownfield
Johnson C. Smith Univ. (SCA) Charlotte, N. C.	Dr. A. C. Steele
N. C. State College (YMCA) Raleigh, N. C.	Oscar B. Wooldridge, Jr. General Secretary
Shaw University (SCA) Raleigh, N. C.	Moses N. DeLaney
University of N. C. (YMCA) Chapel Hill, N. C.	Claude C. Shotts General Secretary
Clemson College (YMCA) Columbia, S. C.	P. B. Holtzendorff, Jr. General Secretary
University of S. C. (YMCA) Columbia, S. C.	Theodora Ledeen General Secretary
Fisk University (SCA) Nashville, Tenn.	Dr. William L. Imes
Knoxville College (YMCA) Knoxville, Tenn.	Rev. Chas. E. Morton
Maryville College (YMCA) Maryville, Tenn.	Prof. A. S. Bushing
Morristown College (YMCA) Morristown, Tenn.	Dr. Ralph D. Minard

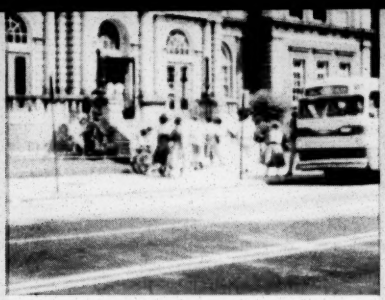
COLLEGE	STAFF OR FACULTY ADVISOR
Peabody College (SCA) Nashville, Tenn.	Dean Ida Long Rogers
Tenn. A & I University (SCA) Nashville, Tenn.	Mrs. Lena B. Watson
Vanderbilt University (SCA) Nashville, Tenn.	Rev. James Nesmith Director
Bridgewater College (SCA) Bridgewater, Va.	Warren F. Groff
Hampton Institute (SCA) Hamtpn, Va.	Mr. Charles Flex Director
Lynchburg College (SCA) Lynchburg, Va.	Mr. Allan B. Stanger
University of Virginia (YMCA) Charlottesville, Va.	Daniel L. Gibbes, Jr. General Secretary
Virginia Polytechnic Inst. (YMCA) Blacksburg, Va.	Mr. Paul N. Derring General Secretary
Virginia State College (SCA) Petersburg, Va.	Rev. Leonard Terrell Director
Va. Union University (SCA) Richmond, Va.	Rev. Ted Jones

.....

In addition:

Vernon Bodein, Chaplain	Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.
Warren Ashley "	Greensboro - WCUNC
Sam Williams "	[illegible]
Roy Chamberlin "	Talladega
Jim Hudson "	Fla. A & M
Ed Hartz "	FSU
Martin Harvey "	So. U.
Ed. Burrus	Guilford
Sam Spence Dean	Davidson
Lawrence Burbaker Chaplain	Un. of S. C.
Wilson Welch	Fisk
Richard Gilwick "	W & M

(about 7 more chaplains at A. V. Conference whose names we will get later).



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MR. HAROLD FLEMING 1
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

October 21, 1955

Mr. Benjamin Segal
Trade Union Consultant
1631 "K" Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Ben:

Sorry about the planes.

Last July when Joe Mire was here with his Inter-University outfit for some Southwide conference, I told the whole bunch that the Summer of 1955 was the last one in which I could carry alone the load of educating the Southern labor movement on matters of civil rights. I gave one week last Summer each to a workers' education gathering at Fayetteville, Arkansas, Charlottesville, Virginia, Blue Ridge, North Carolina, Junaluska, North Carolina, Lexington Kentucky, Flagstaff, Arizona, and a scattering few of one-day stands in between. I thought it was worth it in almost any sacrifice in that particular Summer. But it is too big a hole out of other things for me.

The man who could take over the job is Emory Via. I assume that you know him or could find out all about him quickly. Adequately Southern, and possesses the techniques of workers education. It would cost about $15,000 to pay Emory a Quaker salary, pay his travel, pay a secretary, and pay a little for rent and supplies and communications, etc.

It would be well if you would explore the matter with John Connors and George Guernsey. If each of those men were to some degree committed ahead of time to use whomever were put on, then all would proceed smoothly. You would want, in addition, to talk with Staunton Smith at Chattanooga because he has the heaviest say-so on the Southern labor schools, A.F. of L.

I don't know exactly what Emory is doing in Chicago, but I think he is on somebody's fellowship for a year or so and is pushing a degree.

If you were going to pick up this job next Summer, he ought to come on to the job full-time no later than May 1st, and he ought to make a run to Chattanooga, Atlanta, and Washington in January or February to line up his Summer use of himself.

If you think well of this and will make it move ahead, I will be delighted. I think you will find that you will be offered friendly cooperation by George Guernsey and John Connors.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

P.S. I am off tonight, for instance, for a one-day stand in Miami to educate the A. F. of L. Central labor union around there on just these matters. Glad to do it, but somebody else ought to be available to do it.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

OCT 21 1955

IN REPLY REFER TO:
BENJAMIN SEGAL
TRADE UNION CONSULTANT
1631 K STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6. D. C.
STERLING 3-2194

October 20, 1955

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council

Dear Papa George:

Your optimism was unfounded---I just can't get any plane to Atlanta tomorrow--seems everybody else wants to go to Atlanta--but to add to the problems they can't get me space to Houston so I'd better give up.

I wanted to talk to you about what you thought could be done to work with unions on civil rights issues in the south. Do you think if the Fund for the Republic finances it that you would be interested in having someone on your staff who would work with the trade unions? Would that be feasible?

Are you scheduled to come up to Washington, D.C. anytime soon?

Send my love to your family. I'm really sorry that I couldn't work it out sooner so that I could have come to Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Ben

Ben Segal

C
O
P
Y

October 25, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

I hope all is going well with you. The UAW-CIO in Detroit is involved in quite a controversy with the Detroit press and the conservatives on "who is running the Detroit schools." In this connection they are very interested in getting any material and information on Dr. Benson, president of Harding College. Could you be of some help on this? They are especially interested in any material and information on this Dr. Benson and Harding College since 1950.

I would appreciate hearing from you on this. This is for a very good cause and it will be well used.

Thanks very much for your assistance.

Best wishes and kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Ben Segal

Ben Segal

ys

7 for R-
Segal

November 25, 1955

Mr. Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant
1631 K Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Ben:

Please forgive this delay in answering your last letter concerning the Citizens Councils. It wasn't sheer neglect. I've been trying desperately -- in between attacks on SRC by Georgia's attorney general and the Hearst press -- to finish an article on the resistance movements for THE ANNALS. It is at last finished, and I have sent my lone carbon to Frank Loescher, who has promised to have a copy sent to you as soon as he can get it reproduced next week.

The tie-up between the WCC and the Right to Work push is mainly a matter of interlocking directorates. The leadership of the WCC and its related movements is of the same stripe as the old Dixiecrat movement. Their new overall organization, the Federation for Constitutional Government, was inspired by Sen. Eastland's call for "a people's organization to fight the Court, to fight the C.I.O., to fight the N.A.A.C.P., etc." (this quote appears in the prospectus). I'm attaching a list of the executive committee and sponsors, some of whom you will recognize as prominent anti-union spokesmen.

This kind of guilt by association is the only way I know of, at the moment, by which the WCC and the Right to Work efforts can be linked. As the WCC gets more political, the identification should become even clearer. What is lacking is a rundown, state by state, of the role played by WCC leaders with respect to Right to Work and other anti-labor measures; this could be easily supplied, I should think, by union leadership in the several states. Also, as you probably know, the F. for R. is contemplating a confidential field study of the WCC; if that goes through, it could also serve to document the anti-labor angle. Meanwhile, if I come across any useful information along these lines, I will send it to you.

Regards,

Harold C. Fleming

FRC
Please transcribe
first part of the
letter in Correspondence
Ben Segal

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

IN REPLY REFER TO:
BENJAMIN SEGAL
TRADE UNION CONSULTANT
1631 K STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
STERLING 3-2194

November 10, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Asst. Director for Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your note on Harding College. I need yourhelp on another matter. I need all the information that you have on the White Citizens Councils. I also need any information or material which shows the tie-up between the White Citizens Councils and the"Right-to-Work Groups"--or anti-union groups.

The unions respond to any proof of the tie-up between the Right to Work groups and the Citizens Councils. I don't mind saying that I have no hesitancy in getting them to go more re; the Citizens Councils by using their existing concern with the Right to Work Laws.

Your assistance will be more than appreciated. Best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Ben

Ben Segal

F. for R. file

Come on In, Shooting's Fine!

Right-Wing B-B Guns Aim At Fund for the Republic

Special to Labor's Daily

NEW YORK — The favorite indoor sport of the day among the right-wing extremist groups and individuals like William Buckley, Jr., editor of the reactionary National Review, is attacking the Fund for the Republic.

A hate sheet called "Closer Up" attacks the Fund for the Republic, for example, by starting out with:

"Dear American:

"Who will not buy a Ford and help build a Soviet America?"

It then goes on to blast the Fund as being Communistic and undermining the security of the country.

What is the significance of this gobbledygook? It's merely an attempt to link Ford with "Communism" because the Fund for the Republic has ties with the Ford Foundation.

As the chairman of the board of the Fund for the Republic, Paul G. Hoffman, president of the Studebaker-Packard Corp., pointed out, "Everyone who has examined the record of the Fund agrees that it has made important contributions toward:

1—"The acquiring of the knowledge which will enable us better to combat the Communist menace;

2—"Promoting understanding of the vital role which civil liberties play in our country;

3—"Making the reality out of the 'equality of opportunity' through its studies in the area of racial relations."

The board and the officers of the Fund have consistently pointed out their opposition to and the dangers of Communism and the Communist conspiracy. In fact, the largest single grant made by the Fund was for a study on the "inmpact of Communism in American life," which is headed by Prof. Clinton Rossitter and by a group of notable anti-Communist scholars including Daniel Bell, labor editor of Fortune Magazine; Nathan Glazer and Moshe Dector.

Critics of the fund conveniently fail to mention that the largest grants of the fund have been made in the field of race relations. Over $300,000 has been given to the most effective of the organizations operating exclusively in the South and supported by AFL and CIO unions. A grant of $50,000 was made to the Freedom Fund of the NAACP. A commission of leading citizens has been set up to do a major study of discrimination against minority groups in the field of housing. Grants also have been made to various church groups in the same field.

The recent improvements in the loyalty and security program procedures can be directly traced to the two major studies made under the auspices of the Fund for the Republic:

1—Rowland Watts' report on the treatment of draftees suspected of improper associations when very young, and

2—The widely publicized Adam Yarmolinsky report on security procedures in government.

Of direct interest to the trade unions is a number of grants made to trade unionists, including the grant made to Ernesto Galarza, research director of the National Agricultural Workers Union for a study of the Mexican national problem in California and Texas.

Civil Rights Conferences

The trade union consultant of the Fund, Ben Segal, has devoted his major efforts to helping the educational activities of the unions in the field of civil liberties and civil rights. The first two, in a planned series of major conferences on "security programs in industry" was held in Washington, D. C., and Los Angeles.

These conferences which were organized by the trade union consultant had the beneficial effect of publicizing some of the injustices of the industrial personnel security program.

No fund or foundation or organization is perfect. The fund has made its share of mistakes. But at the same time it has made a definite contribution to making the public aware of the Bill of Rights and the importance of maintaining our civil liberties. The attacks on the fund are, in the main, attacks on civil liberties and are made by people who would sacrifice our cherished democratic values in the fight against communism.

The Fund for the Republic and Political Propaganda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 14, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, in recent days there has been evidence of a renewed attack on philanthropic institutions such as the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Fund for the Republic. The purpose of these attacks seems to be twofold: To destroy public confidence in these organizations and to set the stage for an attack on certain tax benefits which such organizations enjoy. These groups are accused of advocating "communistic or socialistic" ideas and practices and of attempting to subvert "the American way of life." I for one feel these accusations to be grossly unfair and untrue. It seems evident to me that these foundations have been supporting some of the most worthwhile projects being undertaken in America today. All Members of Congress recently received the annual report of the Ford Foundation. If one takes the trouble merely to read over the table of contents in this volume it becomes obvious how many and how varied these undertakings are. It is also evident that the activities presented in brief form in the report are of a most worthwhile character and when completed will do much to increase our understanding of both ourselves and of other nations.

One of the most recent attacks has been on the Fund for the Republic. This organization has been engaged in studies concerned most especially with the status of civil liberties in the United States today. It has recently issued a study entitled "Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties." This book is but one example of the high caliber of the work being done by the fund. Surely such work should be given every encouragement and not subjected to backdoor sniping, for if we are to fight communism effectively and at the same time preserve the liberties of which America is so justly proud, we must have as many facts as possible at our disposal. I recommend that my colleagues take time to study this volume both for the purpose of understanding the subject matter contained therein and to realize the type of worthwhile material being presented by our philanthropic foundations. In connection with the accusations being made against the Fund for the Republic, I commend to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in Labor's Daily on June 16, 1955. That the charge of communism being made against the fund is patently ridiculous, is made clear in this article. The fund, as such, takes no stand on any issue but merely is interested in a presentation of the facts. It relies on men of great competency in preparing its studies. For example, among the men making or helping in the sudies is Daniel Bell, labor

(OVER)

editor of Fortune, John Cogley, editor of the Catholic magazine Commonweal, and Clinton Rossiter of the department of government of Cornell University. Included on the board of directors of the fund are such men as Robert M. Hutchins, Paul Hoffman, Chester Bowles, Erwin N. Griswold, Elmo Roper, and James D. Zellerbach. Certainly these men cannot be accused of the taint of communism, nor of having anything but the best interests of the United States in mind when they agreed to become associated with the Fund for the Republic.

The article follows:

FUND FOR REPUBLIC CONCERNED WITH DEFENDING CIVIL LIBERTIES

(By G. B. Holcomb)

Political columnist George Sokolsky wrote in his nationally-syndicated daily column last week a story which left two impressions:

That the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Republic which it sponsors are at odds with each other; and

That the Fund for the Republic is conducting "political propaganda" on behalf of communism.

Those impressions (whether intentionally promoted by Sokolsky or not) aren't correct, according to Ben Segal, labor consultant and the fund's representative in Washington.

The Ford Foundation set up the $15 million Fund for the Republic as a separate entity (with main offices in New York), but that doesn't mean they aren't speaking to each other.

Sokolsky wrote that the fund "has teams all over the country ostensibly investigating Communists, but actually seeking to discover what active anti-Communists have been doing."

As a matter of record, the fund is openly trying to find out what is being done to Communists, Socialists, atheists, fascists, Trotskyists, race bigots, security risks, fifth amendment Communists, etc., Segal said, in order to get a real picture of the effects on civil liberties in this country.

It has published a book on Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties, which describes some of its findings.

It has published another book, called a Bibliography on Communism, containing a list of authoritative documents on the Communist ideology and political organization.

RECORD OF COMMUNISM

A Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States, 753 pages thick and with pages as large as those of Fortune magazine, has been published by the fund.

These studies deal, Segal said, with the impact of communism on America today.

Daniel Bell, labor editor of Fortune, heads a division of this vast study which deals with the impact of communism on the trade union movement.

Other studies will deal with student organizations, veterans, educational welfare, old-age pension, business, and other groups.

John Cogley, editor of the Catholic magazine Commonweal, heads the study on the effects of blacklisting in the entertainment field.

The whole impact study is under direction of Prof. Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University's government department.

Rossiter, the Reverend Joseph M. Snee, S. J., professor of law at Georgetown University, and Prof. Arthur E. Sutherland of the Harvard law school, edited the Digest.

These men, like the members of the fund's board of directors, are interested only in arriving at the facts about communism and avoiding the ignorance which, all too often, helps shape public attitudes.

IGNORANCE IS DANGEROUS

Board members are:

Robert M. Hutchins, president; Paul G. Hoffman, chairman; W. H. Ferry, vice president; David F. Freeman, secretary; Bethuel M. Webster, counsel; Meyer Kestnbaum, M. Albert Linton, John Lord O'Brian (80, and called by Life magazine one of America's elder statesmen of the law), Chester Bowles, Charles W. Cole, Russell L. Dearmont, Erwin N. Griswold, William H. Joyce, Jr., Jubel R. Parten, Elmo Roper, Robert E. Sherwood, George N. Shuster, Eleanor B. Stevenson and James D. Zellerbach.

The former president of Columbia University is quoted in the frontispiece of the Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States. He said:

"The truth about communism is, today, an indispensable requirement if the true values of our democratic system are to be properly assessed. Ignorance of communism, fascism or any other police-state philosophy is far more dangerous than ignorance of the most virulent disease."

The author of these lines is Dwight D. Eisenhower.

"A sort of slogan for the fund," Segal told us, "is 'Feel Free' which I guess would mean to look any controversial issue squarely in the face.

"It is a tragedy today that too many people fear to speak up on issues if perchance the Communists are making or have made noise about it.

"By this time," Segal added, "everyone should know Communists have never been sincere about causes they espouse, except that of furthering the interests of the Soviet Union. It is the issues which are important, not who makes the noise.

"We have to be careful not to use the same tactics used by the Communists."

STIMULATES DISCUSSION

These are Segal's views, and not necessarily those of the fund. The fund, as such, has no views, unless it might be said to be in favor of the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

The fund "tries to avoid taking a position." It seeks, instead, to stimulate others to discussion, or argument, or dissension (depending on the point of view).

A long-time project is to determine what union members think about such controversial questions as, "Should an admitted Communist be expelled from the union?" and "Should a man who favors Government ownership of the railroads be expelled from the union?"

Segal was asked his own opinion on the first question.

"In a sensitive job, both the Government and the union have an obligation to see that the security of the country isn't endangered," he said. "But when it comes to other areas, union members ought to think pretty carefully before they conduct activities which would deprive a man of the right to earn a living. That is the acid test."

SEGAL'S BACKGROUND

He drew a clear distinction between a professed Communist and suspects or persons who might exercise his constitutional right to plead the fifth amendment.

As example of a situation he fears, he related, was a Florida union which expelled a man who had pleaded the fifth amendment before a congressional committee. The company wouldn't fire him, but the members made his job so miserable that he quit.

Although he's not quite 39, Segal has an extensive background in the field of labor and civil liberties.

His previous job was as associate director of the CIO department of education. Last year he was one of two senior Fulbright scholars on workers' education in England, where he studied British trade unions. Segal taught and visited in Norway, Denmark, Switzerland (for the International Labor Organization), Austria, Yugoslavia, and Israel.

For 5 years he organized in the South for the CIO Textile Workers, was a Midwest organizer for the AFL Ladies Garment Workers; directed the Council for Equal Job Opportunities in Philadelphia, and served as president of local 189 of the AFL Federation of Teachers.

He now is on the local's executive board and is a member of the national executive board of the National Religion and Labor Foundation.

Segal met his wife, Elizabeth, in North Carolina. "That was one of my southern victories," he chuckled. They have a 22-months-old daughter, Doris Marie.

SEGAL ENCOURAGED

Segal, a pipe-smoking and scholarly appearing man with thinning brown hair, says he is encouraged by the interest shown in the increasingly complex problem of loyalty and security programs being run by both the Government and private industry.

He's becoming a major source of material on the subject, yet has no secretarial staff on hand to assist him. He's trying to keep the paperwork bureaucracy out of his job if he can. But it's a struggle when various groups call him and ask for 3 copies of this report or 25 of that study.

Segal likes his job, is constantly busy, and he believes in it, Sokolsky or no Sokolsky.

FROM: BENJAMIN D. SEGAL
TRADE UNION CONSULTANT
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
1631 K ST., N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. ST. 3-2194

December 19, 1955

RECEIVED DEC 21 1955

Dear George

SEASON'S GREETINGS TO YOU AND YOURS!

I want to tell you about some of my activities as Trade Union Consultant for the Fund for the Republic. At the same time I don't want to bore you with a mass of details so I will attempt to summarize my work with the trade unions in the area of civil liberties and civil rights.

-Meetings with union officers and staff members in various parts of the country to discuss and focus attention on problems arising out of operations of the Industrial Personnel Security Program.

-Helping in the planning of a number of union conferences on civil liberties and civil rights -- or/and conferences which would include civil liberties.

-Led discussions and classes on the Industrial Personnel Security Program and civil liberties at 10 union institutes this past summer and fall. At a number of these institutes I also led sessions on stewards training, parliamentary law, labor history, international affairs, etc.

-Gave talks on civil liberties and civil rights at eight week-end or one-day union conferences.

-Organized two major conferences on "Personnel Security Programs in Industry" in Washington, D.C. and in Los Angeles, California. Both of these conferences were quite successful with a good percentage of the participants coming from management, security-officer ranks and other similar groups as well as good union representation.

-Carrying on a continuing one-man study of the "security programs and its effect on union members" and building up a file of security cases.

-Participated in and spoke at union conferences held in Washington, D.C. -- such as the Legislative Institutes and staff conferences. Also spoke to the recent conference of AFL Education Directors (which included CIO and Railroad Brotherhood education and research directors) in Cleveland.

- Wrote a number of articles for the labor press on civil liberties and furnished materials for other articles in the labor press. Prepared materials, such as a discussion guide on "Unions and Civil Liberties" which was quite widely distributed. Distributed considerable literature and books to union staff people.

-Helped to obtain grants from the Fund for the Republic for such projects as the study of the Mexican national problem in California and Texas; an investigation of the denial of civil liberties experienced by union members in the South; and in the near future, a look at the White Citizens' Councils and their anti-union activities.

-In the area of civil rights I've been concentrating on some union activities in the South with a number of projects in the works for 1956.

-Under the heading of miscellaneous activities I would include individual sessions with union education directors and labor editors; talks to college student groups and to such organizations as the Department of Economic Life of the National Council of Churches and the League for Industrial Democracy or the ILGWU Training Institute; and attending numerous conferences with a civil liberties tinge.

I hope you will let me know if I can be of help in your program activities, especially in the area of civil liberties and civil rights.

Best wishes to you for a Merry Christmas and a very happy good year.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Segal

Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant, Fund for the Republic
1631 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

K for R -
Segal

January 4, 1956

Mr. Benjamin Segal
Trade Union Consultant
1631 "K" Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Ben:

What arrangements have you made for the staffing of the various summer schools?

Pretty soon they will be arranging their schedules.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

February 1, 1956

Mr. Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant
1631 "K" Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Ben:

The New York trip of February 8 and thereabouts is off. So won't be in Washington. But do tell me what is cooking on a teacher for this summer.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

January

Engagement -
7r

January 27, 1956

Mr. Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant
1631 "K" Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Ben:

I'm driving North pretty soon and expect to be in Washington Monday, February 6, and will hope to catch you up there.

What does your calendar say?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

IN REPLY REFER TO:
BENJAMIN SEGAL
TRADE UNION CONSULTANT
1631 K STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6. D. C.
STERLING 3-2194

for B Segal

RECEIVED FEB 2 1956

February 1, 1956

George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

I will be in town next week--except to teach a class in Baltimore on Monday night(but I don't have to leave until 6:00 p.m.) I'm looking forward to seeing you.

Can you come out to the house for dinner-- or aren't you staying that long? We would like to put you up at our place if that is convenient for you.

Best wishes and regards.

Sincerely yours,

Ben

Ben Segal

February 10, 1956

Mr. Benjamin Segal
Trade Union Consultant
1631 "K" Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Ben:

The way to pick up a guy for the Jewish Labor Committee's job is to make Art Elder give you one guy or gal. He has trained a lot. Next man usefully to get to guess on it is Paul Christopher at Knoxville 2-6780.

I will be in Washington honest-to-goodness for Oscar Lee's meeting Friday, February 17. Sleep the night of the 16th at the Cosmos Club.

If you will have a message stuck in my box or mailed to the Cosmos Club in course of the 16th I will read it that night and bend my plans on the 17th to fit yours for some conversation. But probably you will be at Oscar Lee's meeting anyhow. Statler Hotel. 10:00 A.M. - 3:00 P.M.

Here is a letter I had written Oscar Lee about Eugene Cox.

I had not heard about Rev. Tarplee, the Piskie at Lynchburg, but will hawk him around.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Dictated by Dr. Mitchell.
Signed by his Secretary.in his absence.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

IN REPLY REFER TO:
BENJAMIN SEGAL
TRADE UNION CONSULTANT
1631 K STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6. D. C.
STERLING 3-2194

February 7, 1956

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED FEB 9 1956

Dear George:

You folks down there must have a queer conception of time--I get a letter on Tuesday telling me that you will not be in Washington on Monday. Actually it worked out o.k. as I heard from David Freeman when I was up in New York that you had cancelled your trip. By the way at the Fund Consultants meeting I heard a fine report about the SRC given by Frank Loescher.

I think I wrote you that Emory Via decided to stick to his school work and possibly to try and get a Fulbright for overseas work(for which I'm not in a very good position to blame him even if I would). This is, as you may know a rough situation--trying to find someone who has the necessary qualifications. The UAW would like to put someone on their staff and the Jewish Labor Committee is also looking for someone--that is a southerner, has worked with unions, has his heart in the right place and can do a fairly good teaching job. Do you have any suggestions? I'm still trying to find someone but I really don't have very many prospects.

I talked with Dr. Frank Graham while in N.Y. last week. He indicated a willingness to speak at some of the southern union institutes. This, of course, will not meet the need for a full-time teacher to be available. But as a poor second choice or as an addition I'm trying to line up a group of southerners who could be available for one or more sessions. If you're willing to be relieved of the burden I would suggest that you pass on to me requests from unions for any union institutes(from the natioonal AFL-CIO level no Institutes, as yet, have been developed--a great deal of snafu here in the education department)

Eugene Cox of Tchula, Miss(I'm sure you know him or of him)is looking for a job. Is there any chance that you know of any job for him? He's going to have to leave the Cooperative Farmand he wants to stay in the South and work. Frank Loescher also wanted me to mention to you A Rev. Tarplee, an Episcopal minister from Lynchburg who apparently spearheaded the Gray Commission fight in Lynchburg. He's,to judge by first impressions, a very able guy and is interested in leaving his pulpit and doing some significant work. He's the minister at St.Paul's Epsiscopal Church in Lynchburg--if you are interested in him. Frank thought you might be interested in him for North Carolina.

Ihope you get up this way soon--we would like to see you.

Best wishes and regards to the family and your colleagues.
Sincerly yours,

Ben Segal

February 24, 1956

Mr. Benjamin Segal
Trade Union Consultant
1631 "K" Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Ben:

Away last year I saw a note in John Connors' publication that said a labor bunch in Toronto had put on a fair practices clinic. The idea interested me, and I wrote to the Toronto people for the info. They most kindly sent me a detailed letter, and a flock of literature. I haven't had time to follow up on it, though at that period I had some notion that SRC might prepare to offer instruction to labor groups in fair employment practices. You are in that business and I am not.

I thought maybe you would get somebody helping you to read through the material, and weave into what you do what may be useful from what they do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

June 1, 1956

Mr. Ben Segal
1820 Jefferson Place
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ben:

I have been meaning to tell you that the luncheon which Guernsey organized about a week ago turned up a notion of some continuing study group within the labor movement on what to do. Sounded rather promising.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

June 12, 1956

Miss Sue Mills
Secretary to
Mr. Ben Segal
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
1820 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Mills:

Yes ma'am I will behave, and I am available for the Texas State Federation of Labor the week beginning August 27th.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

June 12, 1956

Dr. Mitchell:

You promised to participate for two days in the MSM Convocation of Florida students in Leesburg, Fla., which convocation is being held August 25-31.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

June 11, 1956

IN REPLY REFER TO:
BENJAMIN SEGAL
TRADE UNION CONSULTANT
[redacted]
WASHINGTON 6. D. C.
STERLING 3-2194

1820 Jefferson Pl., N.W.

RECEIVED JUN 12 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mr. Segal is out of town but I have spoken to him by phone and he asked me to write to you. He wants you to know that the Texas State Federation of Labor people are definitely expecting you at their school. It begins August 27th. Please save that week.

Mr. Segal will be back the end of the week and will write to you in more detail.

Sincerely yours,

Sue Mills

Sue Mills
Secretary to Mr. Segal

~~Received~~

July 12, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

I am sorry to have taken so long in answering your letter but it has been more or less following me around the country. I did not receive it until today. I am now working with the T.W.U.A. in Greensboro, North Carolina so you can write me care of General Delivery here in Greensboro.

I am looking forward to working with you starting the 27. I will see you then, barring unforseen complications.

Sincerely,

Benjamin Otto

Please forward

June 26, 1956

Mr. Benjamin K. Oko
203 B James Hall
Amherst College
Amherst, Mass.

Dear Mr. Oko:

Thanks for your letter concerning your summer plans. We are looking forward to seeing you here in the office on July 27th. Once you get located with T.W.U., it might be well for you to send me an address at which you can be reached between now and July 20th.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

BENJAMIN K. OKO

June 21, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

I have made arrangements to work with the T.W.U. until the 20 of July. I then plan to spend a few days with my mother in Cincinatti. I am perpared to arrive in Atlanta on the 26 of July which is a Sunday. I thought that I would start work with you on the 27 and stay for a period of four weeks. Please let me know if this is agreeable with you. You can write me in New York as I still not sure of my exact address in North Carolina where I will be working with the T.W.U.

Sincerely,

Ben Oko

May 23, 1956

Mr. Benjamin Oko
203 B James Hall
Amherst College
Amherst, Mass.

Dear Mr. Oko:

Thank you for your letter concerning your summer plans. As I told Ben, we haven't got a precise assignment. But when you have finished your work with the T.W.U., we can familiarize you with the work of this office and of our various state affiliates, and I am sure there are ways that we can be mutually useful.

I will be expecting to hear from you when your plans have shaped up more definitely.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

BENJAMIN K. OKO

May 16, 1956

Harold Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

I heard from Ben Segal concerning my working for you this summer. I am very glad to have the opportunity to do so. I hope that I can be of use to you. I believe that the plan is for me to work with the T.W.U. first inorder to get acqainted with the problems faced and then to come to you in late July or early August, but this is all very tentative. We can get in touch later about this.

Thank you again,

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Oko

FILE COPY

April 27, 1956

Mr. Ben Segal
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
1820 Jefferson Place N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Ben:

Thanks for your letter of April 24th.

I certainly want to do anything I can under our information program to document the role of Citizens Councils and related groups in respect to organized labor. There are two problems. First we are pushing several major projects - a southwide study of the right to vote, a southwide survey of desegregation since the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling, and tentatively a quick analysis of southern industrialization and its implications for human rights; in short, I'm running something of a hotbox. Secondly, I'm not quite sure how we can best get hold of the problem. We have had occasion recently to help AFL-CIO people with their own fact gathering on the resistence movements. Would you know what the exact nature and extent of this investigation is? I haven't quite figured out what we can do that can not be better done through union channels if the unions are really pushing it. I would welcome your suggestions on this.

Oks

It may be that the young man from Amherst could help meet this problem. He might spend a month under the sponsorship of the Textile Union and a second month working with us on the relationship between the pro-segregation groups and the anti labor forces. Certainly as an extra hand for free, he could be helpful to us, mostly working in the field, I should think. In any case, I will discuss this with George Mitchell and write you further about it.

Let me repeat that we are trying to think through ways to be useful at a time when the high pitch of activity makes it difficult to think at all so your ideas and recommendations will be extraordinarily helpful.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

April 24, 1956

IN REPLY REFER TO:
BENJAMIN SEGAL
TRADE UNION CONSULTANT
[redacted]
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
STERLING 3-2194
1820 Jefferson Pl., N.W.

Harold Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I hope all is well with you and your many activities. I was wondering whether in your new information program you will be doing anything about the tie up with the White Citizens Councils and the Right to Work Groups. Related to this I am also wondering whether you will be covering or reporting the activities or the reactions of local unions to the position taken by the AFL-CIO. This sort of information is extremely valuable for my work with the unions and would be put to good use.

There is a young fellow by the name of Ben Oko who is in his Junior year I believe at Amherest College. He is interested in learning about the racial and labor union situation in the South. He will be spending a month with the TWUA organizers and in that way get a glimpse of the labor union situation. What I would like to know from you is whether you would be willing to have him spend about a month with you in Atlanta? He is a very resourceful and able young fellow. He has his own car and would be willing to do anything that would be of help. You could use him in any way you saw fit -- either helping you around the office and doing some research work or any other assistance that you might need. He can work with the Textile Union either July or August so that you could have your choice of months (assuming that you would be willing to have him come down). There is no question of finances involved so that should raise no problem. If you see your way clear about having him with you during July or August I am sure he would make himself useful to you. I would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible on these matters.

Please accept my best wishes and kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Segal

Ben Segal

AIRMAIL July 25, 1956

Mr. Arnold Kaufman
1820 Jefferson Place N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Kaufman:

Unfortunately, your request for information on Negro voting comes at a time when we are right in the middle of a state by state survey of the question. We won't have the full results until late September.

Meanwhile, almost no information has been collected on this subject since the school segregation decision. I'm asking our Research Assistant to send you airmail a couple of articles which deal with Negro suffrage in a general way. And I am enclosing the figures we have received from our survey man in Louisiana. (His are the first to come in.)

Sorry we can't give you what you need, but tell Ben that if he will deal with the subject in the fall, we will load him down with data.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

IN REPLY REFER TO:
BENJAMIN SEGAL
TRADE UNION CONSULTANT
[redacted]
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
STERLING 3-2194

1820 Jefferson Pl., N.W.

July 24, 1956

Harold Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am trying to collect some material on Negro voting. I would especially like to have any data on the number of Negroes who are registered to vote and the number of Negroes who have voted in elections of one sort or another since the school segregation decision. I am doing this for a trade union school that Ben Segal will be conducting at Purdue University.

I am anxious to get the information as soon as possible and would appreciate any information you might have by air mail.

With many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold S. Kaufman

Arnold Kaufman

AIRMAIL October 10, 1956

Mr. Ben Segal
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
1820 Jefferson Place N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Ben:

We have reserved a room for you at the Rinkler Plaza hotel for the early morning hours of October 24th. I'm looking forward to the trip to Tuskegee together and a chance for some leisurely conversation.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

October 9, 1956

IN REPLY REFER TO:
BENJAMIN SEGAL
TRADE UNION CONSULTANT
[redacted]
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
STERLING 3-2194
1820 Jefferson Pl., N.W.

23-2 Dinkler

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I will be arriving in Atlanta on Eastern Flight #547, 12:05 AM, October 24th. Would you please make a hotel reservation for me for that night. And, I would like very much to drive with you to Tuskegee.

Please let me know what hotel I will be in. Looking forward to seeing you soon. Thanks for your help.

Best wishes and regards.

Sincerely yours,

Ben

Ben Segal

October 12, 1956

Mr. Ben Segal
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
1820 Jefferson Place N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ben:

This will acknowledge with appreciation the check for professional services for Morton Elder which we will handle as planned.

Enclosed is a confirmation of your hotel reservation. I'm looking forward to seeing you on the morning of the 24th. Frank Loescher just called to say that he is also arriving Tuesday night and wants to ride down with us Wednesday. I'm looking forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

October 15, 1956

Mr. Ben Segal
The Fund for the Republic Inc.
1820 Jefferson Place
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ben:

Here, just as it came in, is a copy of Morton Elder's report on his investigations. He is to be here about the middle of the week, at which time I will have the chance to go over it with him.

Meanwhile, if you could find time to read through it before the Tuskegee meeting, perhaps we would have a chance then to discuss it.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

October 16, 1956

HCF:

Ben Segal called from Washington. He is making up his budget of proposals to the Fund for the Republic for the coming year -- which he says is the calendar year beginning January 1st.

It is an idea which originates solely with Segal, for Segal to ask for money to enable SRC to keep a trade union man around and in the field for next calendar year.

Mitchell told Segal Mitchell would like the idea, but as Fleming would be in charge next year, Mitchell would communicate with Segal as soon as Mitchell had had opportunity to consult further.

Fleming is now being consulted. What says Fleming?

Discussed
10-17-56

eab/

DFF —

Sherman Fellowships

Elder

St. Louis film

A.C. Miller — cc to distrib. at mtg

Segal — no rept.

WPU — B'ham —
pplus — (per Miller)

Fleischman — ASC Labor —
Fla. — Sou. Representative —

November 5, 1956

Mr. Ben Segal
The Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ben:

Here are two copies of the Elder report.

Also enclosed is a copy of the letter transmitting the report to Dave Freeman. I am looking forward to discussing this further with you in New York.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

File

November 7, 1956

Mr. Ben Segal
Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Ben:

We shoot up at you forthwith today 200 copies of Next Steps in the South.

In such batches they cost the purchaser $15 a hundred. Postage on the bundle we guess to be $1.69.

Can you not advantage us with your check for $31.69?

I confess we delightedly welcome the distribution we know you will give the pamphlet but we have to meet a printer's bill too.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mbo

P.S. GSM replies because HCF is in New York 'til Monday.

Copy - RHA

RECEIVED NOV 7 1956

MEMORANDUM

11/5/56

Dear Harold:

I'd like very much, if possible, to get more copies of NEXT STEPS IN THE SOUTH. Could you send me 200?

Thank you.

Ben

Postage will be approx. $1.69

Ben Segal

RECEIVED DEC 4 1956

HCF

MEMORANDUM

12/3/56

Dear George & Harold:

I TALKED to BORIS SHASHKIN of the AFL-CIO AND HE PROMISED TO DO WHAT HE CAN About Paul CHRISTOPHER. HE'S GOING TO TAKE UP the matter with FRANK DANIELS and JOHN LIVINGSTON'S office — So, I'LL FOLLOW UP on Them & LET YOU KNOW WHAT HAPPENS —

BEST WISHES,

BS

P.S — George & ALICE MITCHELL should PLAN to See the MOVIE "WEE GEORDIE" — IT'S DELIGHTFULLY "SCOTCH" (PLAYING IN WASHINGTON, D.C.)

Ben Segal

RECEIVED DEC 6 1956

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

IN REPLY REFER TO:
BENJAMIN SEGAL
TRADE UNION CONSULTANT
1631 K STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6. D. C.
STERLING 3-2194

December 5, 1956

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Just finished talking with Nancy Harrison. The Director of the New World Foundation, one Vernon Eagle, takes office in January. They therefore feel that no grant should be made until he gets into office - gets oriented, etc. In addition, they have a Miss Taylor who is a part-time consultant for them. Now Nancy feels that if Miss Taylor (and Eagle too) could come down to Atlanta to talk to you (and perhaps George) and get a picture of the project that they contribute money to, that this would be a great help in getting a favorable response to your request. I indicated to her that you were a bit taken back when I spoke about the $20,000 ceiling. She then asked whether you folks expected to get more and/or needed more for this project. So, I indicated that you had hoped to submit a request for a larger grant so that your project could be enlarged. At this point she mentioned that when Miss Taylor came down and talked with all of you this perhaps would make it possible for the SRC to apply for a larger grant. This means that there would be a delay until about the end of January but in light of the possibility of trying for a larger grant it is worth it. She will write you a letter about some of this but I thought you would want to know this information right away. Hope your cold will be all gone.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Segal

Ben Segal

P.S. Could you send me a copy of "Your Resolution group Study?"

December 7, 1956

Mr. Benjamin Segal
Trade Union Consultant
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Ben:

This is to summarize the mutual understanding arrived at in the conversations between you and Emory Via and myself.

We agreed that Emory will assume duties as a liaison person with organized labor in the South about the first of the year, and that he will serve in that capacity until about September 1, 1957. His salary, at the annual rate of $6,500, will be paid by you through some direct arrangement to be devised by the two of you, in which the Southern Regional Council will not figure. The Council will be responsible for the contingency of travel expenses up to $2,000; if it develops that more funds are needed for travel, that matter will be worked out among us when the time comes.

Emory will be based at the Council's office in Atlanta and will look to the Council for day to day direction and decisions pertaining to his work. His employee status will be governed by the rules in force for Southern Regional Council staff. His duties may be generally defined as follows:

1) Through field work, interviews, and correspondence, to further cooperative relationships between organized labor in the South and other agencies, religious and professional, concerned with human relations in the region.

2) To serve as a resource person to labor groups in conferences, workshops, institutes, and the like, concerned with human relations matters.

3) To keep the Southern Regional Council, the Trade Union Consultant to the Fund for the Republic, and appropriate labor leadership informed of significant race relations developments within the Southern labor movement.

Mr. Benjamin Segal December 7, 1956

Emory would like to assume his duties on the first of January, subject to your approval.

This letter expresses Emory's understanding of our agreement as well as my own. Please let me know if you feel that there are things we should amend or add.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
CC: Emory Via

MEMORANDUM

12/14/56

DEAR HAROLD.

RECEIVED YOUR LETTER ABOUT PUTTING ON ENTRY VIA.

I WOULD LIKE TO SEE the STATEMENT ADDED ON, IN THE THIRD PARAGRAPH OF YOUR LETTER. HIS general PROGRAM AND OVER-ALL ACTIVITIES will be WORKED OUT IN CONSULTATION WITH BEN SEGAL. IF you would RATHER HAVE IT IMPLIED IT'S OK with ME -

OTHERWISE I APPROVE

BEST WISHES,

Ben Segal

P.S. I RECEIVED A COPY OF THIS FROM N.Y so I'm Returning the copy.

Ben Segal

December 20, 1956

Mr. Benjamin Segal
Trade Union Consultant
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Ben:

By all means, let us agree explicitly that Emory Via's program and overall activities will be worked out in full consultation with you. This should be considered a supplement to my letter of December 7.

Merry Christmas to you and your family,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

MEMORANDUM

12/27/86

DEAR HAROLD:

CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE IS MEETING IN WASH. DC ON JAN 2. –

IF YOU & EVA CAN GET UP IN THE AFTERNOON OF THAT DAY, IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO MEET (WITH) A. PHILIP RANDOLPH.

HOPE YOU CAN MAKE IT –

BEST WISHES FOR THE NEW YEAR –

Sincerely,

BS

Wrote couldn't. 12-29-86 HC

Ben Segal

January 9, 1957

Mr. Benjamin Segal
Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, NW
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Ben:

Never a man did a nobler job of making a visit pleasant and effective. I am all gratitude, as is Emory.

Tell Lib how much we enjoyed the dinner and evening, and Doris how much we enjoyed her hostessing.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter giving the plans for the Jan. 23-24 meeting. Let us know if you'll want accommodations at Atlanta University.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fc
Encl.

January 10, 1957

Mr. Benjamin Segal
Trade Union Consultant
The Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Ben:

You will have heard by now that the attempt to desegregate the Atlanta buses has started; there is every indication that such moves will continue to arise, and, of course, this means that we will be concerned.

I have had success in turning up an International representative of the Amalgamated Streetcar Union who is primarily responsible for Southern locals; it is at least possible to talk with him about the problems of Amalgamated's locals in the light of desegregation. The name of the man is W. E. Whitt. Joe Jacobs remembers him as a decent guy. He has already been talking to his locals about accepting the inevitable and not cutting their own throats; he understands the significance of the Montgomery locals being so hard hit. Whitt is anxious that his locals not be caught too much in the middle -- between local laws and politicians on one hand, and the Negro communities, jobs, and federal courts on the other.

I have only had a phone conversation with him thus far, but plan to sit down with him as soon as he gets back to town. In the meantime, he understands that I will contact the local in Atlanta direct if any particular difficulty arises. Whitt does not know the SRC at all -- I told him frankly about the nature of the organization and a little of its history. His main concern is to know from official AFL-CIO sources that we are clean, approved, and supported, and indicated that he would write Meany in this regard before he undertook any real cooperation. I suggested that if he called Meany's office that he refer to Shishkin or Weaver.

It seems important to me that we make this contact meaningful and that we give Whitt the long-run support and encouragement that he needs in meeting his locals' needs in the best possible way. Perhaps a letter from the appropriate AFL-CIO officials, even prior to his request for information, would be advisable. He should know that the national office knows who we are and who I am; that the AFL-CIO and various International unions have contributed to SRC (factually, for the AFL-CIO $2,000 last Fall; the CIO and AFL contributing separately in past years), that we are clean, and that Paul Christopher has served on the SRC Board.

You should consider whether to have a copy of such a letter and an accompanying note sent to his own International's office. Whitt is a Board member of the International. Perhaps it would be sufficient to tell the International that I am talking with him, but that there are no particular problems at this time. Any communication to Whitt should be sent to his home address: W. E. Whitt, 67 Willowood Circle, S. E., Atlanta, Georgia.

On the whole, drivers in the South have behaved, but even in Atlanta on yesterday one driver was overheard to comment, "Well, it looks like it's time to get out the guns." And this is, of course, part of the problem that faces both union and management.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV/eab

January 18, 1957

Air Mail Special

Mr. Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant
Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ben:

A hasty retreat with embarrassment on the matter of Mary Saran attending the sessions of the inter-agency conference. Harold is much concerned about the size of the crowd regardless of the nature of participation, and for good reasons is much concerned about the number of "observers" already admitted. He has been attempting to freeze the list for some time. Certainly no one meant to draw the line to exclude Miss Saran. However, it would be a great help, as things now stand, to have her plan to attend only the more informal, social-type meetings; there will be at least one such on Wednesday evening, where she should have some real chance to talk freely with anyone that looks interesting.

If we find that fewer people actually show than expected, then we would be most happy to have her attend any and all sessions. I am sorry that I thought that I had sufficient go ahead to tell you to plan for her to attend. My guess is that I would be available for part of the time to see that she got about town and met some of the people that she might want to see.

Sorry for this complication.

We will have at least two or three staff guys to meet with us for lunch; of the dozen called, most were either out of town when I called or will be out Wednesday. I presume that a few more will find that they can make it. I didn't expand the list beyond the group that I knew to have a specific interest in what we are doing.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

BENJAMIN D. SEGAL
TRADE UNION CONSULTANT—FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
1820 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
STERLING 3-2194

January 25, 1957

Harold Fleming
Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Sorry that yesterday was such a rush. I asked Mrs. Meskus about the $2,000 check for Morton Elder. She thinks that what Ed has to do is either on his tax return or in an accompanying explanatory letter he should show that the $2,000 check from the Fund was endorsed over to the SRC. If you don't think this will meet the situation, let me know and I'll try and do something more about it.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Segal

Ben Segal

cc: Mr

January 30, 1957

Mr. Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant
Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ben:

I talked with Paul Christopher last night and thought that I would pass on a suggestion of his. You will perhaps remember that I told you that Frank Daniels said that there would be a series of three day staff institutes held in the regions, that issues relative to race will be discussed, but that they had not decided to make use of any outside resource person. It is my understnading now that a half day will be devoted to the race issue even though in the original discussions of the institute there had been some feeling that it should not be made into a special topic.

Paul suggests that Boris designate a sensitive and knowledgable guy to just sit in on these sessions as an observer -- definitely taking no part in the discussion, but to just pull together some of the threads of what should be a "let your hair down" type session. This would have to be worked through Livingston, but Paul feels that Boris' request in such a matter would be respected. Who should do the observing is another problem; I think Paul was thinking of someone on the "inside," but primarily he was interested that it be such a person that would in no way prevent free discussion.

Two other things from Paul. That for our proposed conference we be willing to "cross the lines of protocol" to keep the power of selection as to attendance in our hands. I don't think this is going to become much of a problem, in that I think that we can get about who should be there by going through channels (and of course Paul believes in going through channels). Secondly, he feels that a one day conference is too short; refering to the earlier CIO meeting at Fisk and to other sessions he was conscious of the fact that it really takes the first day to get

the group loosened up so that they are talking to the problem and not just from status positions, etc. I think that we ought to think about this latter and balance it against the problems of a two day confab.

So there you are. I thought that I would pass the suggestions on to you for what they are worth. It seems to me that the suggestion of an observer has some merit, would give further insight into actual field problems (perhaps better than the JLC survey), and would perhaps have some appeal to Boris. Of course what such an observer does with his observations remains a central problem.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

P.S.: My first check has come in from the Fund, with the deductions in good order for income tax and F.I.C.A.

Incidentally, I think the staff institutes start in March and perhaps we should check for conflict in date and personnel with our proposed conference.

January 29, 1957

Mr. Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant
Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ben:

It was good to see you in Atlanta. Enclosed is a copy of the Xmas card sent to Reuther. The U.A.W. here at least does not want any publicity on it; I have had a copy sent to national A.D.L., which has a sizeable collection of such items.

I think you know that I feel comfortable with the kind of relationship that we now have with you, SRC, and me. I doubt if Manny really understands what the relation is. Arrangements regarding J.L.C. must be worked out through you and in the final analysis with Harold and SRC. I will be in touch with Manny, but do not feel that there is any basis for a formal relationship. Incidentally, the first of the survey materials have already been sent to me.

We enjoyed having Mary Saran with us very much; it was a pleasure to get to know her - this latter is a response which we also received from others with whom she talked. I am sending a note to her in care of your office.

The luncheon cost $12.30, including cocktails and tips. I think we got what we wanted from it.

Are you a new poppa yet?

Best wishes to you and family.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

P.S. Thanks for the list of labor papers; will return it soon. EFV:mm

January 30, 1957

Mrs. Mary Saran
c/o Mr. Ben Segal
Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Saran:

It was just real fine to have had you with us in Atlanta for a few days, and I am glad that you were able to make even so quick and rainy a trip to the South.

I said that I would let you know about any write-up of the inter-agency conference which you observed. You will remember that it was a completely off-the-record conference, and since this was the understanding of the participating agencies it is necessary that we not mention by name any of the other groups that were represented. Of course, you may make such generalized use of what you saw and learned as may fit your purposes. I am sorry that it is necessary to place any restrictions on the reporting of such an event, but this is just one reflection of what the situation is like.

Best wishes to you in your further travel in this country.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Fund for Rep Legal

February 27, 1957

Mr. Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant
Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ben:

The enclosed letters are perhaps self-explanatory. I take it Paul will be with us for the 14th if he can get clearance in spite of his opening paragraph.

Unfortunately Gillman and Haigler cannot attend; I have not followed up about staff men from their offices.

As of now we have a total of nine coming; this includes your names also. They are: James Hardin (UAW), Kehrer and Bonanno (ILGWU), Ken Petersen, Bill Oliver, Jim Turner, Francis Shane, B. F. McLaurin (Porters), and probably Dial Murphy (Oil). Obviously I have to stir around down here.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Enclosures

Segal

HCF

RECEIVED APR 5

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

IN REPLY REFER TO:
BENJAMIN SEGAL
TRADE UNION CONSULTANT
1820 Jefferson Pl, N.W. ~~1631 K STREET, N. W.~~
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
STERLING 3-2194

RECEIVED APR 5 1956

4/3/56

DEAR GEORGE:

THOUGHT YOU WOULD BE INTERESTED IN THE ENCLOSED - I FED THE STORY TO THE LABOR PRESS SERVICE (PAI) AND IT'S BEEN PICKED UP BY QUITE A LARGE NUMBER OF THE LABOR PAPERS - SEE ENCLOSED SAMPLE FROM OIL + CHEMICAL WORKERS PAPER.

BEST WISHES,

B. Segal

Forwd to Ben Segal

March 4, 1957

Mr. Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant
Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ben:

Here is Dixon's address and the names of the two top local leaders:

Joe Dixon, Local #4367, OCAW
311 Tatar Street
Pasedena, Texas

L. O. Black, President
John Crossland, Secretary-Treasurer.

Crossland is full-time paid local staff, an executive board member of the International, and the key man in the local.

There are two staff men in the general area. They are Forrest Craig and a fellow by the name of McClain. McClain is younger, a Southerner, and seems to be preferred by Dixon on "racial-type" matters.

I've sent the information on the conference to Charlie Jones. You have a room reserved at the Atlantan Hotel, 111 Luckie Street, for the evening of March 12th. The rates for a single run between $5.00 and $7.50 per day.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Fund for Rep — Segal

March 5, 1957

Mr. Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant
Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ben:

It is my understanding that you, Many, and John Hope II have come to an agreement regarding John's use of the survey materials. He will get your copies.

There are extensive, though usually minor, copying errors in the materials. We should probably try to talk about the completeness of the survey, reporting it out, and its uses when you come to Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

P.S. The program and announcement of the League of Women Voters had already been made up and released - Harden was out of town so I called the League direct. The enclosed clip is the result of their release.

Enclosure

File

BENJAMIN D. SEGAL
TRADE UNION CONSULTANT—FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
1820 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
STERLING 3-2194

March 21, 1957

Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I thought you'd be interested in the enclosed. If you would like to send a copy of your letter to the paper and Walter to me I could try to get them inserted in the Congressional Record -- if you think this a good idea.

I had a long lunch with Nancy Harrison yesterday at which I put in quite a pitch about the financial problems of the Southern Regional Council. She went away very genuinely concerned about it and will think about what can be done. She asked if there would be any point in her talking to Stevenson next time she's in Chicago, since he's on the Field Board. I indicated this would be a good idea. Anyway, if it's any consolation to you, Nancy Harrison as well as Ben Segal is worrying about the financial trouble of the SRC -- whether the worry can be exchanged for dollars I don't know.

Hope you have recovered from your cold. Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Segal

Ben Segal

Fund for Ben Segal

BLIND COPY: Father L. J. Twomey

April 17, 1957

Mr. Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant
The Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Street
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ben:

Recently I was out in New Orleans on Council business and spent some time with my good friend Father Twomey. He directs, as you know, Loyola University's Institute of Industrial Relations. He does a great deal through this Institute to help leaders of the Southern union movement understand the relationship between improved racial relations and increased opportunities for organized labor.

The University has for some ten years supported this Institute at a financial loss because they believe in the importance of the work. They will continue to do so, but they are unable to increase the budget.

The Institute desperately needs $15,000 a year for a three year period to expand its activities and increase the work with union leaders in an integrated situation. Anything that you can do to help find these funds would be greatly appreciated by us. I talked with a young Negro organizer in New Orleans who was a graduate of the Institute and he said Father Twomey had done more to improve race relations than almost any man he knew. If you need further information about the Institute, write directly to Father L. J. Twomey, Institute of Industrial Relations, Loyola University in the South, New Orleans 18, Louisiana.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

D R A F T

April 24, 1957

Mr. Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant
Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Ben:

We have written to several regional directors or to persons in the national offices of unions who are concerned with civil rights to request that they see that the presidents of their unions who serve on the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO are informed as to the program and needs of the Southern Regional Council so that they will be prepared to receive our request for an increased contribution to our work. Such letters have gone to Jim Turner, Ken Peterson, Al Kehrer, Bill Oliver, Boyd Payton. In addition to this, Paul Christopher has written to Vic Reuther and to Boris Shishkin. We know that the May meeting of the Council will be a busy one, and we are anxious that our request not be handled so routinely that they fail to realize that we have asked for an increased amount this year. It may be that some word from you to John Addleman and to Frank Shane would be helpful. Emory hopes to be ~~in~~ in touch with George Gill of the CWA regarding Bierne.

If you feel that further word from you would be helpful or that any other contacts should be made, please feel free. Would there be any value in having state federation officers or other regional directors write directly to George Meany? Phillip Randolph has already indicated his willingness to support our request. Please let me know if you feel that there is any further follow-up which we should do.

Thanks once again.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

~~LHCFlem~~

xFund 4 A - Segal

May 8, 1957

Mr. Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant
Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ben:

The information on the Junaluska Labor and Religion Conference seems to be that a conference has been called by the Southeast Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church. This is a labor-management-church conference, the aim of which is to promote better relations between labor and management. There has been some indication to the union persons involved in this program that an attempt was being made to get ministers in the South to stop preaching anti-union sermons.

Ray Nixon, of the Rubber Workers, whose home is in Charlotte, N.C., was one of the prime movers from the union point of view when he was approached by some churchmen there. Lorne Nelles and Tom Starling are both active in promoting this program. I understand that Al Whitehouse is one of the speakers as well as Frank Graham and a vice-president in charge of industrial relations from Inland Steel.

The conference will run from the evening of June 21 through noon of June 23 and will be held at Lake Junaluska. The union persons involved are hoping to get a minimum of 100 union members to attend. The conference planners are evidentally looking toward a group of some 400 persons.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Fund for Segal

May 10, 1957

Mr. Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant
Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ben:

In talking with John Hope, he indicated that you were already lined up for a Friday presentation to the whole Institute - this would be the first week. For the second week he is proposing a Tuesday morning program, a kind of panel, in which you and I would participate with John in the Chair and he would like to know if it would be a good idea for Paul Christopher to be included in this group. This again would be for the whole Institute, and would run under some such title as Labor in the Southern Situation. It would be a basic session, even getting into such matters as what a union is and what it is not, the union's position in a transitional Southern situation, et cetera.

Would it be better for one of us to extend such an invitation to Paul Christopher, initially, or do you think that John Hope or Herman Long should just go ahead and invite him immediately?

In the mimeographed sheet which I am sending along with our letter to those we would like to have participate in the Institute, I am asking that they return their request for an application form directly to me, so that there will be no confusion as to who the labor participants are. John has agreed to this procedure, and I will notify him immediately as applications come in. I would suggest that you look at the Fisk announcement and especially the form to be returned for an application and mark this form in some way so that it is returned either to you or to me. In any case, even if it should go directly to Fisk, it would be helpful to have it marked in some way so that they would know that it was a labor participant and could inform us as to who the applicant is.

There is some further information on the Lake Junaluska religion and labor conference. It is officially co-sponsored by the Southeast Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church and by the Commission on Social and Economic Relations - the national office of this latter group. Dudley Ward is the top staff person for the commission, at 740 Rush Street, Chicago, 11, Illinois. The Jurisdictional office here in Atlanta feels that most of the labor persons who will attend the conference will be intited by the labor representatives working with them. It is not clear that there will be any wide-spread representation from management itself, although the Jurisdictional office does not seem to know what Ward has done in this regard. I understand that your old friend Hugh Comer will be one of the speakers.

One further thing about the Fisk Institute. I am approximating the cost at $50.00 because we are asking our participants to be there something like 7½ days and because the Institute's fee will be the same whether the participants are there for one or two weeks. John is going to try to clear just how much the cost will be but feels that $50.00 is a fairer figure than the $45.00 which I was originally going to use as the cost figure.

John and Herman Long were wondering if this would be the year to seek once again to have Walter Reuther address the Fisk Institute. He wants our judgment as to whether or not this would be a good thing in terms of our labor participation. He thinks that it would increase the chances of getting Reuther to come down, but he understands that Walter is something of a controversial symbol in the whole matter of desegregation as far as Southern unionists are concerned. I did not give John a definite answer, but said that I would ask your opinion in the matter.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Report to Ben Segal - May 20, 1957
Oberservations on the Race Relations Situation in Southern Unions.

First, two more "incidents." It is sometimes difficult to realize how a union member could also be actively interested in the WCC. We often assume that the anti-union position of the WCC is so well understood that no union man would think of being a member. It is still true, however, that a number of union persons are still active members and sometimes leadership people in the White Citizens Councils or similar organizations. It is interesting to run across a case where a union man really feels quite strongly on the race issue and yet is still able to realize some of the practical problems and pressures which cause others to see this situation differently. This means in part that the complexities of the race problem are beginning to be understood. There may even be some understanding on the part of prejudiced persons that it is necessary and even desirable to respond to some of the pressures that are quite practical in nature. It may be that the following incident fits this pattern to some degree. A large size union man had taken real exception to condemnations of the WCC as being anti-union made by Walter Reuther. After going into a real tirade against Reuther and expressing most forthrightly the need for Reuther to keep his mouth shut, and then much discussion, the man got up and closed the discussion with, "I guess Walter Reuther represents five million niggers, and I hope he does a good job by them."

One other incident points up the difficulties involved even when you are able to win the respect of a prejudiced person for one aspect or talent of a given Negro individual. This incident arose out of the violence exercised against Nat "King" Cole in Alabama. A union member in referring to Cole said that he had made a lot more out of it, as if he were really hurt, but that

actually he had suffered little real damage. The person to whom this union member was talking responded, "But this was an indignity; besides, Nat "King" Cole is my favorite singer." To this the union member responded "As a singer, mine too. I've got all his records. But as a nigger, I don't care what happens to him."

Any sensible consideration of the problems of race relations in Southern labor unions must begin by recognizing that there is no one solid South, that the South is not a great monolith, and that these two factors are equally applicable to observations about the trade union movement itself. In other words, almost every possible pattern of racial segregation or integration can be found in Southern unions. A great variety of patterns may be found in any given industrial community of size, in almost any given union, and in nearly each of the Southern industries. What this means is that in a city such as Atlanta, Georgia, you will find some unions who refuse membership to Negroes; other unions may accept Negroes for limited membership, setting up a separate local union for them - sometimes such a local is on an equal footing with the white local but on other occasions it is more appropriately a sub-local without the full powers normally attributed to a local union. It is quite possible to find local unions which have all members in the same organization, but whose membership meetings observe the segregation pattern. On occasion, such a local will actually have Negro officers and there may even be side-by-side working relations in the job situation. There are, of course, unions that hold integrated meetings, whose on-the-job conditions are integrated to an extent, and which make a practice of having participation by Negroes in grievence handling, collective bargaining, and other activities of the local union. Quite frequently, perhaps most often, such a local as this last one described still would not

provide for up-grading of its Negro members in its contract or daily union activity. Of course, there are those unions which have over 50% Negro membership - indeed, some of them are for all practical purposes all-Negro locals. The practices within these locals vary greatly,too. In some situations the union may have all-Negro officers and stewards, but the real power and leadership authority still rests with paid staff persons who are white. In some instances, where the racial break-down is about 50-50, white officers are elected,even though the Negro members may be in preponderance,as a sort of self-conscious public relations move; also, it is sometimes thought that such a move strengthens the local's position in bargaining with prejudiced management. Finally, there are those situations where there are Negro officers and where the real leadership rests in the hands of either elected Negroes or appointed Negro staff persons. Sometimes, it is true that the white membership in such locals does not feel fully free to participate in the activities of the local; this may be due to their own limiting prejudice, but it can also be due to the actual alignments within the local union and the practical concern of Negro leadership to protect the economic or community position which they have achieved for themselves or which has been achieved by the Negro membership as a whole.

There is little doubt that most white Southern union members favor racial segregation. Just what they mean by "segregation" is not always clear and is subject to a great variety of interpretations. Perhaps their desire for segregation applies most generally to the maintenance of a separate educational system. The other areas of community segregation are either of much less importance or else do not seem to be immediate possibilities. Bus desegregation is not a great issue in most areas among union members. The break-down of

segregation in housing seems remote; however, this may change as suits challenging housing segregation are acted upon in such deep South cities as Savannah, Georgia. In union activities it is fairly rare that segregation is a major issue. This is partly because both groups are reasonably content with such patterns as they have already worked out for themselves. However, it is generally true that there are no types of social activity which are conducted on an integrated basis; but even here there are outstanding exceptions. Such activities as banquets, fish-fries, picnics, and ball games may be held on a "near-integrated" basis. In some unions where there are both Negro and white workers and where race relations have been tense, it is still possible that they will meet together in an integrated manner. In the areas most directly of concern to the union, difficulty is most likely to arise in some phase of the employment situation itself. The most pressing problem here is to overcome the lack of employment opportunities for Negroes. The pinch comes in three different ways: (1) in the original act of hiring; (2) in the matter of up-grading and (3) in providing training or apprenticeship opportunities. It seems fair to say that most Southern unions have done very little or nothing at all in improving the opportunities for Negroes in these three areas. Of course, such a statement is exclusive of, in most instances, those unions whose membership is primarily Negro.

In the usual union situation, the contract does not specifically provide for segregation in the employment situation nor does it provide specifically for discrimination in the matter of up-grading or as to which jobs are open to which racial group. But it is a widely admitted fact, even in those situations which fly under the banner of being integrated, that either certain departments or else certain job classifications are exclusively for Negroes or in some

instances the only departments or classifications in which Negroes may work, even though whites may work there also. This situation has very serious implications in terms of loyalty to the union by Negro members. Experience has taught the labor movement generally that few factors influence member loyalty as much as simple job protection, which can be spelled out in elementary terms as not allowing a firing without cause or for discriminatory reasons and that there will be an adequate seniority system. Discriminatory departmental or classification set-ups attack these two principles, or well learned experiences, in a basic way.

White union leadership and most of the white active members generally understand the practical necessity for equal pay for equal work regardless of the color of the person performing that work. Similarly, if a Negro union member has a grievance, it is considered good union practice, necessary, and just a plain matter of fair play to see that this grievance is processed as well as any other grievance. Indeed, on some occasions white officers report that the grievances of their Negro members are given better handling than those of the whites. On occasion, this does seem to be the case; in some instances this is a part of an overly patronizing pattern, but in other cases, it is a matter of white leadership making doubly sure that they cannot be accused of discrimination. It is, of course, possible to find situations where grievances are processed by Negro stewards and officers and where the handling of these grievances is superior to those handled by white stewards for the white membership. None of these more favorable attitudes towards the position of Negro members in Southern unions indicates anything positive on the matter of equal job opportunity, and we find ourselves still faced with a frustrated Negro union membership which cannot advance further in spite of years of loyal service to an employer and years of faithful contribution to the union itself.

The place at which organized labor is hurt the most by the raising of racial issues is in its endeavors to organize the unorganized. Again and again, either the employer or some anti-union group in the community will raise racial issues with devastating effect in order to stymie a union organizing campaign. The most frequent pattern these days seems to be to let the organizing campaign proceed normally with the usual anti-union arguments being advanced. But just shortly before the date for the representation election, some group will see that racial issues are raised most directly. The general pattern is to attempt to paint a picture of the union as an active agent in the fight for desegregation, the support of the most "radical" Negro organizational drives, and as lending its approval to social integration including that great area of tabu - intermarriage. On a straight economic level, it is sometimes argued that the unions position on fair employment is such that it will mean the loss of jobs for whites (whites now employed) in order that Negores may be employed in percentages commensurate with their number in the total population. This latter argument is, of course, a perversion of the old FEPC concept which has been used in other sections of the country as well. No matter how gross the falsity of this and other arguments, they still prove to be effective deterents to union organization in a number of Southern situations.

The general rule for existing unions is that there is no great racial disturbance within them except where there is a particularly hot community racial issue. There are, of course, some exceptions, a few of which spring from clear national union policies being read to local groups ordering them to cease discriminatory practices. On a few other occasions, some White Citizens Council type activity has caused a flaring-up of racial issues in locals which have not been agitated by any general community problem. A recent survey indi-

cated that in many local unions where the race issue had been raised, it was the result of the activity of just a few individuals; however, among those unions reporting that they had been disturbed by the race question, a discouragingly high proportion of them (42%) indicated that union officers were themselves raising the question. The most usual place for the race issue to be raised is, interestingly enough, in the plant. With much less frequency the issues are raised within local meetings and at meetings of the Executive Boards. However, it is by no means unusual for the race issue to be considered an "out of order" item and not allowed on the union floor either by the chairman of the meeting or, as in many cases, by some full-time staff person who "helps" the local union to make this on-the-spot decision. Although at the present time there seems to be little activity aimed at changing national union policy on desegregation, and we hear of almost no instances of letters and resolutions to higher union bodies from local unions or state bodies or city bodies, it must be remembered that it was less than a year ago when many such moves were being made. Although none of these moves, either to change the labor movement from within, or to withdraw membership, or to set-up competing labor bodies, met with any degree of success, they did pose a very real problem at the time even though as a threat they were most often overestimated by concerned union leadership. It will behoove all concerned persons to be wary of August days, famous as lynch-month in days now happily passed, (to remember ?)* and that September will represent a new challenge in many new Southern communities to the White Supremist there. For with the new school year, as inevitably as the processes of social change and the workings of the Federal Courts, a new group of Southern communities will either endeavor to desegregate their schools or will begin once again to give serious consideration as to how and when they can make such a move.

* Inaudible on transcription. MM

Found 4 in Segal

June 4, 1957

Mr. Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant
Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ben:

Enclosed are two items: (1) summary report (with almost no content) for January 1st through May 31st; and (2) an informal report on participation at ICWU school.

I'll see you Friday. It looks as if it will be close to noon, but I will call your office to see where you are.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm
Enclosures

June 12, 1957

Mr. Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant
The Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Segal:

We have received several more replies to the invitations to attend the Union Staff Training Seminar at Fisk:

Will attend:

1. Eula McGill, Organizer
   Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
   P. O. Box 161
   Cookeville, Tennessee

2. Earl H. Henderson, UAW

3. James ~~B.~~ E. Turner, URWA

Unable to attend:

1. Thomas W. Culpepper, Sleeping Car Porters
   Atlanta

As we receive further replies, I'll write you.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Secretary to Emory Via

June 20, 1957

Mr. Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant
The Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Segal:

Today's mail included a reply from one more person who will attend the Staff Training Seminar:

Theodore E. Brown
Assistant Director
Civil Rights Department
AFL-CIO
Washington, D. C.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Secretary to Emory Via

Fund for Republic

June 27, 1957

Mr. Ben Segal
The Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ben:

Enclosed are two New South articles which may be of help for your Friday Fisk presentation. You may wish to also consult the 52 page report by the American Jewish Committee on the attacks against the NAACP. You might find it profitable to re-browse the "Freedom Reader," edited by E. S. Newman.

This general approach of making problems in civil rights issues of civil liberties is most important; perhaps you can get your speech written down this time and we could make some further use of it.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm
Enclosures

RECEIVED JUL 22 1957

BENJAMIN D. SEGAL
1820 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
STERLING 3-2194

7/19/57

DEAR HAROLD ONLY BRIEFLY:
AIR-MAIL SHOULD
PLEASE RUSH SOME COPIES OF THE
NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATION
NEWS ON ~~HELPING~~

THANKS MUCH

B Segal

AIR MAIL ONE
TO
KENNETH KYLE
ECONOMIST
NAT'L PRESS BUILDING, N.W
WASHINGTON 4, DC

July 30, 1957

Mr. Benjamin D. Segal
Trade Union Consultant
Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ben:

Thanks for your good letter and enclosure.

Our voting findings have indeed been getting quite a bit of play. In fact, they have propelled us right into no-man's land, as far as the Senate debate on civil rights ~~are~~ is concerned. If you have a chance, you can find the cross-fire about us in The Congressional Record for Friday, July 26. Douglas' defense is heartwarming. What are you, as the Washington representative of SRC, doing?

You and Emory deserve high praise for the Labor Seminar at Fisk. I hear all manner of good things about it and only wish that events could have worked out so that I could have been there at that time.

Emory told me that you had some success in raising money from the unions. I do hope that The Fund for the Republic will come through with a supplementary allocation. I assume that you are doing at least some reporting on Emory's program. We include that in our regular reports, but I should think you would want to give it even more emphasis. If we can help let us know.

We would have no objection whatever to the JLC contributing to the labor consultant program with the understanding that you

set forth so ably in your letter. As you know, we have no jealousy about Emory's services. We simply want him to do the most effective job possible in this field, consistent with the general policies of SRC. I am delighted at the way our cooperative approach has worked out, and I don't think we need ever worry about any clash of interests or direction between the Washington branch and Atlanta branch of SRC. But you are wise to make it crystal clear to Manny that, for the sake of orderly operation, there cannot be duplicate lines of supervision and direction of this program. Any funds that JLC can put into the program with this understanding will, of course, be more than welcome. Am I to understand that any such contribution would be made to your budget? This would suit fine, as it would mean that you and Manny could work out national strategies and suggestions together.

Are you raising the question of Washington representative seriously? If so, let me have more details about what kind of arrangement you have in mind. As I said before, if we can work out anything that would simplify your problems of getting finance, we would like to do it. Frankly, though, I can't foresee any kind of workable arrangement under which you would be answerable to the Executive Committee of SRC. That would unduly cramp you and me too. Any way, give me some specific ideas to chew on.

I am, God willing, leaving for vacation tomorrow morning and will be back on deck Monday, August 19. I hope you will arrange some kind of rest and relaxation, if not for yourself at least for your nice family.

Best regards always.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

BENJAMIN D. SEGAL
TRADE UNION CONSULTANT—FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
1820 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
STERLING 3-2194

July 26, 1957

Harold Fleming
Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.

Dear Harold:

I hope all is well with you and the family.

It looks like your Survey on the Negro Voter and the South is getting a good play in the press. Enclosed is a story, a bit on the battered side, from the Washington Post. I presume you saw the good spread in the July 29th issue of Time on page 12.

Emory no doubt told you about the Trade Union Seminar at Fisk University. All things considered I think it went quite well.

Manny Muravchik came to see me a few weeks ago when he was in Washington. We discussed the possibility of the Jewish Labor Committee participating in and raising money for Emory Via's work with the trade unions in the South -- as Labor Consultant for the Southern Regional Council. I told him that I intended to continue Emory as part of my program. I also told him that I probably wouldn't know until the middle of September whether I would really have sufficient funds to continue my program but that I was going on that assumption. I also told him that from my point of view the money that he would raise for Emory's work would, of course, be very much needed. In essence he agreed that Emory would continue as he has in the past, working as the Labor Consultant for the Southern Regional Council and working with me in various activities and projects. He agreed that the SRC would have the final say so on Emory's time and program. I explained to him that this had not been any problem between the SRC and my program since we see eye to eye on these various activities. He felt that this wouldn't change if they contribute money. He would like to receive copies of reports that Emory sends me and he would like to be in a position to make suggestions for Emory's activities with the unions in the South. As he put it, he would like to feel free to suggest that on the basis with their contact with (for instance) the Steelworkers that something is especially needed. At the same time he, of course, recognizes that the Southern Regional Council would be in a position to say "on the other hand Emory is doing something at the present time which should have priority because it is much more needed from our point of view". In other words the SRC would have the final word on Emory's program and activities.

All in all, the impression I had from our conversation is that things could be worked out so that they would be mutually satisfactory and create no real problems for the SRC.

As I indicated above, I am making plans to continue my program on an independent basis. I have received some money from the unions. But I really won't know until September after the Fund Board Meeting, since I am counting on their voting to give me a supplemental grant which will be equal to the amount I raised from unions. I was wondering if you would consider the notion of my being officially designated as the Washington representative of the SRC when I start my independent operation?

Please accept my best wishes and kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Ben

Ben Segal

NEW FILE STARTED FOR BEN SEGAL ON 1st OCTOBER 1957

when he went to

The Trade Union Program on Civil Liberties and Rights

March 1958 found him as Education Director to the IUE

also.

His folder is the first one in the general category

LABOR

J. Lawson

April 24, 1961

FMR

file, Gen. Educ. Bd.

Total # fellowships & scholarships to far - 1500

total spent to date on awards 1,500,000+

# of recipients who have studied outside South 40%

Southern Fellowships Fund

The attached report, "A Recount for Record," gives the best description of the Southern Fellowships Fund program. Briefly, the Fund has given four types of grants:

1. Faculty fellowships: This was the first type of grant made by the Fund and represented an attempt to accelerate the post graduate work of teachers already headed for the Ph.D. Each applicant had to have a year of teaching experience and a minimum of one year's graduate work. The closer the Ph.D., the higher the grant. Stipends ranged from $1700 to $2500 plus supplements for dependents and other costs. Grants were made on a one-year basis with possible renewal for an additional year.

2. Summer grants-in-aid: These were intended to meet the needs of teachers in small, isolated colleges where there was little opportunity for study or for contact with supporting agencies. The grants ranged from $300 to $500, and later a short-term grant of $750 to enable the fellow to study the full three months of the summer was given. Such grants met the requirements of people who needed only a short term to complete work on the doctorate.

3. College-teaching-career fellowships: This was an attempt at recruitment and was the most experimental of the Fund's grants. It is as yet too early to evaluate this type of award - Mr. Lester has some misgivings about it, although he considers it the most important part of the program. The National Defense Act of 1958 was influenced by the Fund's work in this type of grant. The stakes in the college-teaching-career fellowship are high - a three-year grant rather than the customary one-year or summer grant - and the risk is greater - college seniors are chosen on their promise as future teachers. Stipends ranged from $1200 to $2000, with supplements for tuition and dependents. All recipients were required to take their first year of graduate study in the South ("So I could keep a close check on them," explained Mr. Lester). Because of the restrictions in the South on Negro graduate work, Negro recipients were allowed to take the first year in any part of the United States. However, only two Negro applicants received teaching-career grants.

The teaching-career grant, given from 1957 through 1960, has had important by-products: the Fund has been brought in touch with the brightest undergraduate students in the leading colleges of the South; colleges have

been induced to set up nominating committees to find out how many of their students were interested in teaching, thereby encouraging this interest among the students.

4. Dissertation-year fellowships: This is the only type of grant now being given. Stipends range from $2500 to $3600.

Whatever the type of grant, the purpose has been to break the burden of doctoral work for the promising student who intends to teach or is already teaching. By the end of 1964, some 700 persons will probably have attained the doctorate after having been aided by the Fund. Mr. Lester estimates that, by virtue of these grants, scholars have been saved from one to five years of their time (Gross says from two to three years). It is still too early to evaluate the program, but again Mr. Lester says it is his impression that most of the fellows will be important faculty people in ten years. About 80% of the grantees have remained in Southern schools after completing their graduate study.

The program itself has been admirably directed by Mr. Lester, who has devised impressive screening and follow-up techniques and has developed the teaching-career fellowship, a new attempt at the risky job of recruitment.

Negro participation in the Fellowships Fund's program

The GEB gave the Fellowships Fund Committee complete responsibility for the development of policy and program, but behind this authorization lay at least two hopes: that students would not be discouraged from studying in Northern schools; and that, although there would be no announced preference insofar as Negroes were concerned, there would be, in the words of the GEB minutes for 9/24/54, "sympathetic understanding of the needs of Negro students" which would "undoubtedly result in the granting of substantial numbers of fellowships to Negro candidates."

Concerning the first hope, applicants for all grants except the teach-career fellowships have been free to study in any part of the United States they chose. Teaching-career fellows have been required to take their first year in the South. Many have, of course, remained in the South for the rest of their graduate study.

As for Negro fellowships, there have been very few. In all, the Fund has given about 1500 fellowships of all types. Of these, 62 have been awarded to Negroes (of whom, 32 have attained the Ph.D.). So far, the Fund has spent about $1,500,000 on fellowships and scholarships. Of that amount, about $185,000 has gone to Negro fellowships and scholarships. The United Negro College Fund, in seeking GEB support for a fellowship program for final-year doctoral students, referred to the Fellowships Fund program as follows: "Since its inception in 1954, the Southern Fellowships Fund has awarded 600 fellowships; only 45 of these have gone to Negro recipients and not all of these have been faculty members. In 1958-1959, for example, there were only three awards to faculty members from predominantly Negro colleges. All three were for studying during the summer only." (GEB Minutes, 4/2/59)

It appears from the record that the problem of Negro graduate training has never been a central concern of the Southern Fellowships Fund. The Fund's policy of offering aid to Negro and white students on a competitive basis and the inadequate representation of Negroes on the Fund's administrative committee are perhaps reflections of this attitude. The issue of open competition for fellowship aid came up in one of the early meetings of the Fund's Administrative committee. The 20-member committee (including 3 Negroes) voted unanimously to have only one standard for applicants and to award grants on a purely competitive basis.

There is, of course, no facile answer to the problem of finding qualified Negro applicants for graduate study. Every agency that has tried to grapple with the task of improving Negro higher education in the South has been confronted with the same problem. In 1953, when the GEB was considering various types of fellowship-scholarship programs, Mr. July made the following comment on the quality of Negro applicants in the GEB fellowship program:

"Our present fellowship program has great difficulties with Negro applicants. Only a handful of the strongest institutions are capable of presenting us with eligible applicants and a large majority of these individuals are of undistinguished graduate school caliber. A few nominees from Atlanta U., Morehouse, Spelman, Fisk, and one or two other schools give promise of ability. The rest range from very bad to very indifferent. The small Negro college is almost never able to provide us with a good prospect. The large state supported schools present a somewhat better picture and they will doubtless improve steadily in the future. Our figures over the past five years show that, after we have screened out the hopeless cases, only one out of three Negro applicants finally receives fellowship assistance. The better schools average slightly less than one fellow for every two candidates. The weaker institutions maintain a very poor batting average. And all this must be placed in the context of the GEB operating its fellowship program in sympathetic understanding of the needs and difficulties of the Negro colleges and universities." (Memo to LFK, 2/5/53)

Nevertheless, it is my impression that the Fellowships Fund, upon encountering this problem, made no substantial effort to hunt for a solution. The task of building up the faculties of white institutions in the South was the one that challenged the Fund and they seem to have done an excellent job. Negroes were welcome to apply and a few of them made the grade, but the Fund has never been fired by the same vision that sustained the work of the GEB in Negro education over half a century. Nor has it ever claimed to be.

As for Negro representation on the Fund, the Administrative Committee (20 members) now has 2 Negro members, Albert Manley of Spelman and Samuel Nabrit of Texas Southern. The Council of Southern Universities, the governing organization of the Fund, is made up of nine universities, of which over half have announced non-racial admission policies, although Negro representation in the student bodies is still essentially token. The Council itself has no Negro members, which of course makes it impossible for a Negro to hold office in the governing body of the Fellowships Fund. It would be safe to say, I believe, that Negro educators and colleges have been "outsiders" in the administration and development of the Fund's program.

Without question, the Fund has helped raise the level of teaching in Southern higher education. In doing so, however, it has not given as much attention to the problem of Negro higher education as the GEB originally hoped it might.

via air Mail

April 4, 1962

Miss Flora M. Rhind
Vice-President
General Education Board
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Miss Rhind:

I was very glad to receive your letter of March 27. We are enclosing a proposal which I believe covers all the points suggested in your letter. I hope, however, that if there is additional information required, you will let me know.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures: 1 Proposal
Outline of Activities - Bob Coles
Vitae Sheet for Coles

A PROPOSAL

to the

General Education Board

April 4, 1962

Since 1954 one of the decisive chapters of American history has unfolded around the schoolhouses of the South. Unfortunately, the interplay of passion and politics and law has absorbed not only the attention but the concern of the public. There has been little comprehension of, indeed little sensitivity to, the needs and experience of the children involved in this epic controversy. In fact, though the questions are large and hard, there has been little regard for the distinctly educational issues of desegregation.

As a step in the re-directing of interest and thought toward the children, and their educational and emotional problems, we have in progress a study of the reactions of Negro and white children to the experience of desegregation. The objective is to come to know these youth, and to learn in diagnostic depth what they undergo and how they react. This is not a sociological study, but a study of personal involvement, change, and growth.

Dr. M. Robert Coles is carrying out this study. Dr. Coles is a well trained psychiatrist, thoroughly interested in the problem and deeply concerned with the injurious impact on personality which threatens in the desegregation process. His vitae is attached. Dr. Coles's wife, formerly a teacher at Shady Hill School of Cambridge (Mass.), assists him in the project.

Project

Dr. Coles has resided in Atlanta since August 1961. Starting then -- before the initial desegregation of schools -- he has met weekly or twice weekly with the nine Negro children now in desegregated schools and their parents,

and with eight of their white schoolmates and their parents. In New Orleans, he interviews monthly ten (of the 12) Negro children in desegregated schools and their parents, and seven of their white schoolmates and their parents. These latter include children who stayed at the Frantz school during the boycott of 1960-61.

Atlanta and New Orleans represented during 1961-62 two differing types of situations. Atlanta: first year of desegregation, therefore "pioneering" Negro students, of ages 15-17. New Orleans: second year of desegregation, therefore some children now in their second year of desegregation and some who began the experience this year but not as "pioneers", of ages 6 and 7, and matriculating against the background of last year's community upheaval.

In all cases, the method is to approach the child in a specific crisis from the point of view of the physician and psychiatrist. It is a study in individual feelings and thoughts and personality adjustment.

At the same time, Dr. Coles is seeking to describe the context within which the critical experiences of these youth occur. The interest here also is the problem of personality functioning in a racially divided society. Through extended and continuing conversations he is observing Negro college students engaged actively in the student protest movement, and through them seeking to understand in more depth the personality challenges and dilemmas of Negro Southerners. He has begun spot visits to Negro youth in desegregated schools of other localities, and so far has done this in Charlotte and Burnsville (N.C.) and Clinton and Oak Ridge (Tenn.) He meets regularly with teachers in Atlanta. He has established professional contacts in the Atlanta area and is, without compensation, lecturing weekly to a teacher education class - composed, i.e., of southern young people - at Emory University. There is attached a

synoptic outline of these and others of Dr. Coles's activities since August 1961.

Dr. Coles has proved remarkably adept at securing the confidence of his regular interviewees. His ability to observe them and learn from them is, therefore, most advantageous. His skill as a writer gives promise that the writings which he will produce at the conclusion of this study will be not only a contribution to science but will be provocative and widely read.

The project was supported for a one year period by a non-renewable grant from the New World Foundation. Continuance of the project for a second year will permit:

1. the prolongation of interviews with the Atlanta and New Orleans youth for a second year;

2. the interviewing of "second year" students in Atlanta, and "third year" children in New Orleans;

3. the broadening and deepening of Dr. Coles's study of the context of personality pressures and motivation.

Budget

Expenses are confined to living and travel costs for Dr. and Mrs. Coles, plus a small allowance for materials. On this project the Southern Regional Council absorbs overhead and administrative costs in the general operation budget. During the eight months from August 1961 through March 1962, expenditures have averaged $887.00 per month. Assuming the same rate, both as to the total and its components, a budget for the second year would be as follows:

September 1, 1962 - August 31, 1963

Living costs and salary for Dr. and Mrs. Coles	$7,200
Travel	3,000
Materials	425
Total	$10,625

A Proposal - 4.
General Education Board

Request

It is requested that the General Education Board grant to the Southern Regional Council the sum of $10,625 for support of the second year of a project for research in pupil adjustment during desegregation.

OUTLINE OF ACTIVITIES
Dr. M. Robert Coles

August 1961 - March 1962

1. Visits twice weekly or weekly to nine Negro children and their parents and to eight white children and their parents, at their homes in both cases. All ages 15 to 17. (Atlanta)

2. Weekly talks with two teachers in different high schools who teach the so-called integrated classrooms. (Atlanta)

3. Monthly meetings with small groups of teachers who are in the four high schools involved in desegregation. The principal of one of the high schools has attended several of these meetings. They are held in my apartment, or at one of the schools, or at the home of Dr. Edward Ladd (Chairman, Division of Teacher Education, Emory University). (Atlanta)

4. Attendance at a variety of organizational and committee meetings in Atlanta, such as OASIS and Atlanta and Georgia Councils on Human Relations.

5. Talks on some aspects of "mental health" and desegregation at Unitarian Church, Spelman College, Morris Brown College and at the Wheatley branch of the YWCA in Atlanta; and at various meetings in Alabama, Tennessee, and North Carolina.

6. Lecturer in Education at Emory; leader of a weekly section in course called "Mental Health in the Classroom".

7. Monthly visits to New Orleans, where 10 colored children of ages 6 and 7 are seen, along with their parents for several visits. I am collecting a group of drawings which are interesting expressions of the young child's reactions to some stresses of desegregation. Seven white youngsters of 6 and 7 are seen similarly during these visits.

8. Interviews or discussions with significant people in Atlanta and New Orleans, such as Attorney Tureaud or Dan Thompson or Lester Maddox or Superintendent Letson or Mr. William Melkild or, in the crisis of Donita Gaines, Eugene Patterson and R. McGill.

Outline of Activities
Dr. M. Robert Coles - 2.

9. Visits to schools, children, teachers, parents, in Charlotte, N. C., Oak Ridge, Tenn., Clinton, Tenn., Burnsville, N. C., and Asheville, N. C.

10. Several lengthy, open-ended meetings with students at Spelman, at Miles College (Birmingham), and Alabama A. & M.

11. Work with Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Interviews with several of the students, some taped. Observations of how they get along, how they live and feel and hope and pray and live and fear. Following some of these students through their experiences, such as visit to Baton Rouge jail and to Washington, long talks with Bob Zellner, etc. I think that it is interesting to see how students a little older than high school age manage under certain extraordinary stresses. It might be useful to document the reactions and feelings, even dreams, of certain students under certain undemocratic confinements. This might illustrate the nature of our uncertain and occasionally unfulfilled democracy, in its non-encounter with youth.

12. Various interviews with community leaders, in addition to those mentioned above, who have special interests in racial issues. For example, Mrs. Sara Mitchell, member of the Atlanta Board of Education; and Dr. Henry King Stanford, president of Birmingham-Southern University.

13. Lecture to a group of psychiatrists at the Emory University Medical School.

14. Several visits to meetings of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and two of its local affiliates. The purpose is, chiefly, to learn something about white liberals in lonely, harassed situations.

15. I can't say that there is much more to note other than some months of talking and hearing and reading and thinking. Crisis and tension mingle with anecdote and irony and laughs. I think that studying how children of different ages get along with one another and with different races for the first time, and also how harassed whites get along in lonely Alabama Human Relations groups, with themselves and their alien neighbors, and how college students get along in jail and over an unfriendly land, in continual flight and fear and defiance, I think these are subjects of purview, survey, and worth our attention. If successful, such studies will remind each of us, again, who we are.

GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK

March 27, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

With further reference to our conversation when you were in New York recently, I would be glad to receive from you a request for the funds needed to carry forward for another year the study which the Council is sponsoring of student adjustment in recently desegregated institutions. As I understand it the amount required is approximately $10,000. I think it may be possible for us to provide a grant in aid for the purpose and therefore I would appreciate having a copy of the proposed budget and a brief statement of Dr. Coles's progress on the project and of his plans for the next year's study. It would also be helpful if you would include in your request a brief statement of Dr. Coles's qualifications for the task.

Sincerely yours,

Flora M. Rhind

Flora M. Rhind
Vice-President

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

BC: Mr. Vernon A. Eagle

April 19, 1962

Miss Flora Rhind
Vice-President
General Education Board
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Miss Rhind:

We have your letter of April 16, 1962 notifying us of the favorable action taken by the officers of the General Education Board on our proposal for a study of the adjustment problems of Negro and white children to the experience of desegregation.

I wish to express our gratitude to you for this action. We believe that this study, under the direction of Dr. M. Robert Coles, will be an important contribution. We are tremendously pleased that the General Education Board will be associated in its sponsorship.

If convenient to you, we should like to receive the entire amount of the grant on September 1, 1962. We note that the grant, in the amount of $10,625, is for the period ending August 31, 1963 and that a statement of receipts and expenditures is to be furnished to you then, along with any unexpended portion of the grant.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 4/18

GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK

April 16, 1962

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I am glad to be able to inform you that action has been taken by the officers of the General Education Board to make available the sum of $10,625, or as much thereof as may be necessary, to the Southern Regional Council toward the costs of a study, under the direction of Dr. M. Robert Coles, of the adjustment problems of Negro and white children to the experience of desegregation. This sum is for use during the period ending August 31, 1963.

We shall be glad to make payments on this grant as needed upon request from you. At the termination of the grant, please send us a statement of receipts and expenditures. Any funds unexpended on August 31, 1963, will revert to the Board.

It is a pleasure to report this action to you.

Sincerely yours,

Flora M. Rhind

Flora M. Rhind
Vice-President

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Copy for Dr. M. Robert Coles enclosed

Rec'd 4/26

PA ✓
RHA ✓
MJ-file

GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK

April 23, 1962

Re: GA N 6201

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We have your letter of April 19 acknowledging notification of our grant toward the costs of a study of the adjustment problems of Negro and white children to the experience of desegregation.

As directed, we shall be pleased to make payment in full of this grant on or about September 1, 1962.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Greenfieldt

John H. Greenfieldt
Assistant Comptroller

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

jcm

RECEIVED
JUN 15 1962

GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK

RECEIVED
JUN 18 1962

PA ✓
MJ file

June 15, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I was very much interested in the clipping about Alabama. Certainly the situation is a heart-breaking one and the task before Mr. Pitts in his new job is especially difficult. Thank you for remembering my interest.

Sincerely yours,

Flora M. Rhind

Flora M. Rhind
Vice-President

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Foundations

August 17, 1962

General Education Board
49 West 49th Street
New York 20, New York

Gentlemen:

We acknowledge with thanks your check in the amount of $10,625. as payment in full toward the costs of a study of the adjustment problems of Negro and white children to the experience of desegregation.

The Council's official receipt is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/hs
Enclosure (Receipt for $10,625.)

(Robert Coles project)

GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD

49 WEST 49TH STREET, NEW YORK 20

TO

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, 3
Georgia

VOUCHER No. 62054

DATE August 15, 1962

THE CHECK ENCLOSED IS TENDERED IN FULL PAYMENT OF THE FOLLOWING:

Payment in full of GA (N) 6201 toward the costs of a study of the adjustment problems of Negro and white children to the experience of desegregation $10,625.00

Based on your letter of April 19.

CR
8/17/62
RHA

NO ACKNOWLEDGMENT REQUIRED. THE CANCELLED CHECK WILL BE REGARDED AS A RECEIPT.

FORM G1

RC (copy)
SB
M.A. file

GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK

September 6, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I want to thank you for letting me see the copy of Dr. Coles's interim report on his study of children under desegregation. I have read it with a great deal of interest and was impressed with the skill and restraint with which Dr. Coles has handled a very difficult task. I say "restraint" because on this subject the researcher might well be tempted to present some clearly defined conculsions that might be of immediate use to those engaged in an action program. Instead, Dr. Coles provides some very thought-provoking observations that should lead those concerned to new realization of the many complex factors involved in this tense situation.

Sincerely yours,

Flora M. Rhind

Flora M. Rhind
Vice-President

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

September 16, 1962

Miss Flora M. Rhind
Vice President
General Education Board
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, N. Y.

Dear Miss Rhind:

I thought you would like to have the enclosed preliminary report of Dr. Coles.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A

GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK

October 17, 1962

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I expect to be in Atlanta on Monday and Tuesday next week. While I am there I would appreciate having an opportunity to stop in and see you and possibly have a talk also with Dr. Coles.

Since I am now somewhat uncertain about my schedule on Monday I will telephone your office in the morning and see what can be arranged.

Sincerely yours,

Flora M. Rhind

Flora M. Rhind
Vice-President

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TELEGRAM: 10-18-62

Miss Flora M. Rhind
General Education Board
111 West 50th St.
New York 20

GLAD TO SEE YOU NEXT WEEK. IF YOU ARE FREE HOPE THAT YOU CAN HAVE DINNER MONDAY OR TUESDAY EVENING.

Leslie W. Dunbar

10/18/62

Told Mrs. Cales about visit & her (Miss R.) expressed desire to see Dr. Cales.
She (Mrs. C.) will tell Dr. Cales tonight when he returns from Birmingham.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (1-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

1033A EST OCT 19 62 AB095

SYA205 SY RKA043 PD RK NEWYORK NY 19 1115A EDT

LESLIE DUNBAR

SOUTHERN REG COUNCIL 5 FORSYTHE ST NW ATLA

HAPPY TO HAVE DINNER WITH YOU MONDAY EVENING WILL CALL AND CONFIRM STAYING ATLANTA BILTMORE

FLORA RHIND.

Foundations
Gen Edu. Bd.

RC - will you take it from here, please?

PA

MJ - file

GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK

RECEIVED
JAN 4 1963

February 28, 1963

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you so much for sending me a copy of your program report and financial statement. You and the Council have certainly had a busy and productive year.

I was interested to know that Dr. Coles will be coming this way sometime in the spring and I shall look forward to an opportunity of talking with him.

With warm best wishes to you and your staff,

Sincerely yours,

Flora M. Rhind

Flora M. Rhind
Vice-President

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

February 22, 1963

Miss Flora Rhind
Vice President
General Education Board
111 W. 50th Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Rhind:

We are sending enclosed one copy each of our budget for 1963, our financial statement for 1962, and my program report for the past year. I think you may be especially interested in the paragraph on page 12 of my report regarding Dr. Coles.

Bob tells me that he is to be best man at a Boston wedding at the beginning of April, and may stop over in New York for a day or so on his way up or back. If you are in town at the time, I know that he would want to stop by and see you briefly.

With every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm
Enclosures
1. Approved Budget - 1963
2. Financial Statement - 1962
3. Executive Director's Report for 1962

Copy to R. Coles

TA
SB
MJ-file

March 15, 1963

Miss Flora M. Rhind
Vice-President
General Education Board
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Miss Rhind:

I appreciated the chance to speak with you and your kindness and helpfulness. Thursday was a bright day in New York, and in Georgia, upon my return, spring had firmly touched the red earth.

In response to your request, I shall now describe my plans for the next two years. As you know I have spent the past two years doing research in the psychiatric aspects of desegregation in the South. My interest has been, basically, how human beings, children, youths, adults, manage under conditions of social stress, social change. There have been several phases to the project. Of initial and most important concern has been the adjustment of children, young and older, Negro and white to the crisis of initial school desegregation in the deep South. For two years I have talked with these children, their parents and teachers, and have accumulated a rather substantial number of taped interviews, drawings from younger children, and case history protocols. I have also interviewed at great length the white and Negro students involved in non-violent protest activities

in Southern states. I have watched them in their meetings and sit-ins, and taped many interviews with them. I have even visited them in jails, talking with them and their jailors. The chapter in Erik Erikson's book will describe some of my findings (I shall be sending this to you in a week or so; it is due to be published in early April). Then, I have recently put much time and effort into talking with certain segregationists I have come to know in New Orleans and southern Mississippi. Their views, their feelings, some understanding of their fears in the context of their lives, I consider very important to be known. Finally, I have talked in many cities and towns of the South with ordinary citizens struggling with the problem of conflicted feelings on this subject of racial equality in a society which has been reluctant to allow such. I have addressed many Councils on Human Relations (all associated with the Southern Regional Council), where one encounters teachers, lawyers, businessmen, some very much alone or relatively isolated, trying to live in communities, yet advocate changes in them very often unpopular indeed.

With my field work in this project now ending, I have increasingly started to write. I am now working on several psychiatric articles, having to do with the symbolic meaning of color, darkness and light, white and black, as I hear much in talking with both Negroes and whites; further, having to do with the role of psychiatrists in social change; and case histories illustrating my work in what might be called the area of "cross cultural" psychiatric investigation. I hope to work overthe next one to two years on a book about the problems mentioned above, with case histories and discussion. Atlantic-Little Brown has seen some of my early draft material, and has been very encouraging, as well as giving me an option on the book.

Of very definite related interest is the gradual development of some study of the migrant workers, their children particularly, and how they adjust to what is a fairly unusual and impoverished kind of living, with constant mobility and rejection. I would be particularly involved in field work with the Negro and white migrants who live in the South part of the year, then move North during the summer months. These are poor people,

hard to reach and get to know. I have talked at length with public health physicians most concerned with the problem, and they inform me that there is practically no information about the mental health of these people, and much needed by them (see enclosed letter). I feel that my interests and whatever skills I've developed in the past years could be well spent in such work. In this way I would be writing part of the time, and developing in no haste but with some curiosity and activity (I need such work along with writing, I have found) a continuation of my present research work. Dr. Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council has expressed his desire to sponsor my continued research, and I have found my association with the Council very helpful.

As I think about what I have just written, it seems that I am asking for some assistance which would enable me to apply my experience and knowledge to further writing and basic research in the two related areas, desegregation and migrancy, each rather little explored by my profession. To undertake this work will require some commitment on my part of time, because I am very wary of quick impressions; I find that it takes much acquaintance and effort in this kind of work.

I have talked with Dr. Dunbar about the financial problems in this study. For each of the two years with the Council, due to heavy travel expenses and, more recently, rising secretarial costs, they have supplemented out of their operating funds the grants which have enabled me to do this work. They have estimated on the basis of the past two years and my hopes for the next, that a realistic budget would include a yearly stipend of $10,000 dollars to me, with an additional amount for travel and secretarial expenses which might amount to five thousand for the former and three for the latter. Dr. Dunbar mentioned something about administrative costs to them which involve some portion of any grant, which they have waived in the past, indeed moved in the opposite direction of added funds for me. He said that he felt a $20,000 figure for each of two years would be the most desirable and realistic estimate.

I am not very comfortable with money matters, and am pleased to move on to mentioning that I enclose my

curriculum vitae, along with a few references. I could send more if they are needed. If I can be of any further assistance to you, please let me know. I have appreciated your help, and want to thank you again for your kindness on Thursday.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Coles, M.D.

RC/mmj
Enclosure

November 6, 1963

Miss Flora Rhind
Vice-President
General Education Board
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Miss Rhind:

Perhaps you may already be informed about this, but if not, I'm sure you will be interested to know that Robert Coles is now being sponsored by Harvard University, and that, at Harvard's request, New World Foundation has made a two-year grant supporting his work.

While we are, of course, sorry to lose our formal identification with him, I think this is a most happy outcome. At this stage in his work I am sure Bob is better off working with the University. Both Bob and Dr. Farnsworth, of Harvard, have expressed their wish that he continue close association with us, and this is extremely gratifying.

I am sure that you have been as delighted as we over the interest which Bob's work has recently attracted. In addition to his articles in the Saturday Review and the London Times, he has, I understand, articles coming out soon in

the Scientific American, Harper's, and Partisan Review.

I would like to express again our profound gratitude to the General Education Board for the help it gave to Bob and to us.

This has been the busiest year of all our lives, I suppose, and it's hard to believe that over a year has passed since you visited us. I have been to New York a couple times during the year, but always hurriedly. The next time I come up, and I don't know now when that may be, I hope to come by to exchange greetings with you and Dr. DeVinney.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Dr. Leland DeVinney
bc: Bob Coles

TPW
VJW
MT file

File: Foundations -

GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK

November 22, 1963

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for writing me about Robert Coles' being sponsored by Harvard University. I had heard about this through Vernon Eagle and I was, of course, delighted with the news. I think this is just the sort of arrangement that he should have for the further development of his work. It should build on his fine accomplishments while he was been with the Southern Regional Council, and I am very glad that his association with the Council is going to continue. You should take great satisfaction in having stood by him during these developing years.

With warm best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Flora M. Rhind

Flora M. Rhind

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

August 1, 1956

1:30 p.m.

Dr. Mitchell:

Mr. Ben Segal called from Washington, D. C., and said that he, Segal, had ridden on the train from New York with Nelson Cruikshank.

Mr. Cruikshank had suggested that you write (attention of William Schnitzler) to the William Green Memorial Fund and apply for some money for a specific project and stress race relations interest. Mr. Cruikshank felt that the Fund could be asked for somewhere around $15 -$20,000. Mr. Cruikshank also said that the request should be in by the first of next week as the Board of the Fund will be meeting very soon.

(see next sheet)

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

Mr. Segal said that if there were further questions he would be available in Washington at STerling 3-2194.

FILE COPY

August 3, 1956

The William Green Memorial Fund
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Attention: Mr. William F. Schnitzler
AFL-CIO

Dear Mr. Schnitzler:

This is to request the consideration by the William Green Memorial Fund of a proposal for assistance to the Southern Regional Council. This is a time when a relatively small investment can make a lasting contribution to the growth of democratic institutions in this area of special strain. We believe that the practical spirit and integrated approach of the Council deserve the approval and support of the William Green Memorial Fund.

The Southern Regional Council is fully tax-exempt, as witness our enclosed letter from the Treasury.

Enclosed are two alternative proposals. The first, a proposal for work among Southern church women, we urge as a first need. But, should this fail for any reason to meet the Fund's standards of suitability, an alternative proposal is also enclosed, more directly related to the labor movement.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Encs.
Ltr of Tax-exemption
Proposal
Alternative Proposal

FILE COPY

ALTERNATIVE PROPOSAL TO THE WILLIAM GREEN MEMORIAL FUND
FOR DEVELOPMENT OF SPECIAL MATERIALS FOR UNION MEMBERS

Out of pressing need for things to get ahead in the South, we submit a proposal to the William Green Memorial Fund to stand behind a project which badly needs doing.

The Southern Regional Council is experienced in writing things that can lodge into the thinking of Southern people. We know the trip-wires which set off needless trains of prejudice. Some of us on the staff know pretty well the Southern labor movement. We have been brought up with and have lived among the traditional prejudices of the region and have worked our way free of them. Hence, we know intimately the barriers to be surmounted.

A lot of effort will be put in the next few years, with foundation and other help, into reaching the minds of college youngsters with a view to getting them straight on matters of race; the churches will do a lot themselves in that direction; I am sure that organized labor will also take on the task. What we would like to do is put our special experience at the service of the labor movement.

Paul Christopher, who has been a member of our Executive Committee for years, has during all that time told us that our regular publications are on a plane that makes them of little use to people who work with their hands. And he has told us that we ought to get out materials that would reach them.

We would like to put some time and special personnel and much conferring with labor officials into developing popular materials aimed accurately at the thought of trade union members in the South.

We could do a publication that would correct the poppycock that passes as anthropology in the white South. We could do a pamphlet on the interconnection between this commercial-industrial society and unprejudiced living for those who

make it up. We could make perfectly plain that equality of status for Negro persons is in the finest American tradition. And we could use the devices which John Conners and his people have found make such materials most helpful for union use.

We would undertake to produce such items as the AFL-CIO education people or the educational people of any affiliated national or international unions (with John Conners' knowledge and assent) would care to have done. That means close conferences with the various education people in the labor movement as to what would be helpful.

The labor movement would have the last say as to any materials we would produce.

We would greatly like in this way to make our organization useful to the labor movement. I cannot think of a project more suitable to Mr. Green's memory than this. It would be carrying along his purposes into this effort. We would be most hopeful that the William Green Memorial Fund will approve this project, and by so doing clear the way for the Southern Regional Council to begin the conferences with the labor people that would result -- we would expect -- in usable materials.

To carry out the project described, we request a total of $17,500, to be budgeted as follows:

Salary	$6,000
Travel	2,000
Secretarial	3,000
Printing	5,000
General Administration	1,500
Total	$17,500

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
August 3, 1956

FILE COPY

A PROPOSAL TO THE WILLIAM GREEN MEMORIAL FUND FOR A RACIAL RELATIONS PROGRAM FOR SOUTHERN CHURCH WOMEN

We ask the William Green Memorial Fund for help on a useful and needed project in the South.

The project is to put modest funds behind our effort to increase the active interest of religious people in the South in compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court on desegregation in the public schools.

There is an old habit in the South among the church women to come together in times of social change and agree on the things that religion tells them to do. The habit first found formal expression in the work of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, led by the Director of Women's Work for our predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. That was a remarkably successful movement.

The lady who led that effort (Mrs. Jesse D. Ames) in due time withdrew and her interest was taken up by Mrs. M. E. Tilly of Atlanta, who has directed the work of the church women for the Southern Regional Council since the Council was established in 1944. Under Mrs. Tilly's guidance, the concern of church women has been kept alive and brought to bear.

The women put themselves behind the movement for rural health. At the end of World War II they met in a demobilization conference. They met to further the objective of the President's Committee on Civil Rights in 1948. In the conference of 1951 the concern was the travesty of justice in the courts -- and the project began of sitting in the courts and observing the process of justice. The results were splendid; at this conference they decided to call themselves the Fellowship of the Concerned, Southern women concerned about the South.

A parenthesis on the Fellowship of the Concerned. No dues, no officers. It is simply a network of friends. Mrs. Tilly knows Mrs. So-and-so, who knows Mrs. So-and-so. And this last Mrs. So-and-so knows exactly who in her town is concerned about these matters. And if Mrs. Tilly asks the first Mrs. So-and-so to convene her friends, pretty much the right people come together. It is a habit as well as a network.

On public school integration, the women have had two big meetings. In 1953, they met in preparation for the expected decision of the Supreme Court. In 1955, those from the lower South met again. As a followup of the 1955 meeting, special gatherings of the women have been held, state by state, in Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Texas. The 1955 meeting and its followups have involved about 2,000 women.

Mrs. Tilly writes:

> "These conferences have been great by every measure. One is impressed by the deep spiritual nature of them. This is well, for spiritual power is needed. These women are finding the spiritual strength and power to be:
>
> Firm in conviction, never afraid to speak,
> Persuasive in conversation
> Patient and understanding with those who do not agree,
> 'Fervent in spirit, serving the Lord.'"

In October of this year, another South-wide meeting is planned -- mostly on the matter of schools.

The influence of church women on the changing life in the South is hard to describe and hard to appraise, but it is obviously very great. Some are timid, some are fluttery, some are halting in public appearance. But some are brave and deeply possessed of religion and purpose to make their religion bring consequences.

One of the teasing problems in the South today is how to get the ringing pronouncements of denominational bodies translated into local church acceptance and action. A lot of people say that if this could be done the victory would be won, because if the church people of the South want integration, it will occur.

The Southern Regional Council has always been quite clear in its position that a lay body should not attempt interference with church decisions.

The church women, however, offer a special case. Denomination by denomination, they are organized in some sort of auxiliary group.

The oddity about working through and with the church women's groups is that while within each denomination the women have a considerable autonomy, they have next to no local treasuries for interdenominational work. They can't pay travel expenses to a meeting (even a meeting of state women); they can't pay for rent; they haven't possibility of writing organizational checks for the funds to employ staff. They remain exceedingly influential, but circumscribed as to formal action. And they are deeply interested in learning the truth.

All of the South-wide and state meetings of church women have been interracial. It did not occur to the women to come together on grounds of religion unless they were together across the lines of race.

In addition to this habit of unity within the denominations, the women, by virtue of a common sisterhood, feel a unity in religious motivation. And they are willing and anxious to get the women to explore the meaning in their lives of religious purpose.

This whole structure has a more formal side in the work, state by

by state, city by city, of the United Church Women of the National Council of Churches. The United Church Women have been most closely associated with all these indigenous Southern Church women's activities.

The Southern Regional Council and the Interracial Commission before it have these many years had a friendly standing with this whole interconnected interest of the church women. For decades of sincerity and truthfulness we have had warm respect and ready cooperation.

We have never had anything but driblets of money for working with the church women. For ten years the Southern Regional Council paid Mrs. Tilly on a half-time basis, $2,500 a year. More recently, on very special appeal, this or that small foundation has put in $1,000 or $1,500 a year to enable the Fellowship of the Concerned to call some meetings. The budgets have permitted the munificent sum of $200 per state meeting. A South-wide meeting costs a thousand. The women will come and are glad to come, but there is no way for the local organizations to foot the bill. And it takes modest subsidy to cover these minimum expenses.

Another thing ought to be done. In the most difficult of Southern states (which we count as Louisiana, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee and the Carolinas), Mrs. Tilly would like to be able to commission some one selected church woman to get things done. The lady would need to be paid a salary of a hundred dollars a month and she would need enough travel money -- at least twenty-five dollars. This is not an ambitious request. But it means a device for getting letters answered, and telephone calls made, and, to quote Kipling, a way "to cause things to be accomplished."

The Southern states made it clear that compliance with the Supreme Court's decision is going to be difficult. The strongest force for compliance

is religion, and the strongest religious influence is among the church women. They are in the habit of concerning themselves about these matters. They have carried these many years the interracial effort of the South. And they are anxious now to be better informed and more active.

It costs a little money; enough to fetch the women together; enough to provide a little part-time staff, and the rest is ideas and integrity.

A worked out budget for a single year is attached.

Such a program ought to run for three years. We do not now ask the William Green Memorial Fund to float it for three years, but ask you now only to make it possible for one. If your help should not be forthcoming in later years, we would, of course, try to interest someone else.

There is a gap in the South between the application of religious conscience to questions involving organized labor and race. The assistance here proposed would create new ties between church people and the labor movement, and would advance democracy in the South during this challenging period. Mrs. Tilly and I and most of the leadership people in the churches would be deeply grateful for the support of the William Green Memorial Fund in this effort.

I want to be emphatic that this movement is limited to no faith or race. It is a matter on which there has long been free intimate interchange between Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and without regard to race.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
August 3, 1956

BUDGET

For a two-day South-wide Conference bringing together the state leaders of the Jewish, Catholic and Protestant faiths (both races, each denomination)	2000.00
For state meeting @ $200.00 in Louisiana Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia and Kentucky ($300 for Texas)	2500.00
For a state worker @ $100.00 per month in each of the states of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina	4800.00
Travel for state worker @ $300.00 each	1200.00
Salary of Secretary	3000.00
Assistant Director	4000.00
	$17,500.00

file

Make folder

MMJ.

LWD ✓ fyi

THE HAZEN FOUNDATION
400 PROSPECT STREET
NEW HAVEN 11, CONNECTICUT

PAUL J. BRAISTED
PRESIDENT

March 18, 1964

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Research Associate
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

In response to your kind offer of March 2, Dr. Braisted would very much like to receive a copy of Dr. Coles' report to the American Psychiatric Association.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy K. Mulvey

Dorothy K. Mulvey
Secretary to Paul Braisted

Sent 3-20-64 MA

(Coles pamphlet requested & sent originally)

Make folder: Foundations: Hazen, The Edward W.

July 27, 1964

Mr. Paul J. Braisted
President
The Edward W. Hazen Foundation, Inc.
400 Prospect Street
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Braisted:

This is to place before the Foundation a request for a two-year grant of $10,000 per annum toward the budget of a project of economic counselling and study.

I have for some time hoped for an opportunity of discussing with you the affairs of the Southern Regional Council. I still look forward to doing so, but in the meantime I am taking the liberty of sending you the enclosed notebook of materials. This is a rather hefty collection, which I am sure you can do little more than scan. Perhaps, however, it may at least suggest to you the variety and the character of the work we do.

Although we have occasionally contributed research and publications* to a better understanding of the economic issues which underlie racial

---

*Recent examples include: The Economic Status of Negroes: in the Nation and in the South, by Vivian W. Henderson; The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South (three pamphlet studies, on Houston, Chattanooga, and Atlanta); and A Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina.

problems, we have long wanted to provide a more sustained and systematic service. This is, however, peculiarly one of those areas in which what can be done depends on finding someone to do it. We have been fortunate in securing a thoroughly qualified man, and are now able to establish the project.

The Southern Regional Council is one of the few organizations which bridges the dominating interests of the contemporary South; viz., race relations and economic growth. It is perhaps the only one which does so from the vantage point of a thorough commitment to racial equality and Negro advance. We believe that the civil rights movement in the South will increasingly focus its attention on economic problems, and that southern economic leaders will increasingly see the need for confronting the disparities of income and opportunity which are basic causes of racial unrest.

We are, therefore, establishing this project. It will function in the following general ways:

1. provide economic data and interpretation for Negro groups and for businesses with southern interests;

2. provide counselling for bi-racial and Negro groups in the formulation of economic positions;

3. We are constantly consulted by federal agencies regarding administration of their programs in our field of interest, and these programs more and more relate to economic issues; the project will enable us to contribute professionally disinterested and informed advice, and also to review and critique, both quietly and through publications, the effectiveness of those programs.

4. carry on research that relates the issues of regional economic development and racial relations, and publish occasional short studies.

There are several not-so-obvious considerations which underline the high usefulness of this project.

one is that no private civil rights or race relations agency in the entire country, to the best of our knowledge, has the services of a staff economist, and there is a pressing need for informed guidance. Another, is that the area of research indicated in (4) above has been woefully neglected by economists. Basic research in this area is only now being carried through (chiefly, at North Carolina State University on a Twentieth Century Fund grant), and the opportunity is ripe for project research applying basic findings to critical, immediate problems. A third is that the federal poverty program will open new issues as well as new directions for all interested in human relations.

The project will be headed by Dr. J. Lloyd Elliott, a brilliant young economist who comes to us from William and Mary College, where he has been an associate professor. From other sources, we have been assured of approximately half of the necessary funds for a two-year project, and on that basis we have gone ahead. We are budgeting for the project for each year:

Salary for Project Director.....	$ 11,000
Secretarial Help	4,000
Printing	3,000
Travel of Project Director	1,000
Administrative Overhead (15% of Project Director's salary)	1,650
Total	$ 20,650

We hope that this proposal will merit your consideration, and that you will feel free to rais with us any questions you may have concerning it.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (SRC notebook)
Bc: Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Mr. Vernon A. Eagle

THE HAZEN FOUNDATION
400 PROSPECT STREET
NEW HAVEN 11, CONNECTICUT

File

July 31, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Your letter of July 27, 1964, and the enclosed notebook of materials, will be on Dr. Paul Braisted's desk when he returns about the middle of August. I am sure that he will be in correspondence with you shortly after he returns.

Sincerely yours,

Garlan E. Hoskin

Garlan E. Hoskin
Administrative Assistant

THE HAZEN FOUNDATION
400 PROSPECT STREET
NEW HAVEN 11, CONNECTICUT

PAUL J. BRAISTED
PRESIDENT

Rec'd 9/10/64

File

September 9, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your inquiry of July 27 concerning the important project of economic counselling and study. This particular project lies somewhat outside the range of Hazen Foundation activities. Both for this reason, and also because of our general operating policies and present commitments, we are unable to respond with a grant.

Sincerely yours,

Paul J. Braisted

Paul J. Braisted

m

SRC Promotion Notebook
Returned 9/15/64
mij

DRAFT B C to Rufus Clement

May 2, 1966

Norris Herndon Foundation
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

This is to request of the Norris Herndon Foundation consideration of a one time grant to the Southern Regional Council in the amount of $1,000.

Enclosed with this request is a copy of our program report for 1965, which sets out the program interests and concerns of the Council during that year and our plans for program during the current year. Enclosed also is a copy of the Council's Audit for 1965, a listing of the Council membership and a copy of the Council's operating budget for the current year. We would be happy to provide any additional information which the Foundation might require before making a decision.

In the past the Council has been very careful not to approach sources such as the Norris Herndon Foundation. We have felt that resources such as those of the Foundation should be used for more local work, and that it was necessary for agencies ~~such as~~ like the Southern Regional Council to look to those sources of national support in an effort to carry on its program. The situation has now changed somewhat. Increasingly we are under pressure from national foundations and others to prove that our program is sufficiently relevant to the region's welfare and respected within the region to attract local support. This is a reasonable request since national foundations cannot be expected to

D R A F T

give support ~~to an operation of ours on~~ on an indefinite basis unless they have some assurance that its program is wanted by the enlightened interest within the region.

Most recently we have received a direct challange from the Stern Family Fund. Although this is essentially a foundation based in New Orleans its program is national and its headquarters is in New York. In November of last year the Stern Family Fund informed us they would make us a grant of $10,000 contingent on our matching that amount in contributions of $1,000 or more from within the region. We have found it extremely difficult to meet these conditions. Most foundations, agencies, corporations and individuals who are in a position to do so are still not interested in supporting programs such as those of the Southern Regional Council. Several who are are willing to support us but not to the extent of the requested $1,000 or more. For these reasons we are making this request of the Norris Herndon Foundation.

Please understand that we still do so reluctantly and stipulate in our request that it would be a one time grant without encouragement from the Foundation for future support.

We are deeply grateful for any consideration you may be able to give to this request.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

BC Dr Rufus Clement

May 2, 1966

file

Alonzo F. & Norris B. Herndon Foundation, Inc.
148 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

This is to request of the Alonzo F. & Norris B. Herndon Foundation, Inc. consideration of a one time grant to the Southern Regional Council in the amount of $1,000.

Enclosed with this request is a copy of our program report for 1965, which sets out the program interests and concerns of the Council during that year and our plans for program during the current year. Enclosed also is a copy of the Council's Audit for 1965, a listing of the Council Membership and a copy of the Council's operating budget for the current year. We would be happy to provide any additional information which the Foundation might require before making a decision.

In the past the Council has been very careful not to approach sources such as the Alonzo F. & Norris B. Herndon Foundation, Inc. We have felt that resources such as those of the Foundation should be used for more local work, and that it was necessary for agencies like the Southern Regional Council to look to those sources of national support in an effort to carry on its program. The situation has now changed somewhat. Increasingly we are under pressure from national foundations and others to prove that our program is sufficiently relevant

orig retained

to the region's welfare and respected within the region to attract local support. This is a reasonable request since national foundations cannot be expected to give support on an indefinite basis unless they have some assurance that its program is wanted by the enlightened interest within the region.

Most recently we have received a direct challenge from the Stern Family Fund. Although this is essentially a foundation based in New Orleans its program is national and its headquarters is in New York. In November of last year the Stern Family Fund informed us they would make us a grant of $10,000 contingent on our matching that amount in contributions of $1,000 or more from within the region. We have found it extremely difficult to meet these conditions. Most foundations, agencies, corporations and individuals who are in a position to do so are still not interested in supporting programs such as those of the Southern Regional Council. Several are willing to support us but not to the extent of the requested $1,000 or more. For these reasons we are making this request of the Alonzo F. & Norris B. Herndon Foundation, Inc.

Please understand that we still do so reluctantly and stipulate in our request that it would be a one time grant without encouragement from the Foundation for future support.

We are deeply grateful for any consideration you may be able to give to this request.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures

Reply to Sam Cook. 4/16/65

LOUIS W. AND MAUD HILL FAMILY FOUNDATION

W-500 FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING

LOUIS W. HILL, JR., PRESIDENT
CA. 4-4884

SAINT PAUL 1, MINNESOTA
55101

A. A. HECKMAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
CA. 4-9635

March 22, 1965

S A - any suggestions?

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Since the conference at Capahosic last spring quite a good deal has happened. Although the news releases are not out yet, Hill Family Foundation has made a grant of $221,000 to four Minnesota colleges and the United Negro College Fund colleges for an exchange professorship program. Each year eight teachers from UNCF schools will be able to come to Saint Paul to teach part-time in the local colleges and attend the University of Minnesota Graduate School. Four Minnesota college professors will go to the South to teach and serve as consultants.

Cr. ref.

You will recall that Father Shannon and I explained how it was necessary for Hill Family Foundation to work through institutions in our geographic region. (Incidentally, Father Shannon will be consecrated as a bishop on March 31.) This regional emphasis is important in our policy and I cannot be very hopeful about the request of the National Institute of Labor Education. We are deluged by requests from institutions and organizations in our region and since most of the institutions in Northwestern United States have no access to Eastern foundations, Hill Family Foundation is likely to remain regional in character for some time to serve the pressing needs of these institutions. I foresee continuing support for the Negro colleges for some time and I believe we will prefer to put everything we can into support for these colleges rather than into other good programs related to Civil Rights.

One way in which this exchange professorship might benefit your organization is to be sure that selected professors from some of the Southern Negro colleges can participate in the exchange. If you want me to work with you to try to get a couple of professors from UNCF colleges in economics and behavioral sciences to come to Minnesota under the exchange program, I would be glad to do so. They could study with people like Walter Heller at the University of Minnesota and return to be valuable resources in your program.

Let me know if there is anything more I can do. Best wishes from the family and myself.

Sincerely,

Don

Donald H. Hughes
Assistant Executive Director

DHH:D

Make feeler if there isn't one!

April 21, 1965

Mr. Donald H. Hughes
Assistant Executive Director
~~Louis W. and Maud Hill~~ Family Foundation
W-500 ~~First National Bank Building~~
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Don:

I have not answered your letter of March 22 sooner because I have been trying to have a name or two ready to suggest to you. A couple people whom I could have recommended have turned out not to be available. You shall hear from me further, however.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

July 27, 1965

Dr. Paul M. Gaston
c/o Mr. Tom Hopkins
Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Paul:

I am enclosing a copy of Don Hughes' letter re Hill Foundation Program, and hoping that you will keep your eye open for someone from the behavioral sciences or economics. Someone you feel will fill the bill.

Sincerely,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosure

Sidney Hillman File

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, AUGUST 25, 1950.

NEW PRIZES SET UP BY HILLMAN FUND

Foundation to Give $500 Awards for Stories, Drama on Labor Race Relations and Peace

The Sidney Hillman Foundation announced yesterday that eight prize awards of $500 each would be made during 1950 for journalistic, editorial and drama treatments of the general subject of trade-union development, race relations and world peace and related problems.

The eight prize awards, to be made hereafter on an annual basis, will come from a $42,500 fund allocated by the trustees of the oundation for scholarships, grants-in-aid and other merit awards. The foundation is named after the late president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, C. I. O.

Jacob S. Potofsky, president of the foundation and Mr. Hillman's successor as president of Amalgamated, reported that a $10,000 fund had been made available to the Social Science Department of the University of Chicago. The fund will be used for a two-year analysis of school and college textbooks "for the purpose of rooting out the teaching of prejudice and discrimination."

The 1950 prize awards will be given for work in the following classifications: article or series in any newspaper, editorial in any daily newspaper, article or series in a labor publication, article in a magazine of national circulation, professional radio or television show, published work of fiction, professionally produced play and professional motion picture.

A $1,000 fund has been set aside for the annual Hillman Award for Meritorious Achievement, Mr. Potofsky added. Last year's winner was Senator Frank P. Graham, former president of the University of North Carolina.

The trustees voted $18,000 in scholarships for the year to be distributed as follows: $2,000, Howard University, Washington; $2,000, New School for Social Research, New York; $2,000, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.; $2,000, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University; $5,000, Roosevelt College, Chicago, and $5,000, the Chaim Weizmann Institute, Rehovoth, Israel.

An additional $5,000 was appropriated for the Sidney Hillma Tool priated for the Sidney Hillman Tool Fund in Isreal, which helps rehabilitate refugees, and $5,000 for the annual Hillman Lecture Series.

December 26, 1950

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Stuart Meacham
Sidney Hillman Fund
15 Union Square
New York, New York

Dear Stuart:

We are in fluttering hope that the Sidney Hillman Fund will meet soon and find it possible to come to our aid.

We are rounding out the year not too badly, but one more good stiff contribution is much needed.

But if you don't meet before the turn of the year, we will be again in need January 2.

Sincerely and Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Thanked for letter - said GSM out of city
10/11/50 -BR

Foundations -

Telephone ALgonquin 5-7800

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF *America*

15 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

426

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CHARLES WEINSTEIN
MURRAY WEINSTEIN

RECEIVED
OCT 11 1950
Southern Regional Council

October 9, 1950

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I want to thank you very much for putting us in touch with Mr. Morris Abram. Unfortunately, I had to leave Atlanta on Sunday morning, but I understand he did a very excellent job.

I have spoken to Mr. Meacham about your request, and I am, myself, anxious to learn more about the work of the Council.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Slocum

John H. Slocum
Director of Education

JHS:ieo

Foundations- Sidney Hillman Fund

October 3, 1950

Mr. John H. Slocum
Director of Education
Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union
9 Union Square West
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Slocum:

Morris Abram enjoyed talking to your group when it met in Atlanta. He found them, he said, an unusually interesting and interested audience. I know they found him a good guy.

My needy Council is just at these moments on the grid with Stuart Meacham and the Sidney Hillman Fund for a grant. May I bespeak your help to our cause?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

September 15, 1950

Mr. Stuart Meacham
Sidney Hillman Foundation
9 Union Square
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Meacham:

This is a request to the Foundation for an early emergency grant of $2,500.00 to the Southern Regional Council.

Literature describing the Council and its program is in your hands and unless it is desired, I will not dwell at length on that. Suffice it to say that, as an organization embodying the earnest concern of thoughtful and fair-minded Southern people of both races and of all creeds, it is performing a task indispensable today in interpretation to the South of the pressing requirements, in all matters of human welfare, in the world outside.

The Council has operated so far this year on a (greatly reduced) annual budget of $35,000. Of the approximately $25,000 which has thus far been received, only $7,000 has come as foundation grants, and the remainder has been received from dues payments, from sale of literature, from church contributions, or from individual contributions of five, ten, or twenty-five dollars from private individuals sscattered over the whole South. The sum of these individual contributions is something over $9,000. The Council has had well over half of its support this year from within the South. But it is still not able completely to close the gap left by the loss of the large annual contribution hitherto made to it by the Julius Rosenwald Fund. The proportion of individual and Southern aid has grown very rapidly in the last three years, and most rapidly of all in 1950. It remains, however, in the very greatest need of some extra aid at this time.

The Council enjoys tax exemption on the basis of a U. S. Treasury letter dated July 28, 1947.

I attach an audit for the year 1949. Since that year we have had assistance from several additional sources, among them the United Steelworkers of America, CIO and the Textile Workers Union of

America, CIO.

The Council proposes to apply this Fall to the Foundation for a regular grant for the year 1951. Meanwhile, I am urgently in hope that you can help the Council to meet its present pressing need.

Sincerely,

Paul D. Williams
President

PDW:er
Encl.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

SIDNEY HILLMAN FUND

Sept. 5, 1950

GSM:

Recall that in late August 1950, John H. Slocum, Director of Education for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, asked you who could be a speaker on the UN at their Southern staff meeting. You recommended Morris Abram.

Sidney Hillman Foundation

May 8, 1950

Mr. Jacob Potofsky
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
15 Union Square
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Potofsky:

My Southern Regional Council wants to interest the Sidney Hillman Foundation in helping it.

I will get in touch with you later on about that, but meanwhile here is this good account of the Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Encl.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Nov. 30, 1951

NOTE TO GSM, RE SIDNEY HILLMAN FUND, 1952

Stewart Meacham told me in late November, 1951, that his replacement as secretary of the Sidney Hillman Fund is Howard Samuel. A young guy with experience in publicity. Wrote a textbook on how laws are passed.

I should write to Potofsky along about now, and then pretty soon begin getting in a second round of such back-up letters as we had last year. Lucy Mason, in particular.

S.H.F.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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GUSTAVE M. BERNE, *Treasurer*
MAURICE GLINERT, *Associate Treasurer*
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DAVID SHER, *New York, Vice-President*
ALAN M. STROOCK, *New York, Vice-President*
JOSEPH WILLEN, *New York, Vice-President*

April 18, 1951

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I want to congratulate you on your receipt of the grant from the Sidney Hillman Fund. I am taking the matter up with Mr. Dubinsky, and you will no doubt hear from him soon.

I was very happy to learn that you visited our groups in Memphis. I trust that you can duplicate this performance with other chapters.

It was good to hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

John Slawson

John Slawson

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

JS/ss

RECEIVED
APR 21 1951
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

April 16, 1951

The Sidney Hillman Foundation, Inc.
15 Union Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Sirs:

The Southern Regional Council is greatly helped by the generous contribution of the Sidney Hillman Foundation.

Please extend our thanks to your Board. We hope that the Council's work will continue to merit your interest.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Norma Huff
Secretary-Treasurer

NH:jwh
encl.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

EVERY ROOM AN OUTSIDE ROOM WITH RADIO AND CIRCULATING ICE WATER
—CEILING FANS—

ARTHUR E. BUDDENHAGEN
MANAGER

THE SIR WALTER

"RALEIGH'S FINEST AND LARGEST"
A MEYER HOTEL

RALEIGH, N. C.

The Sidney Hillman Foundation, Inc.
15 Union Square
New York 3

2500 00

MEYER HOTELS

THE WINDSOR, JACKSONVILLE, FLA. • THE EMERSON, BALTIMORE, MD. • THE PATRICK HENRY, ROANOKE, VA.
THE SIR WALTER, RALEIGH, N. C. • THE HERMITAGE, NASHVILLE, TENN. • THE FARRAGUT, KNOXVILLE, TENN.
THE ROOSEVELT, JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION
INC.
11-15 UNION SQUARE WEST, NEW YORK 3, N.Y. · PHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-6500

April 10, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am glad things went well regarding the grant from the Foundation to the Southern Regional Council. Our check for $2500 has already been sent to Paul Williams.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Stewart Meacham
Director

SM/cdc

Southern Regional Council
APR 13

CC: Norma Huff

April 6, 1951

Mr. Stuart Meacham
Sidney Hillman Foundation
9 Union Square
New York, New York

Dear Stuart:

Temperatures hereabouts shot up enormously last Saturday when the newspapers said the Sidney Hillman Foundation had met at Atlantic City and made us a grant. We are deeply grateful.

The Southern newspaper stories were pretty mixed. One had it at $7500, and another in South Carolina had it at $2.50, but by getting hold of Saturday's New York Times we got it straight, we suppose.

We are grateful to you and to the whole Board for helping us substantially, and at a time when we need it tremendously.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Foundations - Hillman

CC: Norma Huff

April 6, 1951

Mr. Stuart Meacham
Sidney Hillman Foundation
9 Union Square
New York, New York

Dear Stuart:

Temperatures hereabouts shot up enormously last Saturday when the newspapers said the Sidney Hillman Foundation had met at Atlantic City and made us a grant. We are deeply grateful.

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We are grateful to you and to the whole Board for helping us substantially, and at a time when we need it tremendously.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Foundations - Hellman

CC: HFleming

April 6, 1951

Mr. Gus Tyler
I.L.G.W.U.
1710 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Tyler:

We are much cheered by the newspaper notices that the Sidney Hillman Foundation last Friday at Atlantic City made our Council a grant of $2500. That is life-giving and deeply appreciated.

I do hope the ILG will find it possible to help the Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Foundations - Sidney Hillman

April 6, 1951

Miss Rebecca Reid
29 East Calhoun Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Miss Reid:

The first paper we saw about the Sidney Hillman grant said it was $7500. Then we got hold of the New York Times, which set it straight at $2500. The next thing was the South Carolina clipping at $2.50.

We had asked them eight or ten months ago for $5000. I thought some sum was coming through eventually and was delighted when they did appropriate $2500. It helps us enormously.

We are about to ask the Ford Foundation for a whopping sum that would yield enough to put full time staff in each state. That's the right next step.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Hillman Fund Grant

Atlantic City, N. J., March 31 — (AP) — The CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has announced Sidney Hillman scholarships and grants totalling $39,500. The union awarded a second $5,000 to the University of Chicago for study of textbooks "to root out the teaching of prejudice and discrimination." It allotted $2.50 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. of Atlanta, to improve race relations and social justice in the south, and $5,000 for the Sidney Hillman lecture series, speakers for which will be announced later.

?

RECEIVED
APR 3 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr Dables & I hope this is a misprint!

Rebecca Reid

Cant you do something with our World-Speed? Governor?

Foundations - Hillman

April 5, 1951

Dr. John Slawson
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Slawson:

We are much cheered by the newspaper news that the Sidney Hillman Fund at its meeting at Atlantic City last Friday granted the Council $2500. That has not yet been confirmed from Mr. Potofsky or Stuart Meacham, but we suppose the papers were right.

I want to thank you warmly for your kind interest in this request.

We still have one pending with Mr. Dubinsky and can get no word of where it stands. If you have channels that would be helpful there, I would be most grateful for whatever you might be able to do.

In good measure through Mr. Kulick's kindness, I went ten days or so ago to Memphis and met for dinner with a number of members of the Executive Committee of the Memphis chapter of AJC and later talked to a good many of the members and people drawn in also by the NCCJ. I hope I made new friends for the Council.

We all look forward to Mr. Lucas' visit to Atlanta next week.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

File

Southern Regional Council
JAN 25 1951

January 23, 1951

Mr. Jacob Potofsky, President
Amalgamated Clothing Workers
15 Union Square
New York, New York

Dear Sir and Brother:

I was in Atlanta, Georgia, over the weekend, and George Mitchell, of the Southern Regional Council, briefly discussed with me the sad financial state of the Council.

The loss of this organization would be very detrimental to our program in the South, both organizationally and politically. Mitchell informed me that the Council has an application in to the Sidney Hillman Foundation for aid, but so far has not been able to work out an appointment in order to discuss with you more fully their needs.

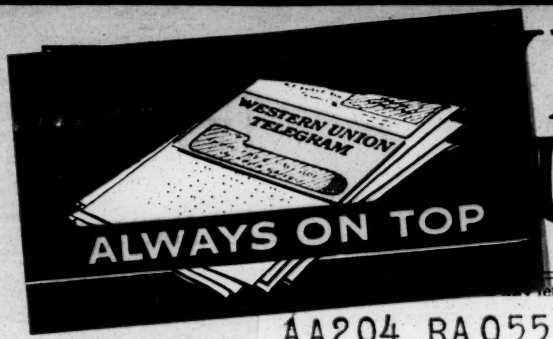
I think it would be a tragedy if the Council for any reason was forced to disband, and would strongly recommend any aid that can be rendered to the Council by the Sidney Hillman Foundation.

If you desire, I will be glad to discuss the operation and activities of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely and fraternally,

George L-P Weaver

GLPW:ml
liu 1695 cio



WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

Hillman

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

...letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

AA204 RA055

1951 JAN 19 AM 6 28

R•WA119 NL PD=WASHINGTON DC 18=

GEORGE MITCHELL=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ATLA=

GEORGE WEAVER IN ATLANTA ATTENDING CONVENTION NEGRO PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION CAN BE REACHED AT ALPINE 0211 OR MAIN 2409. SUGGEST YOU CONTACT HIM CONCERNING HILLMAN FOUNDATION. REGARDS=

PAUL D WILLIAMS=..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

1/22/51 Thanked for letter - Said GSM out of city.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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FRANK L. SULZBERGER, *Chicago, Vice-President*

January 18, 1951

RECEIVED
JAN 22 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Pursuant to my letter to you of the 16th, I spoke with Mr. Potofsky today, and he promised that he would definitely look into the matter.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

John Slawson

John Slawson

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

JS/ss

December 22, 1952

Mr. H. D. Samuel
Sidney Hillman Foundation
15 Union Square, West
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Samuel:

I am to be in New York December 29, 30, and 31, and will come by the office and hope to have conversation with you about our perennial need for help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 21, 1952

Mr. Jacob Potofsky
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
15 Union Square, West
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Potofsky:

You will be pleased, as we were, to see the good spread on page 11 of the April, 1952, issue of STEEL LABOR about Paul Williams' SHC speech last December and the Council's doctrine on "The South of the Future."

I would be grateful for your kindness in letting this be seen by other Board members and the staff of the Sidney Hillman Foundation, whose sustaining helpfulness we have enjoyed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

March 17, 1952

Mr. H. D. Samuel
Sidney Hillman Foundation
15 Union Square, West
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Samuel:

It is a pleasure to send you a copy of the audit for the Southern Regional Council for the year 1951.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

5H 21

February 5, 1952

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Rd.
Richmond 22, Va.

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for your letter of February 4. We will look for the check today or tomorrow.

Thank you for trying so hard on Thalhimer's and for being willing to give it the last needed poke when May gets back.

I have turned your most modest expense account over to Katherine Stoney, and we ought to be able to pay it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. The check and your letter came in later today. Many thanks. Your work on Potofsky supplies the missing link. I did not know why they were so ready to help.

GSM:ec

February 5, 1952

Mr. H. D. Samuel
Sidney Hillman Foundation
15 Union Square, West
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Samuel:

We had word from Paul Williams in Richmond today that your kind check came to him and he is mailing it on to us. We will look, therefore, for its succor in a day or so.

We are very grateful to the Sidney Hillman Foundation for that indispensable help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

February 4, 1952

Mr. H. D. Samuel
Sidney Hillman Foundation
15 Union Square, West
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Samuel:

We are gasping a bit. Do refresh us as soon as you can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

MENTZER, BUSH & COMPANY
TEXT BOOK PUBLISHERS
2210 SOUTH PARK WAY, CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

FEB 5 1952
Southern Regional Council

Richmond, Va.
Feb. 4, 1952

Dear George,

Thanks for your good letters of Jan. 22 and 31.

I tried several times to see Irving May of Thalhimer's but each time without success. Now he is off on an extended vacation - Florida I presume - so I'll have to try again when he returns.

I wrote you yesterday sending a check from the Hillman Foundation for $1500.

I hope your N.Y. proposition for $10,000. comes through. This will be great.

I liked the editorial by John McCray on the Greenville Survey.

Thanks for the pictures of the gulley. I can use one of them in a textbook.

Will write Card. Stutch as soon as my friend in Chicago gives me the word. I think he will come through.

Enclosed is statement of my expenses for annual meeting.

Sincerely,
Paul W.

P.S. I am trying ~~seve~~ several sources for help for SRC. Hope they come across with checks. P.

Expenses for S.R.C. Annual Meeting Dec. 1951

R.R. Fare Richmond to Atlanta + return	$43.36
Roomette " " "	10.52
" Atlanta to Richmond	10.52
One Night Hotel - Atlanta	5.00
	$69.40

Note - No meals or incidentals are included. These will be a small donation on my part.

Paul D. Williams

MENTZER, BUSH & COMPANY
TEXT BOOK PUBLISHERS
2210 SOUTH PARK WAY, CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

Feb. 3, 1952

Dear George,

The enclosed check greeted me on my return home Saturday. When I was in N. Y. briefly early in Jan. I spoke with Potofsky over the 'phone and I saw personally a person close to Potofsky who helped me when I worked on the grant last year.

I will answer Potofsky's letter tomorrow and send you his letter and my answer.

Best wishes always.

Sincerely yours,
Paul W.

RECEIVED
FEB 5 1952
Southern Regional Council

January 31, 1952

Mr. H. D. Samuel, Secretary
Sidney Hillman Foundation
15 Union Square, West
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Samuel:

We were greatly pleased by the news of the Foundation's grant of $1,500 to us. It is enormously helpful, and we are glad, also, of the opportunity it gives us of carrying forward Sidney Hillman's great spirit.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

January 29, 1952

IN RE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION:

Paul Williams told me he would be willing to help again and that Paul Christopher could help and Harry Reid and George Weaver could help.

Paul told me January 12, 1952, that he would see William Greene in a few months time.

Also to undertake action at appropriate time with Cardinal Stritch.

GSM

January 21, 1952

Mr. H. D. Samuel
Sidney Hillman Foundation
15 Union Square, West
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Samuel:

Very nice to talk with you the other day.

We have a very hard time keeping our head above water just now, and will be extremely grateful for help from the Foundation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

February 9, 1953

Mr. Howard D. Samuel
Executive Director
The Sidney Hillman Foundation
15 Union Square, West
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Samuel:

Many thanks for digging around and for the wire. All was as you said. Paul Williams had the check, had just got into town from New York, and promised to send it air mail on down today.

We will write officially to Mr. Potofsky. But meanwhile, our very warmest thanks to the Foundation and to you for that life-giving aid.

And do send down the article from THE ADVANCE, which we want to see.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(57)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

AA50 NC 9 PM 12 07

A.NC083 PD=NEW YORK NY 9 1119A=

TU ATLANTA

GEORGE MITCHELL, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

63 AUBURN AVE ATLA=

CHECK MAILED SPECIAL DELIVERY LAST WEEK TO PAUL D. WILLIAMS 3320 GLOUCESTER RD, RICHMOND. PLEASE CONFIRM RECEIPT=

HOWARD D SAMUEL DIRECTOR SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION=

RECEIVED
FEB 9
Southern Regional Council

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

RECEIVED
FEB 9

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION
INC.
15 UNION SQUARE WEST, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • PHONE: ALGONQUIN 5-7800

February 5, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I thought you would be interested in the attached editorial from the February 1 issue of THE ADVANCE, the official newspaper of the Amalgamated, going to all of our 375,000 members. You will note that it is based on the article in the recent issue of NEW SOUTH.

With best wishes and kind personal regards,

I am

Sincerely yours,

Howard D. Samuel

Howard D. Samuel
Executive Director

HDS/cdc
enc.

September 16, 1953

Mr. H. D. Samuel, Secretary
Sidney Hillman Foundation
15 Union Square, West
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Samuel:

Here is a pretty good new pamphlet we have just done. We want to get it used by local people and preferably our local biracial groups throughout the South. So used it can have a considerable effect in bringing about calmness and support of whatever may be the final rule of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases.

We are proud that some of the Hillman Foundation money went into the preparation of the pamphlet.

Will you not be good enough to cast about in the Almagamated and see whether there are union w channels for the pamphlet's widesperad local use.

January 7, '54

Mr. Howard D. Samuel
The Sidney Hillman Foundation
15 Union Square
N. Y. 3, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Samuel,

I've dictated, some weeks ago, a great long 1953 report. Whereupon the secretary who took it also took 'flu, and I don't know when I can get it. So, in the absence of printed things that would give a proper summary of this SRC, here goes!

We are based on the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which began in 1919, and continued active until it merged into the Council in 1944. It had its origin in the race riots just after world war II. Will W. Alexander, who had served various interracial causes in his work with the Y. M. C. A., proved to have a knack in settling the race riots. Main device was local interracial committees, which gave an opportunity for Negro grievances to be understood, and acted upon. These were quickly federated into State Interracial Committees, stretching all through the South, and they in turn were linked in the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The Commission, with offices in Atlanta, sought funds for keeping the state and local groups organized and active, and steered their general policies. Local groups did a lot, at a time when Negro Southerners had few alternatives for getting attention to their needs in health, housing, police administration, city services, and so on. Also, the Commission took on the job of combatting lynching. This was mainly done theorugh a subsidiary organization, called the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, run by an energetic Texas lady, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames. In seven or eight busy years she got the Church women in hundred of counties to sign petitions addressed to their local sheriff, saying they wanted nobody in the County looking after their honor except the Sheriff - and it worked. The sheriff knew they had votes, and meant business. In the years of Mrs. Ames' work the lynching figures climbed down from forty and fifty to eight and ten; not by any means all her doing, but she undoubtedly helped a lot. And she showed us a way of getting many things done, as will appear subsequently.

Much else the Commission did, but I move on. When World War II came along we had the advantage of great books in Sociology, which analysed the South, and (I compress!) said that if you got people basically equal they would learn to work together. Also a special civic restlessness went through the Negro community; their boys were going, yes, in a war against Hitler. They were for that. And for Democracy. But could anybody tell them a little about what this Democracy was going to be like when their sons got home?

So in a series of meetings at Richmond, Durham, and Atlanta the three things were put together. The old interracial commissions, the sociology, and the civic hopes of the Negro group. They named it the Southern Regional Council - chartered (by Georgia) in February, 1944. And we've been the Council ever since. First Director was Guy Johnson, of Chapel Hill, who went back to his Professorship in 1947, whereupon they gave the Council into my keeping. Able Board of Directors, as herewith. Annual membership meeting. Dues-paid members, two or three thousand, delinquent members, another thousand. Subscribers to maggie, another 500. Members of affiliated committees, another couple of thousand. Organized State Divisions of our members in all States except Tennessee (where it's temporarily defunct), Texas (where we have a surviving affiliated Interracial Committee), Georgia (ditto), and Virginia, where the Virginia Council of Churches operates an interracial activity which is independent, but in effect does our things in that State.

Program. Guy Johnson put out a valuable series of publications, describing matters economic in the South, and Health needs, and the problem of farm mechanization. Also a useful job on Negro history, and a handbook on Understanding our Neighbors, and two or three years of our magazine, New South. Conferences, negotiations, organization. What I can claim some credit for would be as follows:

Race in the News. We saw that the papers were nearly ready to change to decency, from habits that went back to slavery days. Collected examples of good and bad performance, did them up in a simple pamphlet, and by a lucky break got to Southern Newspaper Publishers Association to send it to every white paper in the South. Followed that by getting it out to local groups of church women, who called on the editor, and asked him to go by the rules in the book. It worked, and three-quarters of the white press in the South now uses courtesy titles right along, is careful of race tags in the headline, seeks out favorable Negro news, and in simply considerate.

Negro Veterans. An old job, done 1945-57. By putting on ten trained young veterans, who knew the regulations as to GI rights, and sending them a'travelling to visit local servicing officials, alerted hundreds of back communities to the importance of equal treatment of the returning Negro veterans, and I think contributed a bit to the comparative peace after World War II.

Police. A job like the newspaper thing. Wrote out the rules, that cops should merely arrest prisoners, and take them before a judge, and not punish them ahead of time,

and should enforce the law as written and not the unwritten law of white supremacy. Sent it out to all the sheriffs and all the chiefs, and then sent the ladies to see them. Again it worked, in a lot of places. The committees went to see about 175 sheriffs or chiefs, book in hand. Typical and revealing report, from thee ladies in Claiborne County, in south Mississippi: "Dear Mrs. Tilly. We took the little blue book to our sheriff and he said everything is all right. He is nice to colored and all his deputies are nice to colored. But Mrs. Tilly, could you send us one more copy of the little blue book, we want to give it to the night watchman in the gaol".

Negro police. Simply by circularizing every community which we had heard might have Negro police officers, year after year, we have done something to increase the number put on, and the number of places that use them. When we began in 1947 I think there were forty towns that had Negro members of their police forces. Now there are 112, some in every State, and deputies in fifteen counties or so. Also, we've been a repository for info. on how it has worked, and we still do a small business in sending out persuasive material to this place or that, where a new mayor, answerable to the Negro votes that helped elect him, needs pressure on the city council!

Negro firemen. Ditto, but as yet less successful.

Schools and Courts. What could we do to speed a decent cooperation by State and local public opinion with whatever may be the ultimate decision of the Supreme Court? We decided to push for local interracial discussion groups. Put out the facts, in a booklet called QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS, THE SCHOOLS AND THE COHRTS. Followed that by another, A CHECK LIST FOR YOUR LOCAL SCHOOLS. And then put the heat on to get local groups to meet and work there the two things. How many discussion groups I don't know, but scores. And we have sold one or both the pamphlets in amazing numbers to amazing groups:

Mississippi State Dpt of Edctn.	1000 of each
Southern Baptist Convention	250
Methodist Church	255 of each
Disciples of Christ	1000
(Southern) Presbyterians	5000
Y.M. and Y.W. C. A.	some hundreds
A.J.C. and A.D.L.	some hundreds
A.F.S.C.	" "
National Council of Negro Women	" "
Georgia State Teachers and Edctn Assn (Negro)	nearly 2000
Kentucky Press Assn	200
All school board members in N.C., a copy (sent by the N.C. Dvisn of SRC)	
Ditto in KY.	
etc., etc.	

Altogether, we've sold nearly 30,000 copies of Q and A., and though it's only four months old. And its still going strong. Not too much to claim that this effort has had a good deal to do with the fact that only two Southern States have as yet taken any definate steps toward monkey-business if the decision goes against them.

School negotiation. I have personally met with selected citizens in Knoxville and Greensboro, and urged opening the schools without fuss, and had quite heartening responsbfrom effective people. Our local officials have done likewise, elsewhere. Also, in the effort to get local discussion groups going, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in U.S. gave us, at their expense, a field man for two weeks in November, in Kentucky, nd another for two weeks just now, in South Carolina, to push such groups. And I am asking them for several more such leg-men ministers. It works admirably.

Miscellaneous. We do a steady job of heading off violence that we hear of ahead of time; a draining job of keeping reporters and article-writers coached on what the South is; an unending job of going about lecturing to College and other groups on these matters (I turned in to SRC in 1953 a thousand dollars in honoraria for such speeches, taken in in tens and twenty-fives), plus

Cooperation with organized labor. I taught in 1952 for the first southwide A F of L labor school, at Lakeland Florida, and again in 1953, for the second such group, at Oklahoma City. A week at a time, really civil rights, but called "Special problems of organizing Southern Workers". CIO school in Talladega, Ala. in 1953, and many an institute for local CIO groups, such as one for the new South Carolina IUC a few weeks ago, at Charleston. Kentucky labor school, A F of L, 1952 and 1953. ILG's school next month, in NY. (See you).

New South. Really does have some influence in tempting out editorials, informing community leaders. File of the more recent ones herewith.

Finances:

1953 Audit now in course. Much like 1952, which you have, but we ended with the smallest deficit of recent years (about a thousand dollars), and we turned up a few new sources of income. Costs about 40,000 a year to run us. Mighty hard to get, and we cherish the stout and most helpful grant that the Sidney Hillman Fund has been giving us - and hope greatly that we may have it again in 1954. I'll send the new audit when its out. We hope that the Fund for the Republic will soon see the light, and enable us to do in each State what we do (too thinly we of course know) out of this single office.

Policy: as in policy Statement that you have.

Let me know of more that you need, and I'll gladly send.

Warmly,

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION
INC.
15 UNION SQUARE WEST, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. · PHONE: ALGONQUIN 5-7800

RECEIVED
JAN 4
Council

December 31, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE -- Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

We are in the process of preparing a volume describing the work of the Sidney Hillman Foundation. I find that I have very little information here regarding the activities of the Southern Regional Council, and I wonder if you could let me have whatever reports or articles are available on your work of the past few years.

I would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Howard

Howard D. Samuel
Executive Director

HDS/cdc

March 24, '54

Dear Mr. Potofsky,

Here are the six copies for the Research Department, about which you wrote March 18.

Our Council still has an application pending before the Sidney Hillman Fund. I do hope that they can help us this one more year.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

JACOB S. POTOFSKY
GENERAL PRESIDENT

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

15 UNION SQUARE
New York 3, N.Y.

RECEIVED
MAR 21 1954
Southern Regional Council

March 18, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge with thanks receipt of the copy of the February 28th issue of the Monthly Review of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta which you thoughtfully sent to me. In this connection, if possible, I would very much appreciate your sending six additional copies to our Research Department.

Sincerely yours,

Jacob S. Potofsky
GENERAL PRESIDENT

May 25, 1954

Mr. Jacob S. Potofsky
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
15 Union Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Potofsky:

I will be extremely grateful for the two volumes prepared for the 40th Anniversary Convention on the Sidney Hillman Foundation and the special programs of the Amalgamated itself.

Everyone admires the pioneering energy and sober effectiveness of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

JACOB S. POTOFSKY
GENERAL PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
MAY 21 1954
Southern Regional Council

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

15 UNION SQUARE
New York 3, N.Y.

May 19, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Under separate cover I am pleased to send you one copy each of two volumes prepared by the Amalgamated for its recent 40th Anniversary Convention.

One of the volumes, entitled "The Sidney Hillman Foundation -- A Record of Service to the Community," describes the activities of the Foundation created to perpetuate Hillman's ideals and achievements. The other volume is a complete description of the operations and aims of the Amalgamated health and welfare insurance and pension programs, the Amalgamated-owned insurance companies, and the medical centers.

I hope you will enjoy reading these books.

Cordially yours,

Jacob S. Potofsky

General President

ILPAA 63

JACOB S. POTOFSKY
GENERAL PRESIDENT

Jack

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

15 UNION SQUARE
New York 3, N.Y.

September 2, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks very much for your recent letter describing the progress of the Southern Regional Council.

It was extremely heartening to read of your swift and far-reaching expansion, which is so vital following the Supreme Court decision on school segregation. We are perhaps on the brink of finally overcoming one of the largest areas of organized discrimination, and your work in the future will be even more valuable than it has been in the past. Needless to add, it has been a pleasure for us to be able to make our small contribution to your work during the past several years.

I am turning over the pamphlet, Answers for Action, to our Education Department, and you will hear from them further if they feel they can use additional copies for our organizations in the South.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Jacob S. Potofsky
GENERAL PRESIDENT

ILGWU 63

Race file

August 25, 1954

Mr. Jacob S. Potofsky, President
The Sidney Hillman Foundation, Inc.
15 Union Square, West
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Potofsky:

I promised in my letter of April 28th, thanking the Sidney Hillman Foundation for its grant to the Council, to send in some report of our progress.

It will be recalled that on April 1st, the Fund for the Republic undertook major aid to the Southern Regional Council to enable it to establish in each of twelve Southern states stable state-wide race relations agencies. We have been busy, mostly with trying to get the state groups organized. October 1st is our goal-date for getting them on their feet.

Georgia and Louisiana have already employed their Secretaries. South Carolina has picked its. Texas is about to make its choice. The other states, with the exception of two or three, have gotten well along with plans for their own reorganization October 1st.

The first job, naturally, for each state group will be the implementation of the Supreme Court's decision on the schools. A touchy and difficult task, but we have had long experience in working with things of that kind within each of the states, and we think we can get quite a lot done. We have been gratified to note that reports of the Southern states show that they are faring well. Two or three have taken extreme positions, but, happily, others have made it clear that they expect to abide by the decision of the Court -- though most of them pine for and plot for delays within the law.

We have had great success with the distribution of a new pamphlet on the whole matter, called Answers for Action: The Schools in the South. It compresses the findings of the Ashmore Report, called The Negro and the Schools; reprints the whole of the Supreme Court's decision; tells things to do; and gives a helpful map on population ratio. It has been bought in large quantities by the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, The Catholic Committee of the South, the CIO, various individual unions, the Methodist Church, various teacher organizations, other church bodies, etc.

We planned it as a text for local interracial discussion groups and it is proving widely useful for just that purpose. Of course the ultimate usefulness of the local discussion groups is that they make a first bridge town by town, and local fact-findings by local citizens from which will emerge a plan and from the plan will begin performance. We recommend the pamphlet to the Amalgamated, and wish that their education people would consider getting it in stock and mailing it out to appropriate people in the Amalgamated, locally. They run at $15.00 a hundred plus carriage.

We are obligated, under the terms of the grant from the Fund for the Republic, to raise quite substantial additional sums for the conduct of the Council's program centrally in Atlanta, and each of the assisted states. The gift from the Sidney Hillman Foundation helped us quite substantially in this effort, and we are exceedingly grateful to you and to the Sidney Hillman Foundation for their aid.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Answers for Action sent under separate cover.

August 1, 1954

GSM:

Mr. Potofsky of the Sidney Hillman Foundation asked for progress reports. Gave SRC grant of $1500, April 26, '54

April 28, 1954

Mr. Jacob S. Potofsky, President
The Sidney Hillman Foundation, Inc.
15 Union Square, West
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Potofsky:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council I send sincere thanks to you and to the Board of the Sidney Hillman Foundation for the grant of $1,500. which you made to us. Attached is our acknowledgement of the payment.

We have been deeply grateful for the support which the men and women of the labor unions have given to us through the past years, both through their contributions and through their work in their own groups for better human relations. We believe that their efforts have had a great deal to do with the changes that have come about in the South. We bespeak their continued cooperation as we try to build our expanded program.

Dr. Mitchell is out of the city this week but will be sending you reports of our progress from time to time. He joins me in sending appreciation and regards.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks
encl.
Blind Copy
P. R. Christopher.

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION
INC.
15 UNION SQUARE WEST, NEW YORK 3, N.Y. · PHONE: ALGONQUIN 5-7800

April 23, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. -- Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am pleased to inform you that the Board of Directors of the Sidney Hillman Foundation approved a further grant-in-aid to the Southern Regional Council of $1500, a check for which is enclosed.

10.

It is gratifying to us to have been able to participate in your efforts to improve racial understanding, and we are happy to continue to give some measure of support.

We shall appreciate receiving further reports on your most recent projects. Please accept our very best wishes for continued success.

Sincerely yours,

Jacob S. Potofsky

Jacob S. Potofsky
President

enclosure

RECEIVED
APR 26 1954
Southern Regional Council

March 22, 1955

Mr. Howard D. Samuel
Executive Director
The Sidney Hillman Foundation
15 Union Square, West
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Samuel:

It occurs to me that I have not sent you an audit for 1954. We are deeply grateful for the Sidney Hillman grant to us for that year.

I have remembered that that was to be the last such grant. I have written Mr. Potofsky to ask the Union itself to help us, and hope that they will. I know that they would not unless there continues to be a favorable opinion of us in the Sidney Hillman Foundation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. 1954 Audit

Uberpeim KS

March 22, 1955

Mr. Jacob Potofsky
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
15 Union Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Potofsky:

I would like to ask the Amalgamated itself to make some contribution to the Southern Regional Council.

I am gratefully aware of the quite substantial and long continued help which the Sidney Hillman Foundation has given to the Southern Regional Council. But when I last talked with them they said that their annual contribution to us, unrelated as it was to their general program was an embarrassing precedent, and I agreed that I would not ask the Sidney Hillman Foundation for help after the year 1954.

But I do think the Amalgamated itself can and should give us some help. The Union's objectives and ours in the South are about the same; and there is a good deal that we do to bring community opinion around to accept the changes that must accompany a really strong Union movement in the South. Specifically, we are for a high standard of living for all the people of the region; we believe in trade unions; we want good health and good housing and fair employment opportunities all around; and we are for full democratic participation of all concerned.

We have been moving ahead since last April with the proceeds of a goodish grant from the Fund for the Republic. They have staked us to the major portion of what is needed to get going in each of a dozen Southern states locally rooted statewide private race relations agencies. We think that in three or four years subsidy from outside sources, these various new state groups will be able to stand on their own and work further along grooves of honest representation during the period of help from us. We, therefore, have in the last few months organized Councils on Human Relations (or some similar title) in Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Arkansas. All but two or three of these have already employed staff, opened offices, and are at work on their programs. Thus what has been the effort of a single office here in Atlanta now expands in a manner that makes it helpful to people and communities all over the South.

The Fund for the Republic has not helped us without requiring us to strain our every friendly resource in raising the Council's own agreed contribution toward the total budget involved. Actually we must produce in the first period of the grant, ending next September, something over $40,000, and that is a good deal in excess of what we have been able to raise in earlier years!

I confess that we are substantially helped by various portions of the labor movement. Steel and Auto usually give us a thousand each. So does the CIO itself. The American Federation of Labor for the last couple of years (and including 1955) has put up a thousand dollars. Mr. Dubinsky and the ILG has given us $500 each year for many years. And from time to time the Rubber Workers or somebody else chips in helpfully. We get other goodly sums from Church sources. In former years when we had our own members we got five thousand or so from them.

I send along an audit for 1954. As the Sidney Hillman Foundation will know, the Southern Regional Council is fully covered with tax exemption.

A good many of your people hereabouts and in New York will know us and will, I am sure, have a good word to say for the Southern Regional Council. Do let the matter come before the Executive Committee and see whether the Amalgamated can come in and help us and our common cause in the Southern states.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. 1954 Audit.

cc: KS

see - Labor

April 5, 1955

Mr. Jacob S. Potofsky
President
The Sidney Hillman Foundation, Inc.
15 Union Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Potofsky:

How very kind indeed that was of the Sidney Hillman Foundation to send us $200. Truth to tell, I had been clear and had [redacted] held to my undertaking not to ask the Sidney Hillman Foundation to help SRC this year.

What I had understood was that the precedent of aid to this outfit on a non-project basis was a source of some difficulty to the Sidney Hillman Foundation. So what I did was write to you as President of the Amalgamated itself and express the hope that the Amalgamated would help us.

But in any case, the $200 is a most welcome contribution to our needs, and we are exceedingly grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - Official Receipt

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION

INC.

15 UNION SQUARE WEST, NEW YORK 3, N.Y. • PHONE: ALGONQUIN 5-7800

March 25, 1955

APR 4 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In reply to your letter of March 22, the long record of support of the Southern Regional Council extended by the Sidney Hillman Foundation is testimony to the importance which we attach to your efforts. We understood last year that you would no longer require further financial help from us, which had been extended to you through the medium of the Sidney Hillman Foundation for so many years.

Because the Foundation's budget for 1955 has already been decided, I am therefore enclosing a check for $200 on behalf of the officers and directors of The Sidney Hillman Foundation. Needless to add, our regard for your work has not diminished.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Jacob S. Potofsky
President

see - "foundations general"

Rec.

April 5, 1955

Mr. Jacob S. Potofsky
President
The Sidney Hillman Foundation, Inc.
15 Union Square
New York 3, New York

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - Official Receipt

March 22, 1955

Mr. Jacob Potofsky
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
15 Union Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Potofsky:

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But I do think the Amalgamated itself can and should give us some help. The Union's objectives and ours in the South are about the same; and there is a good deal that we do to bring community opinion around to accept the changes that must accompany a really strong Union movement in the South. Specifically, we are for a high standard of living for all the people of the region; we believe in trade unions; we want good health and good housing and fair employment opportunities all around; and we are for full democratic participation of all concerned.

We have been moving ahead since last April with the proceeds of a goodish grant from the Fund for the Republic. They have staked us to the major portion of what is needed to get going in each of a dozen Southern states locally rooted statewide private race relations agencies. We think that in three or four years subsidy from outside sources, these various new state groups will be able to stand on their own and work further along grooves of honest representation during the period of help from us. We, therefore, have in the last few months organized Councils on Human Relations (or some similar title) in Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Arkansas. All but two or three of these have already employed staff, opened offices, and are at work on their programs. Thus what has been the effort of a single office here in Atlanta now expands in a manner that makes it helpful to people and communities all over the South.

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I confess that we are substantially helped by various portions of the labor movement. Steel and Auto usually give us a thousand each. So does the CIO itself. The American Federation of Labor for the last couple of years (and including 1955) has put up a thousand dollars. Mr. Dubinsky and the ILO has given us $500 each year for many years. And from time to time the Rubber Workers or somebody else chips in helpfully. We get other goodly sums from Church sources. In former years when we had our own members we got five thousand or so from them.

I send along an audit for 1954. As the Sidney Hillman Foundation will know, the Southern Regional Council is fully covered with tax exemption.

A good many of your people hereabouts and in New York will know us and will, I am sure, have a good word to say for the Southern Regional Council. Do let the matter come before the Executive Committee and see whether the Amalgamated can come in and help us and our common cause in the Southern states.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. 1954 Audit.

cc: KS

Mr. Howard D. Samuel,
The Sidney Hillman Foundation, Inc.,
11-15, Union Square West,
New York 3,
NEW YORK.

November 28th, 1955.

Dear Mr. Samuel,

You wrote me November 21st. acknowledging and thanking us for a submission(s) for a Sidney Hillman Prize Award.

I admire you folks and try to do my end of what's right. But for the life of the Show I can't find anybody here that submitted for a prize award. We think everything we issue is worthy, but that's another matter! Best I can suppose is that Mdlle. No. 20953L got the address mixed up with something else!

Cordially yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director).

GSM:rl.

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION[S] Gen Corres
INC.

15 UNION SQUARE WEST, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • PHONE: ALGONQUIN 5-7800

November 21, 1955

NOV 28 1955

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

This is to acknowledge receipt of and to thank you for your submissions for a Sidney Hillman Foundation Prize Award.

The deadline for submissions is February 1, 1956, and we anticipate that the judging will take place soon after. You will be informed of the judges' decision.

Sincerely yours,

Howard D. Samuel

Howard D. Samuel
Executive Director

HDS:oj

Foundation - Hillman

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION

INC.

15 UNION SQUARE WEST, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • PHONE: ALGONQUIN 5-7800

DEC 2 1955

November 30, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of November 28.

This is the time of the year when submissions for the Sidney Hillman Prize Awards are being received, and a new secretary (the undersigned), did not realize that issues of the NEW SOUTH were routine mailings as part of your service program to us.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Thompson

Mary Thompson
Secretary to
Howard D. Samuel, Director

(Please Post)

The Sidney Hillman Foundation, Inc.

15 Union Square, New York 3, N. Y.

"We want a better America, an America that will give its citizens, first of all, a higher and higher standard of living so that no child will cry for food in the midst of plenty. We want to have an America where the inventions of science will be at the disposal of every American family, not merely for the few who can afford them. An America that will have no sense of insecurity and which will make it possible for all groups, regardless of race, creed or color to live in friendship, to be real neighbors; an America that will carry its great mission of helping other countries to help themselves."

SIDNEY HILLMAN, 1946

Prize Awards — 1955

The Sidney Hillman Foundation will award prizes of $500 each for outstanding contributions dealing with themes relating to the ideals which Sidney Hillman held throughout his life, and which he expressed in the words reproduced at the left.

Such themes would include the protection of individual civil liberties, improved race relations, a strengthened labor movement, the advancement of social welfare and economic security, greater world understanding, and related problems.

Contributions may be in the fields of daily or periodical journalism, labor journalism, fiction, non-fiction, radio and television, drama and motion pictures.

All written contributions must have been published in 1955.

Radio-television, drama and film contributions must have been produced under professional auspices in 1955.

RULES: Submission for a Sidney Hillman Award for 1955 must be received by the Sidney Hillman Foundation, Inc., 15 Union Square, New York 3, N. Y., NOT LATER THAN FEBRUARY 1, 1956.

The material may be submitted by the author, his publication, or by anyone connected with it. ONLY WORK APPEARING IN 1955 IS ELIGIBLE. Final scripts must be submitted in connection with radio, television, drama and film awards. If possible, newspaper or magazine clippings should be submitted loose, not mounted.

All submissions will be acknowledged, but the Sidney Hillman Foundation cannot be responsible for the return of any submissions.

A panel of judges will make the Awards and its decisions will be final.

SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION — PREVIOUS AWARD WINNERS

Daily Press:

MURRAY KEMPTON for a series of articles in the *New York Post* on labor relations in the South. (1950)

A. H. RASKIN for a series of articles in the *New York Times* on unemployment and related problems. (1950)

CARL T. ROWAN for a series of articles in the *Minneapolis Tribune* on race relations in the South. (1951)

W. HORACE CARTER, editor, *Tabor City (N.C.) Tribune;*
WILLARD G. COLE, editor, *Whiteville (N.C.) News and Reporter;*
JAY JENKINS, correspondent, *Raleigh (N.C.) News and Observer;*
for articles and editorials exposing the Ku Klux Klan in Columbus County, N.C. (1952)

RALPH S. O'LEARY for a series of articles in the *Houston Post* exposing the Minute Women, a local super-patriotic group. (1953)

VIC REINEMER for editorials in the *Charlotte (N.C.) News* on civil rights and civil liberties issues. (1954)

DANIEL R. FITZPATRICK for his editorial cartoons in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* (special award). (1954)

Books:

JOHN HERSEY for a novel, *The Wall.* (1950)

ALAN BARTH for a book on civil liberties, *The Loyalty of Free Men.* (1951)

HERBERT BLOCK for a book of cartoons and text, *The Herblock Book.* (1952)

THEODORE H. WHITE for a book, *Fire In the Ashes,* analyzing the clash of democracy and communism in Europe. (1953)

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER for a book, *Freedom, Loyalty and Dissent.* (1954)

Magazines:

DR. JAMES H. MEANS for two articles on health insurance in the *Atlantic Monthly.* (1950)

ARTHUR D. MORSE for an article in *McCall's* magazine on public education. (1951)

JOSEPH WECHSBERG for an article in *The New Yorker,* "The Seventeenth of June," on the East German revolt of June, 1953. (1953)

CHARLOTTE KNIGHT for an article in *Collier's,* "What Price Security," on the Federal government's security program. (1954)

THE PROGRESSIVE, for its special issue on Senator McCarthy (special award). (1954)

Radio-Television:

EDWARD R. MURROW for his "See It Now" programs over CBS-TV on the Lieutenant Radulovich case and the controversy between the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Legion in Indianapolis, Ind. (1953)

GERALD W. JOHNSON for his broadcasts over WAAM in Baltimore on civil liberties and other issues. (1953)

ERIC SEVAREID for his "American Week" programs over CBS-TV on the Oppenheimer case and on the race riots at Trumbull Park Housing Development. (1954)

WNYC, municipal radio station of New York City, for its public service programming (special award). (1954)

Labor Press:

IRVING FAGAN for his columns for Labor Press Associated on a variety of national issues. (1952)

426

April 19, 1956

(Dictated April 17)

Mr. Howard D. Samuel
Executive Director
The Sidney Hillman Foundation
15 Union Square West
New York 3, New York

Dear Howard:

I had been out, and I am only back yesterday to your letter of April 11.

We keep a tolerably accurate account of colleges in the South proper and in most of the border states which have opened in the last few years.

I send you the list as of October, 1955.

By our count the following private Protestant colleges in the Southern states proper have opened within the last few years: Pikesville College, Kentucky; Warren Wilson College, North Carolina; Maryville College, Tennessee; Wayland College, Texas; Bridgewater College, Virginia.

Pikesville and Warren Wilson are known to be junior colleges. I have no personal knowledge of Wayland College. I do know Bridgewater slightly and, of course, I know Maryville. They are in some ways comparable, but it would clearly be fair to say that Maryville is better known, older, and a more general kind of a college than Bridgewater. So that Maryville comes out at being the principal Southern private four-year college which has opened its doors.

In addition to opening to students, it, some months ago, took the almost unprecedented step of engaging a Negro instructor. I think he is only part-time, but he is on the faculty. Teaches Spanish I think. Quite a ruckus, but the college stuck by it.

The thing about Maryville that is important is its setting in east Tennessee, and its relationship to the moral force of that area. And I remind you that the moral force of east Tennessee is something!

Whisper it not, but the real reason why Sherman marched to the sea is that the pro-Union population of east Tennessee kept sending word through the lines to Mr. Lincoln, "We are on your side and we are catching the dickens. Send somebody to help us!" And when Grant was through at Vicksburg, Lincoln sent Sherman -- and maybe Grant too -- over to east Tennessee and gave the boys some help. And when Sherman got to Chattanooga and down to Atlanta, the next stop was Savannah.

Point is that east Tennessee had no part of the Confederacy, and fought it. And the people in east Tennessee have a right to independence of opinion, and have a good deal of it!

Further, they have got the cinchiest situation on cracking the public school of anybody tolerably far down into the far South. Hunt up out of your files a copy of the second edition of the pamphlet, Answers for Action, and look at the good map in the back and you will see why east Tennessee is a natural to lead. It is right in the middle of a whole batch of counties, with less than five per cent Negro population. Further, east Tennessee is Scotch-Irish, and Maryville College is Scotch-Irish and (Northern) Presbyterian. And it is an old old place. I believe they set that thing up in about 1820. And it has trained a power of people.

There's a whole string of little colleges up and down those east Tennessee valleys, and Maryville is quite the most interesting one.

One more thing about Maryville. It is in and among that whopping aluminum local of the steel workers -- ALCOA. I can't say that I hear that there are strong links. But there are some. And I know from personal experiences that the ALCOA local would rather like to behave. And certainly the college, standing in its back, props it.

Here's a resolution from a meeting this winter of the Conference of the Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc.: "We urge that local people -- of all groups -- come together in equal dignity and full democracy to work toward the solution of their problems within the framework of the Supreme Court decisions; that they support the administrators who stand for law and order as embodied in our Federal Constitution; and that we -- the people of the Appalachian South, so conduct ourselves that we may serve as an example to the rest of the South and as a beacon of hope to the rest of the world."

Once upon a time an old gentleman I knew said, "A university is the state thinking." Maryville College (and also Berea, I must say) is the Southern mountains thinking. So, I think the boys ought to be helped.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Encl. - "Desegregating White Institutions"

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION
INC.
15 UNION SQUARE WEST, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. · PHONE: ALGONQUIN 5-7800

April 11, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED APR 13 1956

Dear George:

Perhaps you can give me some assistance. We have received a request for financial aid from Maryville College, in Maryville, Tennessee, based on their declining enrollment and revenue because they have integrated. This is a Presbyterian School.

If this were one of the few private colleges (not including Catholic institutions) in the South to have integrated voluntarily, we might consider making a modest grant. If there are many such instances of volunary integration on the university level, we probably would not have the resources to get involved.

What is your advice? Thanks in advance and with best wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

Howard

Howard D. Samuel
Executive Director

HDS:oj

October 15, 1956

Mr. Howard D. Samuel
Executive Director
The Sidney Hillman Foundation, Inc.
15 Union Square West
New York 3, New York

Dear Howard:

Many thanks for the check for $31.34, but it is the wrong amount! I wrote Will Maslow and said the expenses were $81.34. I daresay the error is due to the illegibility of what I scratched with a pen, but no man alive can get from Atlanta to New York and back for $31.34. As a matter of fact, I had to ride a pair of dawning night coaches to make it for as little as I did.

I appreciate the kind remarks. It was a good crowd, and they asked informed and sensible questions.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl: Sidney Hillman Foundation check $31.34

Dr. Mitchell:

There seems to have been some mistake on the travel expenses. You told me that you had billed the New School for $81.34. Their check is for $31.34?

EAB.

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION
INC.

15 UNION SQUARE WEST, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. · PHONE ALGONQUIN 5-7800

October 11, 1956

RECEIVED OCT 13 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am pleased to transmit the enclosed check for $31.34 to reimburse you for travel expenses in connection with your lecture at the New School.

From reports I received, you did a fine job, and we're very grateful for your appearance.

With best wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

Howard D. Samuel

Howard D. Samuel
Executive Director

HDS:j
Encl.

October 23, 1956

Mr. Howard D. Samuel
Executive Director
The Sidney Hillman Foundation
13 Union Square West
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Samuel:

We are most grateful for the now perfect check for $81.34. In and in the bank.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION
INC.

15 UNION SQUARE WEST, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. · PHONE ALGONQUIN 5-7800

October 19, 1956

RECEIVED OCT 22 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Apologies for our error in mistaking an eight for a three. Your penmanship is fine. Our readingship is not so hot.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Howard

Howard D. Samuel
Executive Director

HDS:mt
Enclosure
Check No. 94 for
$81.34

CR
rha
10/22/56

TO PERPETUATE THE IDEALS FOR WHICH HE LIVED AND DIED

St. Peter's Catholic Church
123 NORTH WEST STREET
P. O. BOX 57
JACKSON 5, MISSISSIPPI

JK
gsa

RECEIVED OCT 22 1956

October 18, 1956

gsa
ret to gsM
for gsM's
answer
GM

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am indeed sorry that I will not be able to attend the Administrative Board meeting to be held in Williamsburg on November 14 and 15. I have engagements in St. Louis at that time which will keep me occupied.

I regret very much my inability to attend; however, this is a bad year for me as I am serving as president of the Catholic Hospital Association of the United States and Canada. This has kept me more than busy this year.

With best greetings to you and to all the members of the Board, I remain

Sincerely in Christ,

Joseph B. Brunini

Rt. Rev. Joseph B. Brunini, V.G.

JBB:jg

December 28, '56

Dear Howard,

My girl's at home with the whoopenza; so I and Ben. Corona do the best we can with your letter of December 19.

I got our people who deal in Press matters to ponder among their clippings, and to rummage in their experience. They came up with the statement that quite a lot of newspapers in the South have done good work in the segregation controversy. They list as among the best four the Journal in Winston-Salem; the Ledger in Columbus (Ga.); the Tennessean in Nashville; and the News, in Charlotte. The Winston-Salem Journal they praised both for its feature articles and its editorials on the subject.

A copy of a reprint from the Columbus Ledger is enclosed. One of a series done by the Ledger, which series we believe to have been a significant contribution. We haven't got the others, but they could be got.

We praise two newspaper men especially. John Popham on the New York Times and Ben Price, now A.P. man in Washington, D.C. John directed the N. Y. Times Survey on Segregation done earlier this year, and has himself done outstanding reporting, notably at Clinton. Ben has had a finger in much A P coverage on the issue, and has done some of the best stories himself.

That's as much as our experts shed.

As to Scotland, quite true, I will be leaving here (the job, that is) January 15, but Harold Fleming takes over January 16, with effortless superiority. So the show will run better than before. And I can go and sit by a peat fire and read those Economics books I have had be-shlved their twenty years. Come and stay with us, in the remotest Highlands. Hunt for a spot named Applecross, and cast around from there.

I am grateful for your own and the Amalgamated and the Foundation's help, friendly and solid, in these goodly years. And I bespeak for Harold everybody's continuing fellowship.

Sincerely,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Many newspapers in the South have done good work in the segregation controversy. Four of these are the Winston-Salem, N. C., Journal; the Columbus, Ga., Ledger; the Nashville, Tenn., Tennessean; and the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Charlotte, N. C., News. The Winston-Salem Journal especially has been good both in feature articles and editorials.

Enclosed is a copy of a reprint from an editorial in the Columbus Ledger-Enquirer. It is one in a series done by the Ledger, and we think it was a significant contribution. Sorry but we do not have the original series of editorials, but they probably could be obtained.

Two persons who are not with Southern newspapers but who report on the Southern scene and have done some excellent work are John Popham, Southern representatives for the New York Times, and Bem Price, Associated Press representative who works out of Washington, D. C. John Popham directed the extensive segregation report published by Times earlier this year and has done some excellent reporting on individual incidents in the controversy, such as the Clinton, Tenn., case. Bem Price has covered most of the important stories concerning ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ segregation ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ for the Associated Press and also has done ~~XXX~~ excellent work.

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION
INC.

15 UNION SQUARE WEST, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • PHONE ALGONQUIN 5-7800

RECEIVED DEC 26 1956

December 19, 1956

Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I have heard the distressing news about your imminent departure from the Southern Regional Council. I do not know the circumstances which dictated your resignation, but it seems to me that Scotland's gain is our loss.

Meanwhile, perhaps you can give me some assistance. You may be acquainted with the Sidney Hillman Foundation prize awards, which are described in the enclosed circular. Although we receive many submissions, I am always anxious to obtain good ones, and I thought perhaps you had run across some outstanding newspaper articles or editorials appearing in Southern papers and dealing with the integration issue. Certainly if any such did appear, I would like to have them submitted to present to our judges for their decision.

Unfortunately, I cannot solicit submissions myself, for fear of arousing unwarranted hopes.

Our judges, incidentally, are Evans Clark, William L. Shirer and Eric Sevareid.

Anything you can produce would be much appreciated. Thanks in advance and with best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Howard

Howard D. Samuel
Executive Director

HDS:j

(Please Post)

The Sidney Hillman Foundation, Inc.

15 Union Square, New York 3, N. Y.

"We want a better America, an America that will give its citizens, first of all, a higher and higher standard of living so that no child will cry for food in the midst of plenty. We want to have an America where the inventions of science will be at the disposal of every American family, not merely for the few who can afford them. An America that will have no sense of insecurity and which will make it possible for all groups, regardless of race, creed or color to live in friendship, to be real neighbors; an America that will carry its great mission of helping other countries to help themselves."

SIDNEY HILLMAN, 1946

Prize Awards — 1956

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All written contributions must have been *published* in 1956.

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SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION — PREVIOUS AWARD WINNERS

Daily Press:
MURRAY KEMPTON for a series of articles in the *New York Post* on labor relations in the South. (1950)
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WILLARD G. COLE, editor, *Whiteville (N.C.) News and Reporter;*
JAY JENKINS, correspondent, *Raleigh (N.C.) News and Observer;*
for articles and editorials exposing the Ku Klux Klan in Columbus County, N.C. (1952)
RALPH S. O'LEARY for a series of articles in the *Houston Post* on civil liberties. (1953)
VIC REINEMER for editorials in the *Charlotte (N.C.) News* on civil rights and civil liberties issues. (1954)
DANIEL R. FITZPATRICK for his editorial cartoons in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* (special award). (1954)
BEN H. BAGDIKIAN, *Providence Journal-Bulletin*, for articles on civil liberties issues. (1955)
MURREY MARDER, *Washington Post*, for articles on the government security program. (1955)

Books:
JOHN HERSEY, *The Wall.* (1950)
ALAN BARTH, *The Loyalty of Free Men.* (1951)
HERBERT BLOCK, *The Herblock Book.* (1952)
THEODORE H. WHITE, *Fire In the Ashes.* (1953)
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, *Freedom, Loyalty and Dissent.* (1954)
JOHN LORD O'BRIAN, *National Security and Individual Freedom.* (1955)

Magazines:
DR. JAMES H. MEANS for two articles on health insurance in the *Atlantic Monthly.* (1950)
ARTHUR D. MORSE for an article in *McCall's* magazine on public education. (1951)
JOSEPH WECHSBERG for an article in *The New Yorker*, "The Seventeenth of June," on the East German revolt of June, 1953. (1953)
CHARLOTTE KNIGHT for an article in *Collier's*, "What Price Security," on the Federal government's security program. (1954)
THE PROGRESSIVE, for its special issue on Senator McCarthy (special award). (1954)
ROBERT ENGLER, for a series of articles in the *New Republic*, "Oil and Politics." (1955)

Radio-Television:
EDWARD R. MURROW for his "See It Now" programs over CBS-TV on civil liberties issues. (1954)
GERALD W. JOHNSON for his broadcasts over WAAM in Baltimore on civil liberties and other issues. (1953)
ERIC SEVAREID for his "American Week" programs over CBS-TV on civil rights issues. (1953)
WNYC, municipal radio station of New York City, for its public service programming (special award). (1954)

cl. returned - not attending
12/17/56

YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED

TO BE A GUEST OF

THE

SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION

AT THE PRESENTATION OF THE

EIGHTH ANNUAL AWARD FOR

MERITORIOUS PUBLIC SERVICE

TO

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

MONDAY, JANUARY 7, 1957

EAST BALLROOM

THE COMMODORE HOTEL

NEW YORK, N. Y.

RSVP

COCKTAILS AT 6:30

January 7, 1957

Mr. Howard D. Samuel
Executive Director,
The Sidney Hillman Foundation
15 Union Square West
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Samuel:

Dr. Mitchell has turned your letter of January 3, 1957 over to me to send you some material concerning editorials and news features which he mentioned in an earlier letter. It will take a few days, possibly, to get letters off and get copies of the particular editorials and news features we had in mind, but I plan to write pertinent letters today.

As soon as these items are received, I will mail them on to you.

If there is anything else that should be done concerning the news items, please let me know.

Sincerely,

John Constable,
Managing Editor, New South

JC:fc

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION
INC.

15 UNION SQUARE WEST, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • PHONE ALGONQUIN 5-7800

January 3, 1957

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Many apologies for bothering you again, but perhaps you could turn this task over to the appropriate people in the organization. I appreciated your letter and the information about the worthy newspaper efforts; unfortunately, I need the materials themselves, and cannot go out and obtain them myself, since that might be held a distortion of our prize awards set-up. Can someone on your staff pick up the appropriate clippings and ship them to me, with indications of where they came from and under what date?

Thanks in advance, and if you're passing through New York on your way abroad, we'll be insulted if you don't drop by for lunch or at least a visit.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Howard

Howard D. Samuel
Executive Director

HDS:j

TO PERPETUATE THE IDEALS FOR WHICH HE LIVED AND DIED

February 7, 1957

Mr. Jacob Potofsky
President
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
Fifteen Union Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Potofsky:

We have greatly appreciated the support in years past which we have received from the Sidney Hillman Foundation. This year we should like to request a contribution directly from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Enclosed with this letter is a summary report on our program, "The South of Promise," which will convey some idea as to where our work now stands and as to our immediate plans. As the report points out, we have furthered our services to the labor movement by the addition of a labor consultant to our staff who will be responsible for continued and expanded contact with unions in the South. He is Emory Via, a Southerner with long experience in workers education and deep devotion to the principles of trade unionism.

Our need for support from those who share our purposes grows with the demands of the current situation and our expanded efforts to meet those demands. As you know, pressures and tensions have multiplied in the South in the last two years. And as the challenge has grown, the Council has sought to increase its staff and activities to meet it. The enclosed report gives a brief account of where we stand today. I hope it conveys, too, some notion of our conviction that this regional movement, almost uniquely, can unite Southerners of good will for effective actions at a time when reactionary forces are trying to divide and intimidate them.

The contributions from unions over the years have held special significance for us. We have been grateful for their constancy and generosity. Because of the heightened demands for work of this kind in the South, we are asking them for renewed consideration this year and an increase in the amount contributed. We receive substantial assistance from such unions as the Steelworkers, U.A.W., I.L.G.W.U., and smaller sums from other unions.

Paul Christopher, Director of AFL-CIO Region 8, serves on our board and executive committee. He personally joins us in requesting of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers a contribution of $1,000 to the Southern Regional Council.

We ask your careful consideration of this request in terms of the services that we perform and the pressing needs of the South. We would be happy to supply you with any further information which you might wish.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls. "South of Promise"
Staff Organization Chart

bc: Mr. Paul Christopher

bc; Mr. Christopher
Mr. Segal

EV.

February 19, 1957

Mr. Jacob S. Potofsky
General President
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
15 Union Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Potofsky:

It was kind of you to write me so fully about the relationship between the Sidney Hillman Foundation and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, and the effect of this on our request for financial aid. In all honesty, I must say that I regret exceedingly that it is not possible for the Union or the Foundation to give further financial support to the work of the Council. In view of the agreement reached in 1954, however, I can readily understand your feeling that it is not possible at this time.

I hope that George Mitchell's leaving will not affect in any way the long-standing friendship and cooperation between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union and the Southern Regional Council. Now more than ever we prize the friendship of you and your associates.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

JACOB S. POTOFSKY
GENERAL PRESIDENT

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

AFFILIATED WITH AFL-CIO

15 UNION SQUARE
New York 3, N.Y.

February 13, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of February 7, which I read with interest. May I first explain that the Sidney Hillman Foundation is affiliated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and is the normal channel to which you would direct your request for a grant to the Southern Regional Council.

As you know from our history of association with the Southern Regional Council, the Foundation and the Amalgamated think highly of your goals and of your achievements. However, the resources of the Foundation are extremely limited, and have been committed for some time to our regular programs of awards, reprints, scholarships and lectureships. As a result, we normally do not make grants-in-aid on a regular basis.

In the light of this policy, after we had made special grants-in-aid for several consecutive years to the Southern Regional Council, we reached an understanding with George Mitchell that our final grant would be made in 1954, and that no further grants would be solicited. This information was communicated to our Board of Directors.

I regret to say, therefore, that the Foundation is not in a position at this time to contribute further to the work of your organization.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Jacob S. Potofsky

General President

JSP:am

amount of knowledge

subjects, Sexton explained.

File

Seventeen Awards Made By Hillman Foundation

Seventeen institutions of higher learning have received grants totalling $33,500 for student scholarships and for lecturers from the Sidney Hillman Foundation.

The foundation, headed by Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Pres. Jacob S. Potofsky, who announced the grants, was created in 1948 in honor of that union's former president. Its funds are used to perpetuate Hillman's concepts of enlightened labor-management relations, race relations, civil liberties and civil rights, world peace and other related interests.

Institutions participating in the awards include Maryville College, Tenn., Chicago Medical School, Roosevelt University, Brandeis University, Fashion Institute of Technology in New York City, Hebrew University and the Amal School in Jerusalem and Howard University in Washington, D. C .

6/57

AFL-CIO Education Dept. Vipers

July 26, 1957

Mr. Howard D. Samuel
Executive Director
The Sidney Hillman Foundation
15 Union Square West
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Samuel:

It was very thoughtful of you to send us copies of Samuel Lubell's series of lectures at Howard University. We had the pleasure of helping Sam with his research some months ago, and I was present at an Atlanta AJC meeting recently at which he gave a most stimulating speech on this subject.

The lectures are both brilliant and stimulating, and The Sidney Hillman Foundation is to be congratulated on providing an opportunity for an original mind to deal with this very timely subject.

Along the same lines, you may be interested in the enclosed copy of our recent report on the Negro voter in the South.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - "The Negro Voter"

RECEIVED JUL 25 1957

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION
INC.

15 UNION SQUARE WEST, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. · PHONE ALGONQUIN 5-7800

July 22, 1957

Mr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Flemming:

I am enclosing a mimeographed manuscript of the series of lectures delivered by Samuel Lubell at Howard University under the auspices of the Sidney Hillman Foundation.

Although I am sure you understand that this organization does not necessarily subscribe to all of Mr. Lubell's opinions, I believe his conclusions are sufficiently interesting to warrant your perusal.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Howard D. Samuel
Executive Director

HDS:j
Encl.

TO PERPETUATE THE IDEALS FOR WHICH HE LIVED AND DIED

File

With the Compliments of the

SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION, INC.

15 UNION SQUARE

NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

426

1887 1946

The Sidney Hillman Foundation, inc.

LIST OF MAJOR GRANTS

Institution	Amount
Sidney Hillman Health Center, New York — (medical research)	$ 51,500
Sidney Hillman Medical Center, Philadelphia — (medical research)	50,500
Harry S. Truman Library	25,000
University of Chicago (academic research)	10,000
University of California (academic research)	4,000
Yale University (academic research)	1,000
Southern Regional Council	7,200
American Museum of Immigration	5,000
National Committee for Labor Israel	2,500
American Assembly	2,500
William I. Sirovich Day Center	1,000
Jewish Encyclopedic Handbooks	1,000
TOTAL	$161,200

youth of the
taught faith in God and
dignity of man.

These are the bedrock upon which to build a democracy of men and women who are good citizens and good neighbors; men and women of moral character, judgment and courage."

Ky. Labor News 4/12/58

Hillman Foundation Announces Grants

New York — Scholarships, and other grants totalling $36,500 have been made by the Sidney Hillman Foundation, Jacob S. Potofsky, president of the foundation and of the Clothing Workers, has announced.

The foundation was formed in the clothing industry to perpetutate the ideals of the first president of the union in the fields of enlightened labor-management relations, race relations, civil liberties, civil rights and world peace.

The foundation's board of directors made grants of $22,500 for scholarships at institutions of learning in this country and Israel; awarded $10,500 for lectureships at eight colleges, and presented $3,500 in grants to four institutions.

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Memo FROM THE DESK OF **EMORY VIA** 37

4/16/54

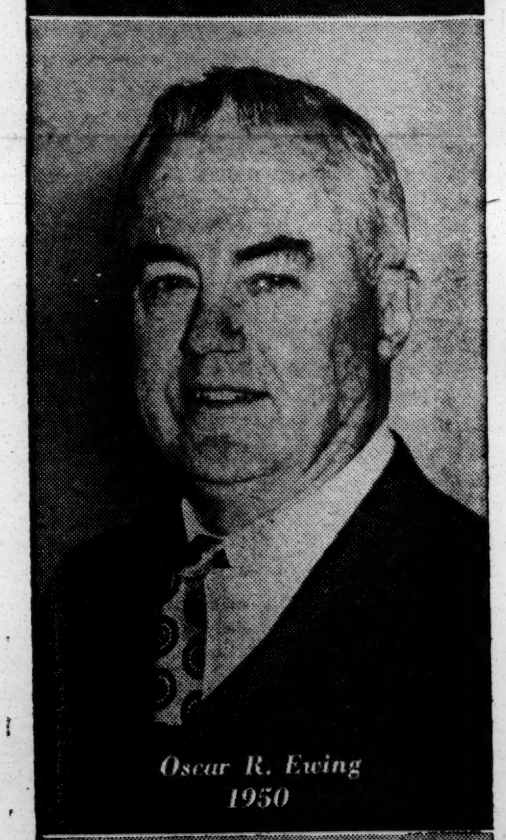
HCF

Thought this would show trend in Hillman foundation — Seems to exclude us, unless you want to hit the lecture "circuit." That's not an obnoxious proposal.

HCF
PA

Meritorious Public Service

Frank P. Graham
1949



Oscar R. Ewing
1950

A Living Memorial To The Amalgamated's

The Sidney Hillman Fo

This year marks the tenth anniversary of the Sidney Hillman Foundation. Established as a living memorial to the first president of the Amalgamated, who served from the founding date of the union in 1914 until his death in 1946, the Foundation has carried on the ideals and aims of Sidney Hillman.

Shortly before he died, Hillman stated those goals in a few simple sentences when he closed the fifteenth biennial convention in May, 1946, with the words:

"We want a better America, an America that will give its citizens, first of all, a higher and higher standard of living so that no child will cry for food in the midst of plenty. We want to have an America where the inventions of science will be at the disposal of every American family, not merely for the few who can afford them. An America that will have no sense of insecurity and which will make it possible for all groups, regardless of race, creed or color, to live in friendship, to be real neighbors; an America that will carry its great mission of helping other countries to help themselves."

In November, 1946, the General Executive Board of the Amalgamated, acting in response to the many requests from men and women in all walks of life, voted to establish the Sidney Hillman Foundation, and in December contributed the first $100,000 toward its endowment.

Additional contributions came from many different sources—from Amalgamated members, locals, and joint boards; from the Textile Workers Union, which Hillman helped organize; and from the clothing manufacturers, who had long recognized what Hillman had done for the betterment of the industry.

Within a few months, a fund of $1,000,000 was raised, and, early in 1947, the board of directors voted the first grants.

In order to carry out the basic purpose of the Foundation, which is to perpetuate Hillman's ideals of service to the community, grants are given in six areas—lectureships, scholarships, an annual Meritorious Public Service Award, and annual Prize Awards, a reprint program, and grants-in-aid.

The Sidney Hillman Lecture Series has been offered at colleges, universities, and other institutions to make available to students and the public outstanding figures from outside the campus. It also gives the speaker an opportunity to bring his ideas and experience to a wider audience.

The first series was presented in 1949 by Harold Laski, the late professor at the London School of Economics, chairman of the British Labor Party and political scientist. During a month-long, coast-to-coast tour, Laski delivered lectures at eight institutions to more than 12,600 people.

The second series of lectures consisted of six addresses given by four noted figures: Robert M. Hutchins, presi-

Foundation's Meritorious Service Is Given to Nine Outstanding Ar

Nine outstanding Americans have received the Sidney Hillman Foundation's Award for Meritorious Public Service.

They include a former President of the United States, a former First Lady, four United States Senators, a Supreme Court justice, a clergyman, and a former federal official.

Frank P. Graham (1949) was the first to receive the Award. A former educator and then a U.S. Senator, he was honored for his work as a social pioneer.

In time of peace and in war time, he has served his country well. Under his leadership a great university has truly served the needs of the people. Labor, management, and the public have found in him a just and conscientious mediator.

Oscar R. Ewing (1950), former Federal Security Administrator, was the next recipient for his courageous fight to improve the health of the nation.

His determined struggle for the nation's health in the face of powerful opposition; his concern for the widows, the orphans, the sick, the disabled and the aged; his enlightened stand on government's responsibility to its citizens place Ewing in the forefront of our great public servants.

Herbert H. Lehman (1951), former United States Senator, was given the Award for his long humanitarian and progressive record as governor of New York, director general of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and as a Senator.

He has served the people of his state and nation with faithful devotion. Throughout the world his name has long been identified with constructive public and private service in the cause of social progress. His high moral integrity, his fight for civil rights, his humane and liberal philosophy, and his deep love of country have won for him widespread recognition as one of the great Americans of our time.

William O. Douglas (1952), associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, was honored as a world spokesman for freedom and economic justice, and for his unwavering support of individual liberties.

As a member of the Supreme Court, he has been in the forefront of the struggle to uphold our most precious rights and liberties. Justice Douglas has struck out against poverty, exploitation, hunger and disease. Guided by a firm belief in the brotherhood of man, he has made himself an apostle of freedom throughout the world.

Harry S. Truman (1953), former President of the United States, was acclaimed for his courageous fight for human dignity.

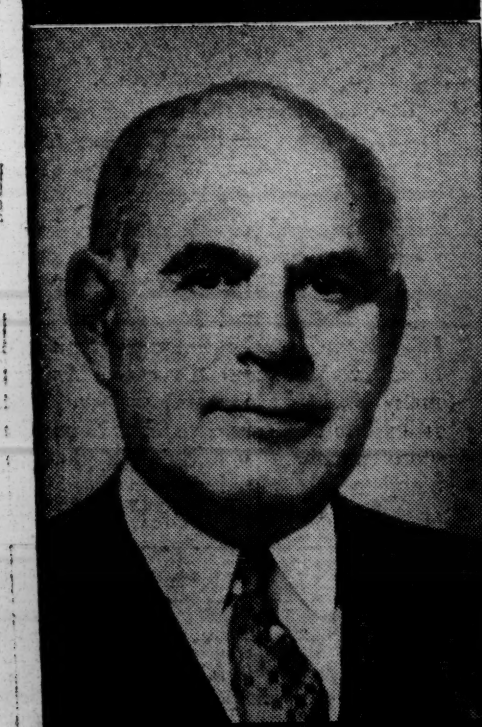
He led our nation through eight of the most critical years in our history. To our responsibilities abroad, he brought firmness in the face of aggression coupled with a pioneering policy of collective action. It is for his faith in the plain people of the world, and for his determination to improve their lives that Truman will be forever loved.

The Very Reverend Bernard J. Sheil (1954), auxiliary bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Chicago, was honored for his liberal record in the church, his support of the objectives of organized labor and his outstanding defense of civil liberties.

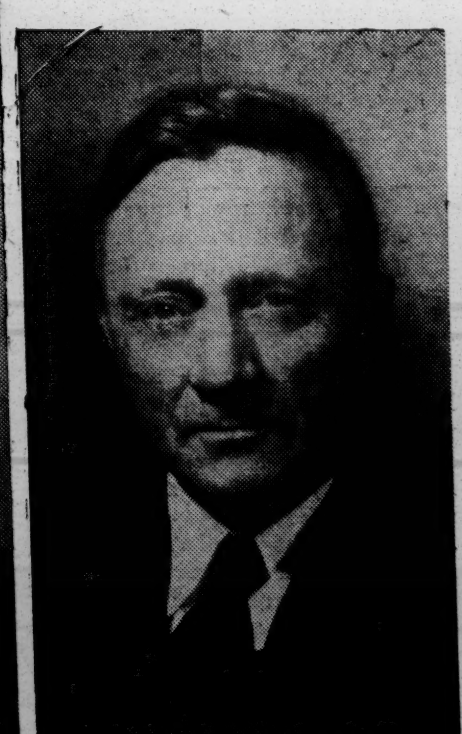
The men and women who labor with their hands have found in him a friend and ally in their struggle for justice and security. The youth of our nation have found in him an understanding and trusted guide and adviser. He has fought for freedom of every citizen to speak and think according to his own conscience.

Wayne L. Morse (1955), United States Senator, received the Award for his untiring struggle in behalf of the public welfare and his defense of civil liberties.

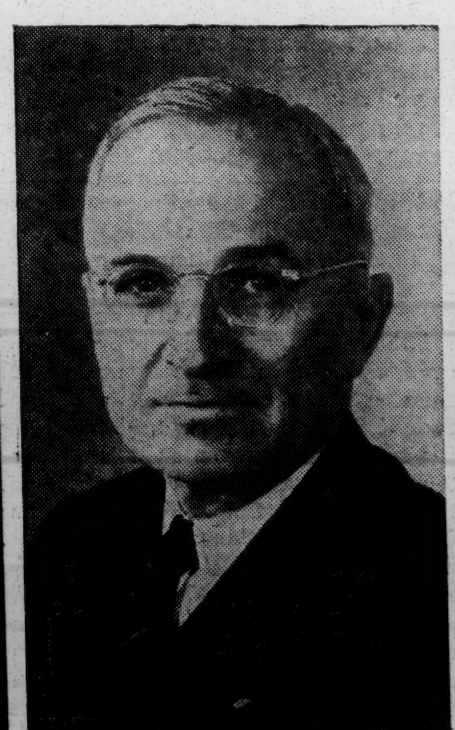
With unusual energy, intelligence and courage, he has fought for the public interest in a number of areas, including



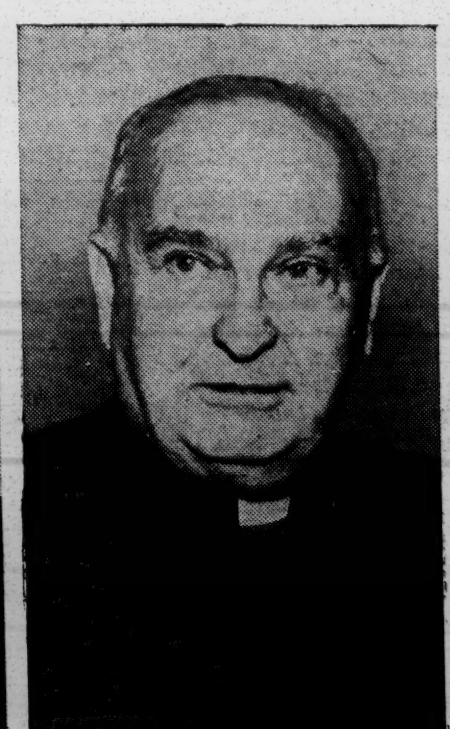
Herbert H. Lehman
1951



William O. Douglas
1952



Harry S. Truman
1953



Bishop Bernard J. Sheil
1954

Wayne L. Mo
1955

File Hillman Foundation

First President

undation: The First Ten Years

dent of the Fund for the Republic; United States Senator Paul H. Douglas; the late Charles H. Johnson, president of Fisk University; and Canadian Supreme Court Justice I. C. Rand.

In 1954, the Foundation began a new series of lectures, in which a number of leading universities were awarded grants to bring outstanding figures to their campuses. Lecturers remain on the campus for a week to attend seminars or consult with individual students specializing in their fields of experience.

Since 1954, a gallery of noted experts in government, education, the arts and sciences and other fields have addressed students, and often large audiences of the general public on a wide variety of important topics. Several institutions have used these lectureship grants to set up full courses of study in such subjects as civil liberties and civil rights, which had never been offered before, and attracted a good deal of interest among other colleges.

One university sponsored a course in the new field of international relations, in which leading United Nations figures participated. Since 1954, the New School for Social Research in New York; Brandeis University, in Waltham, Mass.; Howard University, in Washington D. C.; City College of New York; University of Wisconsin; University of Minnesota; University of Rochester; Yeshiva University in New York; Dropsie College in Philadelphia; and others have taken part in the lectureship program.

In the field of scholarships, more than 350 students have received grants from the Foundation totaling $183,000. Students in 21 colleges and universities, including 3 in Israel, 1 in India, and 1 in Puerto Rico, have benefited.

Each institution itself selected the students for the Sidney Hillman scholarships and the amount each should receive, on the basis of need, ability, and interest in social problems. The Foundation itself has made no awards because it has neither the personnel nor the facilities to screen applications.

All the institutions receiving scholarship grants have followed an "open-door" policy in regard to admissions, giving an opportunity to students of races, religions and nationalities who might otherwise have been denied a college education. In recent years, the scholarship program has been largely supplanted by the lectureship program.

The Foundation dramatizes its concern with the issues of the day and its stake in responsible government by giving an award for Meritorious Public Service each year to some outstanding American. Each winner receives a check for $1,000 and a scroll citing his accomplishments. (See list of recipients elsewhere on this page.)

The Foundation Prize Awards are presented in recognition not only of talent but of a sense of social responsibility on the part of reporters, novelists, and others who write what America reads and views. (Name of Prize Award winners and one recipient's reactions to the ACWA and the Foundation appear on Page 8.)

Awards of $500 are given in recognition of significant contributions in the daily press, magazines, books, radio and television, motion pictures and the drama. The winners are selected by a panel of three judges, at present composed of Lewis Gannett, former book critic for the "New York Herald Tribune;" Eric Sevareid, chief of the CBS Washington bureau; and William L. Shirer, author and commentator.

Others who have served on the panel of judges are the late Thomas Stokes, newspaper columnist; Bruce Bliven, former chairman of the editorial board of the "New Republic;" and Evans Clark, a member of the editorial board of "The New York Times."

The winning entries have dealt with such problems as the protection of civil liberties, the improvement of race, relations, the advancement of economic security and the general welfare, the promotion of world peace and international understanding.

The Sidney Hillman Reprint Series was inaugurated by the Foundation in 1954. Through it, outstanding speeches or articles by national figures are made available to teachers in high schools, colleges and universities. Since the beginning of the program, the demand for these reprints has steadily increased.

Teachers from California to Texas, Nebraska, West Virginia and New York have testified in countless letters to the value of these reprints as supplementary reading and as a basis for classroom discussion and debates.

A sample copy of each new reprint and an order form are sent to about 3,000 teachers, who have shown an interest in the subject beforehand. Orders of additional copies up to 100 are filled without charge. A small handling charge is required for requests of more than 100 and up to 1,000 copies.

Every year, a number of special grants are made by the Foundation for especially worthy charitable, educational or medical research purposes.

In the first 10 years, the largest of these grants-in-aid were made to the Sidney Hillman Health Center of New York and the Sidney Hillman Medical Center in Philadelphia for medical research for the benefit of all people, regardless of race, religion or nationality.

In New York, research was done in the field of heart disease and arteriosclerosis; and in Philadelphia, three projects in the field of circulatory diseases have been initiated in the laboratory. The results of these projects have been made available to the medical profession.

Other large grants include one of $25,000 to the Harry S. Truman Library; service grants, totaling $75,000 to the Southern Regional Council for its work in solving community problems in the South; and a grant of $5,000 to the American Museum of Immigration.

Award
mericans

an enlightened foreign policy, the preservation of our natural resources, the protection of civil liberties and the extension of economic security to all citizens.

Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1956), widow of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, was honored for her humanitarian efforts in behalf of people throughout the world, who have come to regard her as the voice of America's highest ideals.

A leader in the fight against exploitation of workers in industry, in the struggle against discrimination, bigotry and hate, in her tireless efforts to help backward nations achieve their freedoms and opportunities, in the struggle for peace among men, she has been the voice of world conscience.

Paul H. Douglas (1957), United States Senator, was acclaimed for his extraordinary record of public service to the nation.

A tireless worker and a profound student of the issues of the day, he brings to his task a rich experience in public affairs and a thorough knowledge of the issues. In his years in the United States Senate, he has established a position of leadership among those enlightened legislators who have fought to extend economic justice and to guarantee civil rights to those who have been denied them.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
1956

Paul H. Douglas
1957

Nation's Press Comments Favorably On Work of the Hillman Foundation

Through the years, many newspapers have commented favorably about the work and ideals of the Sidney Hillman Foundation. In recent months, several more daily papers have published editorials, as follows:

Raleigh (N.C.) "News and Observer"—"At this time when many prizes are being given writers, and some members of Congress seem almost too eager to throw ripe tomatoes at organized labor, it is pleasant to note the tenth anniversary of the Sidney Hillman Foundation. Some Republicans did not much care for Sidney Hillman when he labored to add strength and effectiveness to Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal. But no one ever questioned his integrity as a labor statesman.

"His interests were not limited to one group or union. He labored to advance the cause of human liberty and human welfare all along the line. Such a man and the many others like him, who have made the American labor movement an essential corps in the progress of America itself, deserve remembrance at a time when most of the attention is being given a few crooks whose first crime has been against the cause they only pretended to serve."

"Since Sidney Hillman's death, awards in his name have been awarded to many for fine public service—one to Jay Jenkins, of 'The News and Observer,' for stories exposing Ku Klux activities. More important than the awards today, however, is the remembrance of the man in whose name they are given. There have been unworthy men in the ranks of labor as in every other group, but such a man as Hillman exemplifies the true leadership of labor which has lifted the standards and the hopes of Americans and made this a stronger, richer, happier land."

Milwaukee (Wis.) "Journal"—"As organized labor's power grows, so do its responsibilities to the society of which it is a vital part.

"Some unions have claimed their rights, but shirked their duties. Many, however, have demonstrated a praiseworthy concern with broad social objectives above immediate self-interest.

"One such union is the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (AFL-CIO).

"The Amalgamated's officers, with the advice of a number of public-spirited citizens, run the Sidney Hillman Foundation, established in the memory of the Amalgamated's late president.

"The foundation recently reported on its first 10 years.

"It has given $205,380 in grants to support projects in such fields as education and medical research. Scholarships worth $183,000 have been awarded through 22 institutions (including $500 to Marquette university medical school) to 350 students. The Foundation has sponsored lectures at 22 institutions.

"In sum, the Amalgamated, through the work of the Foundation, has shown a commendable grasp of labor's responsibility to the community."

Rochester (N. Y.) "Democrat Chronicle"—"The biennial convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which has been going on at Atlantic City, re-

(Continued on Page 8)

Fitzpatrick, Award Winner, to Retire

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Daniel R. Fitzpatrick, who received a special 1954 Sidney Hillman Prize Award, will retire on August 1 as the political cartoonist for the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch." On many occasions, his cartoons have been reproduced in "The Advance."

A native of Superior, Wis., and now 67 years old, Fitzpatrick is recognized as one of the world's great cartoonists. Considerable acclaim has come his way. In addition to receiving the Foundation's special award, he has twice been selected for Pulitzer Prizes.

Four Score Recipients Of Prize Awards

The Sidney Hillman Foundation annually makes Prize Awards in writing, radio and television. Approximately four score individuals and organizations have been honored in this category as follows:

Books

John Hersey, "The Wall" (1950).
Alan Barth, "The Loyalty of Free Men" (1951).
Herbert Block, "The Herblock Book" (1952).
Theodore H. White, "Fire in the Ashes" (1953).
Henry Steele Commager, "Freedom, Loyalty and Dissent" (1954).
John Lord O'Brain, "National Security and Individual Freedom" (1955).
Walter Gellhorn, "Individual Freedom and Government Restraints" (1956).
Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely, "Neither Black Nor White" (1957).

Daily Press

Murray Kempton, "New York Post" (1950).
A. H. Raskin, "The New York Times" (1950).
Carl T. Rowan, "Minneapolis Tribune" (1951).
W. Horace Carter, "Tabor City (N.C.) Tribune" (1952).
Willard G. Cole, "Whiteville (N.C.) News and Reporter" (1952).
Jay Jenkins, Raleigh (N.C.) "News and Observer" (1952).
Ralph S. O'Leary, "Houston Post" (1953).
Vic Reinemer, "Charlotte (N.C.) News" (1954).
Daniel R. Fitzpatrick, "St. Louis Post Dispatch" (special award, 1954).
Ben H. Bagdikian, "Providence Journal-Bulletin" (1955).
Murray Marder, "Washington Post" (1955).
Robert H. Speigel, "Des Moines Tribune" (1956).
"The New York Times" (special award, 1956).
Harry Ashmore, "Arkansas Gazette" (1957).
A. M. Secrest, "Cheraw (S.C.) Chronicle" (1957).

Magazines

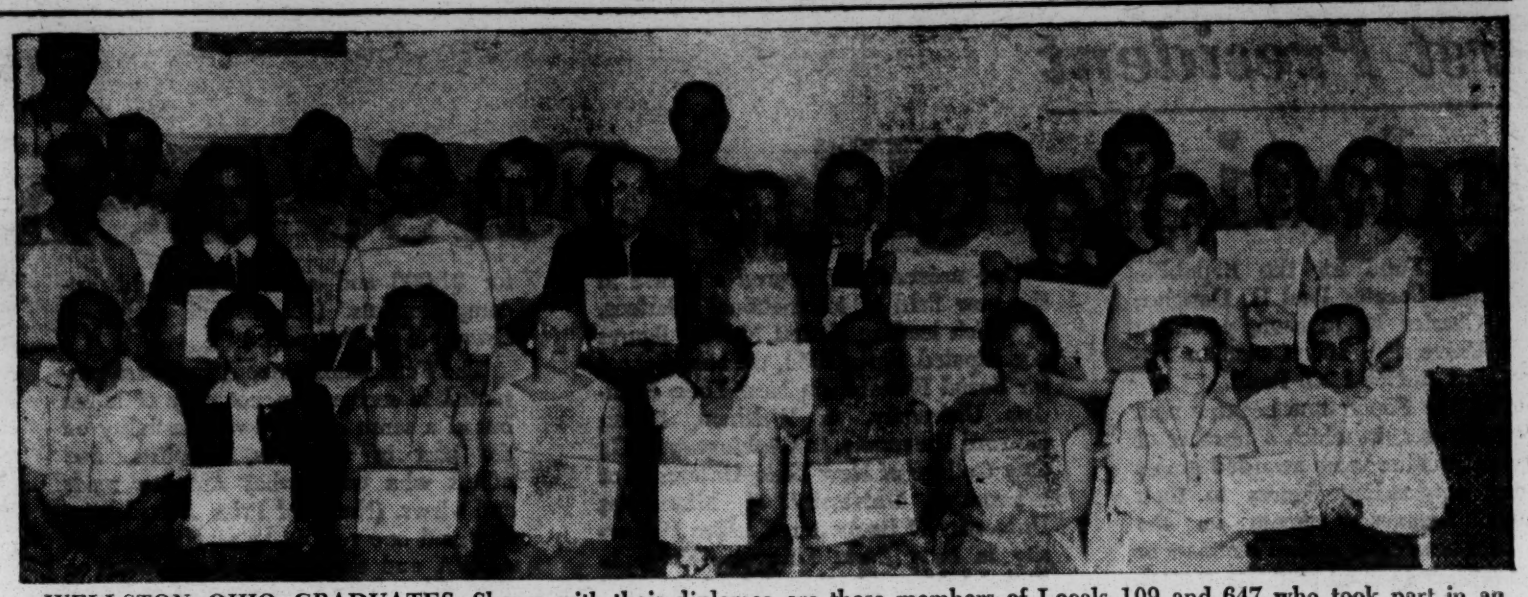
James H. Means, M.D., "Atlantic Monthly" (1950).
Arthur D. Morse, "Who's Trying to Ruin Our Schools?" "McCall's" (1951).
Joseph Wechsberg, "The Seventeenth of June," "The New Yorker" (1953).
Charlotte Knight, "What Price Security," "Collier's" (1954).
"The Progressive," special issue on Senator McCarthy (special award, 1954).
Robert Engler, "Oil and Politics," "New Republic" (1955).
Robert Penn Warren, "Divided South Searches Its Soul," "Life" (1956).
John Fischer, "The Harm Good People Do," "Harper's Magazine" (1956).
Giorgio de Santillana, "Galileo and J. Robert Oppenheimer," "The Reporter" (1957).

Radio-Television

Edward R. Murrow, CBS-TV, "See It Now" (1953).
Gerald W. Johnson, WAAM, Baltimore (1953).
Eric Sevareid, CBS-TV, "The American Week" (1954).
WNYC, New York City (special award, 1954).
Theodore Ayres, CBS-TV, "Face the Nation" (Interview with Khrushchev; 1957).
George A. Vigas, CBS-Radio, "Radio Beat" (1957).

Labor Press

Irving Fagan, Labor Press Associated (1952).
"Labor," Ruben Levin, editor (1955).



WELLSTON, OHIO, GRADUATES: Shown with their diplomas are these members of Locals 109 and 647 who took part in an education program conducted by the Western Organization education department.

An Award Winner Writes About the Amalgamated

A. M. Secrest, one of the Sidney Hillman Foundation 1957 Prize Award winners in the field of communications, wrote about his visit with the Amalgamated in his newspaper, the "Cheraw (S.C.) Chronicle," after his return from Atlantic City in May, when he received the award. Excerpts from his column follow:

Last Wednesday morning, bright and early, we left the three kids, Misty, the dog, and two cats in the able hands of Mrs. Mabel Clark and headed out for Atlantic City, N. J., to attend the eighth annual Prize Awards of the Sidney Hillman Foundation.

The awards were presented at the twenty-first biennial convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and if you're wondering what on earth we were doing at the convention, we'll tell you, briefly, what it was all about.

We were selected by a panel of judges as one of six top winners in various (communications) categories and were asked to attend the award presentation in Atlantic City on May 15.

Our knowledge about the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was fragmentary at best.

We were pleased to find that the Amalgamated places high priority on the importance of union control by democratic union membership, that it has escaped the taint of scandal and corruption which has disgraced the leadership of certain other unions, and that the Amalgamated, through its support of housing and redevelopment, has waged a winning fight against big city slums.

The Sidney Hillman Foundation, separate and yet part of the union, has not limited itself to unionism, but evidences interest in many aspects of public service. For example, it has made allocations of funds for scholarships, medical and academic research, and for numerous lecture series, as well as for the Prize Awards and the annual award for meritorious public service.

There are about 400,000 members in the union, which, apparently, packs a powerful political wallop. At least, one would so gather from the list of speakers addressing the convention. There was G. Bromley Oxnam, bishop of the Methodist Church; Paul H. Douglas, Senator from Illinois; John F. Kennedy, Senator from Massachusetts; George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO; and James P. Mitchell, U. S. Secretary of Labor, among others.

Proof that it is indeed a small world confronted us again Thursday night after our acceptance address, when a delegate from York, Pa., came on stage to introduce himself. He said that he was a subscriber to "The Chronicle" and that he spent nearly every summer in our town.

His name is Bellaver, and he married the former Sara Page Murray, a Cheraw girl, who is the daughter of the late Cheraw attorney, Pat Murray, and Mrs. Murray, the former Clara Page, who now lives with her sister and brother-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. G. F. Goodwyn on Kershaw Street. Mr. and Mrs. Bellaver and three children usually spend the month of July at Cheraw State Park and say they're planning to do so again this year.

(Editor's note: The Bellaver reference is to Cal Bellaver, an Amalgamated organizer on the staff of the Pennsylvania Shirt Workers Joint Board.)

Another coincidence was that another of the winners, Wilma Dykeman, of Asheville, N.C., was a friend of Jean Bible, former Asheville newspaper woman who married our first cousin, J. B. Craven, Jr., who is now a superior court judge in N. C.

It was of interest that four of the seven winners were southerners, and that three of the four had some close connection with North or South Carolina. As a matter of fact, seven of the 14 winners in the journalism division since the awards began in 1950 have come from the South, including Vic Reinemer, a displaced person from Montana, who, as editor of "The Charlotte News" for several years, may qualify for this notable distinction.

Ohio "Work" Plan Rapped At Wellston

WELLSTON, Ohio — The "right-to-work" law is one of the most important issues that will be decided by the citizens of the State of Ohio in the November election.

The Amalgamated members in Wellston and Jackson, employed by the Hercules Trouser Company in its two plants in these cities, and belonging to Local 109, Wellston, and Local 647, Jackson, discussed this question at a joint education school held at Wellston in June.

Mary and William Elkuss, Western Organization education directors, together with National Office representative Bill Hines, conducted the school at two evening sessions.

William Elkuss and Hines explained to the members why the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce are conducting intensely a campaign to have a "right-to-work" law adopted in the State of Ohio and how these anti-labor organizations have succeeded in putting such a law on the statute books in 18 states.

They explained that it is a law not to protect the interests of labor but to protect the interests of the open-shop employers, making it possible for them to break strikes conducted by workers against substandard wages and working conditions.

The members in attendance at the two night sessions gained a greater awareness of the utmost necessity to mobilize their forces and enlighten the citizens of their communities of the true purpose of this proposed bill and to make sure that it is defeated in the November election.

Upon conclusion of the two night sessions the members in attendance received diplomas.

Among those attending were: Effie Lambert, Laura Kinsel, Shirley Hammond, Anna Colley, Katherine King, Anna Crabtree, Marie Edinger, Joe Conger, Bill Ingalls, Doris Kelly, Florence Sharp, Lucille Sickles, Rachel Dixon, Norma Harris, Bertha Petergal, Julia Darnell, Virginia Meadows, Helen Maloy, Florence Ward, Bill Kelly, Harold Frakes, Allie Sorrell, Ed Davis, Alma Jenkins, and Alice Gilliland.

Press Looks Favorably On Hillman Foundation

(Continued from Page 7)

minds this department to remark on a bit of open-handed ACW-connected philanthropy that benefits everybody.

"Of course the convention itself is of great interest in Rochester where there are close to 13,000 ACW members.

"But also, the convention is the occasion of the annual report of the Sidney Hillman Foundation. Set up through the initiative of the ACW to keep alive the ideals of its late president, the Foundation was made possible by more than a million dollars contributed by ACW and other union members.

"One of the Foundation's grants in Rochester has been to the University of Rochester, which is listed as a participating university. The only strings attached to the grant is that it be used in a way to be of interest and possible benefit to ACW members. The university used the grant most recently to underwrite the highly-successful lecture series staged by the university's Non-Western Civilizations Program, of which Vera Michaeles Dean is director. The lectures were open to the public, and presented the thoughts of some of the finest minds on the university faculty. The occasion of the convention is a proper one for us to pass on this thank-you in behalf of all the Rochesterians who enjoyed the lectures."

R. G. Jobe, Pioneer In Local 286, Dies

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo. — Ralph G. Jobe, a member of Local 286 for 21 years, died suddenly May 14.

Jobe had worked for the Oberman Company 38 years. He was a charter member of Local 286, and served as a member of the executive board for many years. He was an active trade unionist, lending his efforts to all activity in which the local engaged.

The officers and members of Local 286 will deeply miss him.

September 10, 1958

Mr. Howard Samuel
Sidney Hillman Foundation, Inc.
15 Union Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Samuel:

I have just read the ten-year report of the Foundation. Congratulations on an impressive presentation of worthy work.

The favorable mention of the Southern Regional Council is appreciated. We remember with gratitude the funds received from the Sidney Hillman Foundation, some of it during our leanest years.

We continue to follow with interest the grants, awards, and reprints for which the Foundation is responsible. The high regard in which Sidney Hillman was held and the continuing good reputation of the Amalgamated are well served by the Foundation's program.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. You may be interested in the enclosed report on the Council's recent activities.

September 10, 1958

Mr. Jacob S. Potofsky
President
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
15 Union Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Potofsky:

I have just written Howard Samuel expressing my appreciation for the excellent ten-year report of the Sidney Hillman Foundation. I would like to take this occasinn, also, to thank you for the past aid which the Southern Regional Council received from the Foundation and for your own interest in our work.

We want you to know that the Council will always be happy to cooperate with the Amalgamated on matters of mutual concern. In this connection, you may find the enclosed report on the Council's activities of interest.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosures - 1 (Midsummer Report of Activities, 1958)

cc to Paul Rilling with copy of Mr. Potofsky's ltr. + SRC ck #5076 ($250.00)

Cr. rel

December 29, 1958

Mr. Jacob S. Potofsky
President
The Sidney Hillman Foundation, Inc.
15 Union Square, West
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Potofsky:

This will acknowledge with thanks your letter of December 22 transmitting the Sidney Hillman Foundation's contribution toward the education of the displaced Negro pupils of Front Royal, Virginia.

We are forwarding this amount to the Virginia Council on Human Relations, together with a copy of your letter. I am sure you will be hearing from Paul Rilling, the Virginia Council's executive director.

I agree with you wholeheartedly that Virginia's die-hard policies of defiance are sowing the seeds of destruction of segregation. It is fortunate that there are organizations like the Sidney Hillman Foundation to help mitigate the price imposed on innocent people by this defiance.

With every kind regard, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Harry Fleischman

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION
INC.

15 UNION SQUARE WEST, NEW YORK 3, N Y · PHONE ALGONQUIN 5 7800

December 22, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

On behalf of the Sidney Hillman Foundation, I am happy to enclose a check for $250 as a contribution toward the Virginia Council on Human Relations, to make it possible to hire teachers for the displaced Nergo children in Front Royal, Va.

The measures adopted by the state government of Virginia to oppose integration of the schools will eventually sow the seeds of destruction of the entire anti-intergration movement. In the meantime, however, a great many innocent people will suffer, unless they have the support of men of good will. We are happy to be in a position to make this contribution to alleviate the condition of the Negro children of Front Royal.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Jacob S. Potofsky
President

cc: Harry Fleischman

TO PERPETUATE THE IDEALS FOR WHICH HE LIVED AND DIED

YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED

TO BE A GUEST OF

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION

AT THE PRESENTATION FOR 1962

OF THE

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL SERIES OF

PRIZE AWARDS

MONDAY, APRIL 29

RECEPTION AND LUNCHEON

12 NOON

WINDSOR BALLROOM, HOTEL COMMODORE

NEW YORK, N. Y.

R.S.V.P.
Card enclosed

SIDNEY HILLMAN PRIZE AWARD WINNERS

1961

AL WASSERMAN, producer, ROBERT YOUNG, director, and CHARLES DORKINS, cameraman, for the program, "Angola: Journey to a War," NBC-TV White Paper #7.

LILLIAN SMITH for her article, "The Ordeal of Southern Women," in *Redbook.*

PATRICK J. OWENS for his editorials on current issues in the *Pine Bluff* (Ark.) *Commercial.*

JANE JACOBS for her book, *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Random House).

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION

PRIZE AWARDS

The Prize Awards of the Sidney Hillman Foundation were initiated in 1950 as part of a varied and extensive program designed to promote the ideals of public service to the community cherished by Sidney Hillman and all labor, and to bring these ideals closer to realization. In its first fifteen years, the Foundation has made allocations for scholarships, for medical research, for academic research, and for numerous lecture series, as well as for the prize awards and for an annual award for meritorious public service.

Submissions for the $500 prize awards have dealt with such topics as trade union development, race relations, civil liberties, scientific welfare and world understanding. Entries may include newspaper and magazine articles, books (fiction and non-fiction), and drama, motion picture, radio and television scripts that have been professionally produced.

Entries in all fields may be submitted by the author or by anyone associated with its publication or production.

The judges for the 1962 prize awards, who were responsible for the final decisions, are Alan Barth, editorial writer, *Washington Post,* William L. Shirer, author and commentator, and Howard K. Smith, ABC commentator.

1887 1946

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION

"We want a better America, an America that will give its citizens, first of all, a higher and higher standard of living so that no child will cry for food in the midst of plenty. We want to have an America where the inventions of science will be at the disposal of every American family, not merely for the few who can afford them. An America that will have no sense of insecurity and which will make it possible for all groups, regardless of race, creed or color to live in friendship, to be real neighbors; an America that will carry its great mission of helping other countries to help themselves."

SIDNEY HILLMAN, 1946

BP
WJ

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION

INC.

15 UNION SQUARE WEST, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. · PHONE ALGONQUIN 5-7800

May 22, 1962

Dear Sir:

As an entrant for a Sidney Hillman Foundation Prize Award for 1961, you will be interested in knowing that on May 3rd the winners of the $500 awards were announced as follows:

Jane Jacobs for her book, Death and Life of Great American Cities, (Random House).

Al Wasserman, producer, Robert Young, director, and Charles Dorkins, cameraman, for the program, "Angola: Journey to a War," NBC-TV White Paper #7.

Lillian Smith for her article, "The Ordeal of Southern Women," in Redbook.

Patrick J. Owens for his editorials on current issues in the Pine Bluff (Ark.) Commercial.

The award winners were chosen by a panel of three judges, including Lewis Gannett, former book critic of the New York Herald Tribune, William L. Shirer, well known author and commentator and Alan Barth, editorial writer for the Washington Post.

I regret that your submission could not be among the winners, but may I take this opportunity to thank you for your participation.

Sincerely yours,

Howard D. Samuel
Executive Director

HDS:cr

TO PERPETUATE THE IDEALS FOR WHICH HE LIVED AND DIED

August 26, 1963

Mr. Jacob S. Potofsky
President
The Sidney Hillman Foundation, Inc.
15 Union Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Potofsky:

This is to place before the Sidney Hillman Foundation a proposal for support of the general operations of the Southern Regional Council. The Council's work in behalf of better human relations in the South has had your long and valued interest and we hope that you may be able to give this request your consideration.

The Council is confronted this year with a financial problem that has stricken many other institutions as well. We have received generous -- sometimes even unsolicited -- grants for special projects. The basic structure of the Council, which supports these projects, with program as well as with administration, is, however, inadequately financed.

As you may note, forexample, from page 3 of our 1963 budget (enclosed), our Voter Education Project alone has more funds than has our central operations; I might add that the size of the Voter Education Project is now substantially larger even than the budgeted figure. Three-fourths or more of these funds go directly to the support of the voter registration efforts of Negro organizations, and all funds aid these efforts.

To all of its programs, the Council brings skilled staff and a reservoir of experience built through years of work in the South. This has yielded the public confidence which makes possible the effectiveness that our special projects and our general programs now have. In the present climactic days of the southern civil rights struggle, these assets are needed more than ever.

Our general operations budget supports this base, as well as -- with rare exceptions -- all our publications, our research and information services, and our field consultation services.

Our prospects for 1963 are that income for general operations will be $15,000 - $20,000 below the budgeted requirement of $178,481. The Sidney Hillman Foundation has in the past contributed to the Council, most recently, I believe, in 1955. We are hoping that you may be in a position to assist us this year in meeting this deficit.

We are enclosing several exhibits. If you should require additional information in order to reach a decision, please let me know.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 6.

October 17, 1963

Mr. Jacob S. Potofsky
President
The Sidney Hillman Foundation, Inc. — file
15 Union Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Potofsky:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council I acknowledge with thanks your letter of October 11, together with a check for $500.00 in support of the general operations budget of the Council; our official receipt is enclosed.

We would like to express our gratitude also for the comments in your letter about our work. It means more than I can tell you for us to have the good will and confidence of the Sidney Hillman Foundation.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION
INC.

15 UNION SQUARE WEST, NEW YORK 3, N.Y. • PHONE: ALGONQUIN 5-7800

Rec'd 10/14/63

October 11, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

CR 10/14/63 RHA

On behalf of the Sidney Hillman Foundation, I am pleased to enclose a check for $500 as a grant to the Southern Regional Council in support of its general operations.

As you have known from our previous grants to your organization, we are confident that your activities have been useful--and will continue to bear fruit--in meeting some of your area's most pressing problems. We are pleased to be in a position to continue to give our support to your efforts.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Jacob S. Potofsky

Jacob S. Potofsky
President

JSP/bg
enc.

With the Compliments of the

SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION, INC.

15 UNION SQUARE

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003

Marked Copy

See Page 11

426

Fifteen Year Report

"We want a better America, an America that will give its citizens, first of all, a higher and higher standard of living so that no child will cry for food in the midst of plenty. We want to have an America where the inventions of science will be at the disposal of every American family, not merely for the few who can afford them. An America that will have no sense of insecurity and which will make it possible for all groups, regardless of race, creed or color to live in friendship, to be real neighbors; an America that will carry its great mission of helping other countries to help themselves." – *1946*

Sidney Hillman

1887-1946

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN FOUNDATION, INC.

1948
Some of the Major Grants of the Sidney Hillman Foundation
1963

In the Field of Health	
Sidney Hillman Medical Center, Philadelphia (research)	$50,500
Sidney Hillman Health Center, New York (research)	50,500
Sidney Hillman Medical Clinic, Tel Aviv	25,000
Albert Einstein College of Medicine, Yeshiva University, New York	12,500
The Kessler Institute for Rehabilitation	3,000
University of Minnesota, Medical School Library	2,500
For Education and Understanding	
Harry S. Truman Library	25,000
Sidney Hillman Memorial Library, New School for Social Research	10,000
National Educational Television & Radio Center & Educational Broadcasting Corp.	5,000
Harry S. Truman Chair, Brandeis University	5,000
American ORT Federation	5,000
Jane Addams Peace Association & Jane Addams Memorial Fund	4,000
National Committee for Labor Israel	2,500
American Assembly, Columbia University	2,500
In the Field of Equal Rights and Brotherhood	
Southern Regional Council	7,450
American Museum of Immigration	5,000
Puerto Rican Cultural Center	5,000
Brotherhood-In-Action	3,000
Religion and Labor Council of America	1,500
National Council of the Churches of Christ	1,300
To Other Institutions and Foundations	
Meyer Kestenbaum Fund, Harvard University	25,000
Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation	25,000
George Meany Foundation, Jewish Theological Seminary of America	5,000
Earl Dean Howard Memorial Fund, Northwestern University	2,500
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, The Fund for the Republic	1,500
For Academic Research	
University of Chicago	10,000
University of California	4,000
University of Wisconsin	1,000
For Labor Education	
National Institute of Labor Education	2,200
Institute of Labor Relations, Rutgers University	2,000
American Labor Education Service	2,000

South Afric[illegible]
sectional, since we in the Nor[illegible]
fell far short in many respects.

During the last quarter of a century, however, there has been an awakening of the American conscience. Thoughtful men and women in both North and South have realized that our treatment of the Negro is contrary to the teach-

in Wa[illegible]
Senator, he has never [illegible]
original ideal—to devote his talent[illegible]
abilities to the social welfare.

He is a rare sort of public servan[illegible]
He is incorruptibly honest, not only i[illegible]

Text of the Award

The following is the text of the scroll presented to U. S. Senator Paul H. Douglas by the Sidney Hillman Foundation for meritorious public service:

The Sidney Hillman Foundation presents its ninth annual award for meritorious public service to United States Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois for his extraordinary record of public service to his nation.

A tireless worker and a profound student of the issues of the day, Senator Douglas brings to his task a rich experience in public affairs and a thorough knowledge of the issues.

In his years in the United States Senate, he has established a position of leadership among that small group of enlightened legislators who have fought to extend economic justice and to guarantee civil rights to those who have been denied them.

Educator, economist, legislator, statesman, he is in the great American liberal tradition which is alive today because of men like him, who disregard the odds and ignore the opposition in the battle against prejudice, ignorance and greed.

In presenting this award, the Sidney Hillman Foundation salutes a great American citizen who has dedicated his life to the welfare of all Americans.

HCF

Paul Douglas received, on ~~the~~ 12th of November, the Sydney Hillman Foundation's 9th annual award for meritorious public service. $1000.00

1/2 to NAACP legal defense fund

1/6 AFSC

1/6 Catholic Council of Wildlife

1/6 AJC

Previous recipients HST, Mrs. FDR, Wm O., Morse, Lehman, Frank P., Bishop Sheil, Oscar O. Ewing.

Sorry this is so late — you might wish to congratulate.

SFD.

File
Hochschild Fund

April 11, 1967

Mr. Harold K. Hochschild
The Hochschild Fund
1270 Avenue of the Americas
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Hochschild:

Enclosed is a brief summary report on the Rural Advancement Project which the Hochschild Fund has generously supported for two years.

See, Rural Advancement Project

This is to respectfully request the consideration of the Fund for a third and final grant for this important program.

In terms of the funds expended, I sincerely believe this project to date has had valuable and impressive returns. We are very hopeful of continuing the program beyond next year. If we do so, however, we will seek other means of financing it and will not expect that donors,

including the Hochschild Fund, continue their support.

Please know that we are genuinely grateful for your interest and support.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
(Report on Rural Advancement Project - Apr. 10, 1967)

HOCHSCHILD FUND, INC.
1270 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS
NEW YORK 20

HAROLD K. HOCHSCHILD, PRESIDENT
WALTER HOCHSCHILD, VICE PRESIDENT
MRS BORIS SERGIEVSKY, VICE PRESIDENT
JOSEPH MISCHE, SECRETARY & TREASURER

April 27, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In response to your letter of April 11th, I have pleasure in sending you Hochschild Fund check for $1,000 as a third and final grant toward your program. Please list as an anonymous contribution and have official receipt sent to the Fund.

Sincerely yours,

H K Hochschild

encl.

Mr HH please note for audit -

posted in money book wy

$1,000.00
5/1/67
C.F.

See Hochschild Fund

May 1, 1967

Mr. Harold K. Hochschild
President
Hochschild Fund, Inc.
1270 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hochschild:

This will acknowledge with grateful appreciation the contribution of $1,000 from the Hochschild Fund. Our receipt is enclosed. We shall list this contribution in our audit as you requested as an anonymous contribution.

Your three year support has been extremely valuable and we are grateful.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

1491M-April 1946

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

WASHINGTON 25

OFFICE OF
COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE

ADDRESS REPLY TO
COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE
AND REFER TO

IT:P:T:1
FJB

1947

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Southern Regional Council

Gentlemen:

It is the opinion of this office, based upon the evidence presented, that you are exempt from Federal income tax under the provisions of section 101(6) of the Internal Revenue Code and corresponding provisions of prior revenue acts, as it is shown that you are organized and operated exclusively for educational purposes.

Accordingly, you will not be required to file income tax returns unless you change the character of your organization, the purposes for which you were organized, or your method of operation. Any such changes should be reported immediately to the collector of internal revenue for your district in order that their effect upon your exempt status may be determined.

Furthermore, under substantially identical authority contained in sections 1426 and 1607 of the Code and/or corresponding provisions of the Social Security Act, the employment taxes imposed by such statutes are not applicable to remuneration for services performed in your employ so long as you meet the conditions prescribed above for retention of an exempt status for income tax purposes.

You will be required, however, to file annually, beginning with your current accounting period, an information return on Form 990 with the collector of internal revenue for your district so long as this exemption remains in effect. This form may be obtained from the collector and is required to be filed on or before the 15th day of the fifth month following the close of your annual accounting period.

Southern Regional Council, Inc. -

Contributions made to you are deductible by the donors in arriving at their taxable net income in the manner and to the extent provided by section 23(o) and (q) of the Internal Revenue Code, as amended, and corresponding provisions of prior revenue acts.

Bequests, legacies, devises or transfers, to or for your use are deductible in arriving at the value of the net estate of a decedent for estate tax purposes in the manner and to the extent provided by sections 812(d) and 861(a)(3) of the Code and/or corresponding provisions of prior revenue acts. Gifts of property to you are deductible in computing net gifts for gift tax purposes in the manner and to the extent provided in section 1004(a)(2)(B) and 1004(b)(2) and (3) of the Code and/or corresponding provisions of prior revenue acts.

The collector of internal revenue for your district is being advised of this action.

By direction of the Commissioner.

Respectfully,

O. H. Rowley

Deputy Commissioner.

Corrected copy
MK follow

December 27, 1957

Dr. Prynce Hopkins
Chairman
Hopkins Charities Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

Thank you for your letter and the guidance sheet which you were kind enough to send me.

I had heard of the Hopkins Charities Fund and, in fact, had planned to explore with the Fund the possibility of assistance to the Southern Regional Council's work. Therefore, I am doubly grateful to you and Dr. Enke for this timely introduction to the principles and procedures of the Fund.

We shall be submitting an application in the near future. Meanwhile, all good wishes of the season.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Dr. Stephen Enke

PRYNCE HOPKINS
1920 GARDEN STREET, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA
TELEPHONE WOODLAND 2-6964

RECEIVED DEC 26 1957

December 20, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

A friend of your Council has suggested that you might like to make an application for aid to one of the Hopkins Funds.

Without wishing to arouse any unjustified expectations on your part, I take pleasure in enclosing herewith a guidance sheet in case you should care to make such application.

Sincerely yours,

Prynce Hopkins

Chairman

Hopkins Charities Fund

PH:mp
enc.
cc: Dr. Stephen Enke

HOPKINS CHARITIES FUND AND HOPKINS DONATION FUND

1920 GARDEN STREET, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

Information and Instructions for Applicants

The Hopkins Charities Fund and Hopkins Donations Fund are prepared to consider, without prejudice, an application from your organization for financial aid.

The income at our disposal is small. We make a few grants in amounts of from $500 to $5,000. Each is a single grant, and does not carry an expectation of repetition. The Hopkins Donations Fund may make grants to agencies which do not have federal tax exemption status for contributors.

The trustees do *not* give to any person or organization which:

(a) Can expect support from the general public: e.g., organizations such as hospitals, Red Cross, churches, boys' or girls' clubs, etc., or

(b) Comes within the scope of programs to which other foundations or funds are already contributing, or

(c) Is primarily political or sectarian, or

(d) Is under Communist or any other anti-democratic influence.

The trustees have a preference for:

(a) Public causes rather than individuals.

(b) Treating the sources of evils rather than treating their unfortunate consequences.

(c) Poorly supported and pioneering causes rather than those already fairly well supported.

(d) Programs with widespread rather than local implications.

(e) Special projects rather than general budgets.

Each applicant should:

1ST: Submit six copies of a brief summary of the appeal. This, including tabular data, must be reduced as nearly as possible to two letter-sized, single-spaced typewritten pages setting forth:

(a) What the project aims to accomplish, and how.

(b) How much money is needed, and how much is requested from the Hopkins Funds.

(c) How it is proposed to spend the funds requested.

(d) Who will supervise the project.

(e) Income and disbursements of the last financial year.

(f) Last consolidated balance sheet.

(g) Other sources solicited for funds, with what results.

(h) Date and number of Treasury ruling providing tax-exempt status, if secured.

2ND: Send a *single* copy of supplementary information you consider relevant.

3RD: Address the above material to Hopkins Funds, 1920 Garden Street, Santa Barbara, California.

Yours on behalf of the Board,

_____

CHAIRMAN

12830 Hanover Street
West Los Angeles 49, Calif.

December 18, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Alburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of December 2 regarding the Southern Regional Council's work, and for the various enclosures.

Dr. Prynce Hopkins of 1920 Garden Street, Santa Barbara, is Chairman of the Board of Trustees that administers the Hopkins Charitable Fund and the Hopkins Donation Fund. I will transmit your letter and enclosures to him, and also a copy of the letter that I received from Mr. Ashmore. Also, I shall be seeing Dr. Hopkins over Christmas.

I expect that you will receive, within the next few weeks, a short questionnaire that we use for relaying information regarding applications to the six trustees.

Yours sincerely,

Stephen Enke

SE:JS
cc: Dr. Prynce Hopkins

AIR MAIL

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

Enclosed is our request for assistance from the Prynce Hopkins Charities Fund.

As the supporting material indicates, the Council's activities cover a wide range, and, truth to tell, none of them can be considered meaningfully in isolation from the others. After much consideration, we are proposing the intensive ~~effort described~~ project described, with the hope that it will meet the standards set forth in the Fund's instruction sheet.

My fear is that in compressing the proposal into two pages we may have ~~failed to convey~~ said too little about the specific kinds of materials we wish to prepare and precisely how we will use them. ~~If there are questions~~ Our hope is that the enclosures will help remedy this shortcoming. If there are questions on this point or any other, I shall be happy to supply more information.

It is a matter of concern to us that ~~the~~ strategic efforts to shape the public images ~~which~~ which guide race relations have had so little support outside segregationist circles. We have found it difficult, for example, to secure financial support for such activity, as compared with the more dramatic field efforts.

We are most grateful for the Fund's consideration.

Sincerely yours,

HCF

(See that he's added to Hess South mailing list!)

Submitted with Prynce Hopkins Proposal

SOME COMMENTS ON SRC's INFORMATION AND PUBLICATIONS PROGRAM

"...the Council has earned a reputation for sound, constructive research and publication of factual material." -- Editorial in the Atlanta Constitution - (2/1/57).

"The report of the Southern Regional Council that 21 cities in Arkansas, North Carolina, Virginia, Texas and Tennessee have done away with bus segregation without court action is more important, actually, than the accounts of friction in other communities. For this is the way in which effective desegregation will come to the South." -- Editorial in the Washington Evening Star - (1/8/57).

"I can't begin to thank you for the kindnesses and help you gave me ten days ago. Thanks to you, a bunch of then inchoate impressions I had fell into place and continued to stay that way for the rest of the trip.... There and elsewhere through the South your name was an open sesame." -- Letter ~~by~~ from Alfred W. Friendly, managing editor, Washington Post and Times-Herald - (3/20/57).

"Thank you so much for the copies of "The Negro Voter in the South" which you recently sent us. As you probably know... it has created considerable interest on the Hill, and our copies are all now in heavy use." -- Letter ~~by~~ from Charles A. Goodrum, Legislative Reference Librarian, The Library of Congress - (8/1/57).

"Thank you so much for the use of this material and the other assistance on the Ku Klux Klan story. I hope I can be of as much help to you some day." -- Letter ~~by~~ from Clark R. Mollenhoff of LOOK Magazine -(3/22/57).

"This is to acknowledge with deepest thanks the material... for use in connection with our communication developed around the Little Rock situation. I wish I could tell you how very valuable every piece of the material will be... as we try to present an honest, and yet helpful picture to our friends abroad." -- Letter ~~by~~ from Dorothy I. Height, YWCA National Board - (11/15/57).

"The special reports the Southern Regional Council has been distributing are most useful. I note they have been used in some notable places." -- Letter ~~by~~ from Claude A. Barnett, director, Associated Negro Press - (9/11/57).

"The Council in my judgment serves two important functions that no other agency in the region is capable of. It remains a rallying point for moderate white Southern opinion, and keeps open essential channels of communication between the races... It also provides an indispensable source of

factual information on every aspect of the race problem; the Council's resources have prevented many a distortion in the local and national press, helped correct many that did find their way into print." -- Letter ~~by~~ from Harry S. Ashmore, editor, Arkansas Gazette - (2/14/58).

"Your organization has been of great service throughout this civil rights debate. It is true that you, as a private organization, have provided more information and more facts concerning the voting situation than has the Department of Justice." -- Letter ~~by~~ from Senator Paul H. Douglas - (8/26/57).

"(The Council) fills a unique place... I think you can well understand that in a region where there is so much sound and fury it is necessary to have some organization which, year in and year out, can assemble the facts and keep them before the public." -- Letter ~~by~~ from Ralph McGill, editor, Atlanta Constitution - (2/11/58).

June 6 - 0900
Ga. 7 - 6413

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

February 13, 1958

Dear Alice:

I can say the following things off hand about the Southern Regional Council, and send you a copy of our Three-Year Report, which, while outdated, still states the facts as to the Southern Regional Council. If Dave wants more information when he returns, let me know. The request is difficult for me to comply with in the general terms Mr. Hopkins has made it, because we have filing cabinets full of material about the Southern Regional Council, and how to select from that I cannot figure out in the absence of a more precise question.

One of the Fund's earliest grantees in the South, and by far recipient of the most money of any grantee in the South, the Southern Regional Council is an organization for which we have unbounded admiration. Since 1954, this Fund has granted over $650,000 to the Southern Regional Council. In that period, I imagine the Council has raised substantially larger amounts from other sources. It is the one South-wide, well-staffed, well-organized, visible institution attempting to rally the moderates to action in peaceful resolution of the struggle over integration. The Council's publications are accurate and authoritative. Its relations with the press, with other organizations, and with the principal outfits in the struggle are excellent.

The Fund gave the Southern Regional Council in 1957 a "terminal" grant. The grant was to continue support for the council during the next three years. It was "terminal" for three reasons, as far as we were concerned: 1. The Fund will be out of business itself in about three years; 2. It was important that the Council get itself established against the time when we were no longer around; 3. It was important that the Council not have to face the problem in its own fund-raising of being considered a perpetually favored grantee of this Fund, which enabled everybody to put off their requests with the statement, "If that rich Fund for the Republic is supporting them, why should I."

In other words, our grant was intended in no way to imply a criticism of the Council; on the contrary, it was intended to make it easier for the Council to survive and grow, and to carry on the kind of work we all believe to be of great merit.

I don't know what sort of detail Prynce Hopkins would like. I can give him my own personal assurance, and the assurance of the entire staff and Board of this Fund that Harold Fleming, director of the Council, is an exceptionally competent man and administrator; that the members of the Board and the members of the State Councils on Human Relations are people of the highest quality and devotion; and that the integrity of the Council has been unquestioned in our extensive dealings with it.

It should be clear from these remarks that I think Prynce Hopkins ought to give the Southern Regional Council some money. I hope he will.

Kindest regards,

Hallock Hoffman
Secretary

Mrs. Alice Harris
Secretary to David Walden
714 West California Street
Pasadena, California

MEMORANDUM March 4, 1958

To: John Constable

From: M. Flowers

Please see that the following persons are placed on our complimentary mailing list for NEW SOUTH:

Dr. Prynce Hopkins
Chairman - Hopkins Charities Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Mr. David C. Walden
714 West California Street
Pasadena, California

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Walden, Mr. David C.

REGARDING:

Contacts with West Coast Foundations - particularly
HOPKINS CHARITIES FUND

DATE

March 5, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Gen. Correspondence - "WA"

VIA AIR MAIL March 5, 1958

Dr. Prynce Hopkins
Chairman
Hopkins Charities Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

Enclosed is our request for assistance from the Hopkins Charities Fund.

As the supporting material indicates, the Council's activities cover a wide range, and, truth to tell, none of them can be considered meaningfully in isolation from the others. After much consideration, we are proposing the intensive project described, with the hope that it will meet the standards set forth in the Fund's instruction sheet.

My fear is that in compressing the proposal into two pages we may have said too little about the specific kinds of materials we wish to prepare and precisely how we will use them. Our hope is that the enclosures will help remedy this shortcoming. If there are questions on this point or any other, I shall be happy to supply more information.

It is a matter of concern to us that strategic efforts to shape the public images which guide race relations have had so little support outside

segregationist circles. We have found it difficult, for example, to secure financial support for such activity, as compared with the more dramatic field efforts.

We are most grateful for the Fund's consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 1957 Audit
Proposal (6 copies)
SRC Annual Report, 1957
List of Board Members
Congressional Record Reprint
New York Times Reprint
Organizational Chart
Treasury Letter (April 1956)
Comments on Info. and Publications Program

Duplicate

Duplicate

A PROPOSAL TO THE [redacted] HOPKINS CHARITIES FUND
FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

This is to request the Fund to consider a grant of $5,000 in support of a special information project of the Southern Regional Council.

Since the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954, white Southerners have been subjected to a mounting barrage of segregatinnist propaganda. Through a mass of publications, circulated by the White Citizens Councils and like groups, through the speeches of politicians and office-holders, and through the general press, old racist myths have been revived and new ones created. The themes of this massive propaganda campaign may be briefly described as (1) "evidence" of inherent Negro inferiority; (2) Biblical and other religious "justifications" of segregation; (3) material seeking to demonstrate that the Supreme Court's decisions are unconstitutional; (4) "sociological" and health data supporting segregation (illiteracy, illegitimacy, and venereal disease rates, allegedly racial differences in moral and cultural standards, the prospect of widespread intermarriage, etc.); (5) contentions that integration is a Communist conceived and promoted objective; (6) interracial problems of the North and West as evidence of unworkability of integration.

This negative campaign has been distressingly effective. The power wielded by the segregation forces has silenced and intimidated most of the usually responsible leadership in the region. Many Southerners of good will have succumbed to this bombardment of fear and prejudice. Even in other regions of the country, the distortions and rationalizations voiced by some of the South's most influential leadership have had their effect.

The Southern Regional Council -- through its publications, speakers, consultants, work with other organizations and with the mass media -- has sought to counter the effects of these appeals to racial anxieties and fears. But we feel that these efforts must be greatly intensified if the Council is to make its full and much-needed contribution to a more positive climate of opinion. To this end, we propose to prepare a series of special publications designed for selective distribution to Southern religious, legal, economic, civic, and educational leaders.

The accompanying materials will suggest the approach, and the experience and competence which the Council brings to it; what is needed is a more sharply focused effort than the Council has heretofore been able to make. Our aim will be to assemble the most authoritative facts and interpretation for each designated interest-group, present them clearly and persuasively, and distribute the respective publications as effectively as possible. We will also undertake the dissemination of this material through the press, appropriate organizations, and the other channels previously mentioned.

It is one of the tragedies of our time that the South faces the challenge of a profound social change with a set of institutions and leadership still largely wedded to the undemocratic past. Never in living memory has there been a greater need for a body of responsible Southerners to be heard in the region -- and in the rest of American and the world. In make-up, reputation, and experience the Southern Regional Council is fitted to make such a contribution.

Under its present budget, the Council maintains the reference and research facilities and the overhead staff essential to the successful implementation of the proposed project. The amount requested of the [redacted] Hopkins Charities Fund, if granted, would be applied to the following special costs for one year:

Temporary Project Personnel (editorial)	$ 1,500
Printing of Project Materials	2,500
Distribution (clerical, envelopes, postage)	1,000
TOTAL	$ 5,000

The project will be directly supervised by the Executive Director, with the assistance of the Director of Information and other staff members.

The Treasury letter confirming the Council's tax-exempt status (copy enclosed) is dated April 1946, Number 1491M.

CONSOLIDATED STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES, 1957
(See Audit Attached)

Income		
Foundation Grants	$95,725.00	
Other Contributions (individuals, churches, etc.)	16,196.76	
Office-Related Income (subscriptions, interest, etc.)	11,910.59	
TOTAL		$123,832.35
Expenses		
Salaries, Consultant Fees, Soc. Security	69,215.44	
Printing & Postage	9,533.00	
Travel	8,528.08	
Rent	1,722.00	
Supplies, Equipment, and Communications	5,919.11	
Other Overhead	1,871.27	
Subsidies to State Human Relations Councils	74,877.22	
TOTAL		171,666.12
Excess of Expenses over Income		$ 47,833.77
(Represents funds previously granted for use in 1957.)		

CONSOLIDATED BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1957

Assets		
Cash in Banks	$ 30,181.28	
Investment in Securities	169,338.06	
Literature Inventory	500.00	
Accounts Receivable	30.50	
TOTAL		$ 200,049.84
Liabilities		
Taxes and Accounts Payable	$ 2,754.01	
Due to Special Projects	6,574.62	
Advance Appropriations for 1958-60	189,683.17	
Surplus	1,038.04	
TOTAL		$ 200,049.84

March 5, 1958

VIA AIR MAIL

April 23, 1958

Dr. Prynce Hopkins
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

As a footnote to our request for aid, transmitted March 5, I enclose two newspaper stories in the preparation of which the Southern Regional Council assisted.

I should like to call your attention particularly to the article from the Atlanta Journal-Constitution which summarizes the national propaganda activities of pro-segregation groups, many of them supported by public funds. This presents a useful overall view of the campaign of mis-information and prejudices which our proposed project would seek to counteract.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures: Atl. Journal-Constitution Article - 4/20/58
"Dixie Puts Case for No-Mix in N. Y. Newspaper Ad."

Wall Street Journal Reprint - 12/17/57
"Segregation Costs..."

VIA AIR MAIL

September 3, 1958

Dr. Prynce Hopkins
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

We are deeply grateful to you and the Hopkins Charitable Fund for the generous contribution to the Council, just received. This heartening support could not be more timely; the delay only served to increase our gratification at the favorable action on the Council's request.

I shall be sending you periodic reports on the work of the Council, including those activities specifically made possible by the Fund's grant.

Meanwhile, our warmest thanks and good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2 (Official Receipt; Midsummer Report, 1958)

PRYNCE HOPKINS

1920 GARDEN STREET, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

TELEPHONE WOODLAND 2-6964

August 29, 1958

Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

At last I am able to hand you, as I do herewith, gift which the Hopkins Charitable Fund voted you early this summer. I am sorry for the delay which has occurred.

Sincerely,

CR 2,500.00
9/2/58 RHA

Prynce Hopkins

Chairman,

Hopkins Charitable Fund.

PH:mp

enclosure

HOPKINS CHARITABLE FUND

NOTICE

The attached check to your organization is in payment of a grant by the Hopkins Charitable Fund. If, as of the date of the receipt of this check, your organization does not qualify as a tax exempt organization as described in Section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, please return this check and another will be issued to you from another Fund.

Prescott Hopkins

Chairman, Hopkins Charitable Fund

February 23, 1959

Dr. Prynce Hopkins
Hopkins Charitable Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

I take pleasure in sending you the enclosed annual report of the work of the Southern Regional Council, as well as an audited financial statement for 1958.

An important part of the program effort described in the report was made possible directly by the grant from the Hopkins Charitable Fund. We were able to publish, purchase, and distribute an unprecedented amount of constructive material. As you will see from the report, the need for such information was greatly increased by the closing of schools in Arkansas and Virginia and the resulting concern throughout the South. I am sending you separately a selection of the materials we have distributed since September 1958. Through the press and direct distribution, they have helped contribute to the growth of positive sentiment, in the South and elsewhere. These are, of course, in addition to our monthly publication New South.

The financial statement reveals that the Council's affairs are sounder than ever before. But it also shows that our income for such broad functions as information is relatively small, in

contrast to grants for quite specialized projects. Thus the grant from the Hopkins Charitable Fund has been disproportionately valuable to the Council's program.

We fully realize that the grant received in 1958 implied no future commitment. We should be most grateful, however, if you would advise us quite frankly as to the suitability of the Council's applying for a further grant in 1959.

I need hardly point out that the segregation issue in much of the South remains critical, and the Council's responsibilities accordingly great.

In any case, we are lastingly grateful for your confidence and generosity at a time of critical need.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2 (SRC Annual Report, 1958; Financial Statement)

Separate mailing - see attached list.

Materials sent to Dr. P. Hopkins
Hopkins Charitable Fund - 2/23/59:

Knoll pamphlet on Washington
Ministers' & Doctors' statements
Emory Faculty statement, News
releases on buses & bombings
Special Rpt. on Voting, 1958,
Jim Montgomery mimeo'd speech
RRLR summary
League of Women Voters summary on
laws
"What S. C. Said"
Dabbs-Wallace Interview
Desegregation in the Baltimore Schools
Ralph McGill Reprint - Oct. 13/'58
("A Church--A School)
&&&&&&
Special Rpt. - "Little Rock: A Look at..
Highlights from Recent Lit.
Oct, Dec., 1958
Irving Brant's Washington Post
Reprint.

April 16, 1959

Dr. Prynce Hopkins, Chairman
Hopkins Charitable Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

We appreciated your recent letter and would like to apply for a further grant from the Fund. An application of the type you suggested will be submitted shortly.

It would be a great pleasure to meet you and talk with you personally about our common concerns. I hope some turn of circumstances will make that possible in the not-too-distant future.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

PRYNCE HOPKINS

1920 GARDEN STREET, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

TELEPHONE WOODLAND 2-6964

March 24, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have just returned from my trip to the Far East during which my secretary was instructed not to forward any mail to me. I find your letter of February 23rd, asking whether the Southern Regional Council would be permitted to apply for a further grant.

I see no harm in your doing this if you wish to. We have, of course, your older application, so I suggest that your new one give the merest summary of your general case and then bring us up to date so far as you can without running into great length.

Sincerely yours,

Prynce Hopkins

PH:mp

Chairman

enclosure

April 24, 1959

Dr. Prynce Hopkins, Chairman
Hopkins Charit~~able~~ Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

Enclosed are six copies of our request for a second grant from the Hopkins Charit~~able~~ Fund. Since a selection of exhibits was sent with our Annual Report and audited financial statement as recently as February, we are omitting any supporting documents with this application. I need hardly say, however, that we shall be glad to furnish any additional information or documentation that you might wish.

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council I want to reiterate our gratitude for the Fund's prior grant and our thanks for your consideration of this request for further support.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 6

A PROPOSAL TO THE HOPKINS CHARITIES FUND FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

April 24, 1959

We request the Fund to grant, for a second year, $2,500 in support of a special information project of the Southern Regional Council. The project was described in the proposal submitted for 1958; it is, in brief, the preparation and distribution of strategic materials directed to Southern religious, legal, economic, civic and educational leaders. A selection of materials distributed since September 1958 was sent to you on February 23, 1959. A renewal of the grant will enable us to continue placing such authoritative reports, analyses, and interpretations before influential men and women in the South. It will also help to counteract deliberate misinformation circulated outside the South.

We think this enterprise has been of great value, and that because of recent events it will contribute still more in future months to peaceful and wise social change. There is both a negative and a positive objective served by the project. The great danger which moderates have fought against since 1954 is the establishment of a massive orthodoxy which will dictate official policies and suppress dissent and free public discussion. Through its own publications and wide distribution of reprints the Council has helped keep alive the circulation of opinions and facts, and in doing so has refuted the claim that there is only one, universally agreed upon, Southern viewpoint. We are happy to report that there has been, since the Fall of 1958, a perceptible relaxation in the South and that there is today freer and more realistic discussion than there has been since 1955. This is not yet true, however, of large areas of the deep South. Nor has there been any diminution of propaganda by the segregationist leaders, in or out of public office; it has, in fact, increased, supported by funds from state treasuries.

The great opportunity in 1959, however, is positive aid for the Southern moderates who have at last begun to act decisively. In Arlington, Charlottesville and Norfolk they organized around the principle of "open public schools"; these groups had an important role in the settlements reached in all three localities. They have an equally necessary task ahead in working for the success of desegregation. A citizens group is active and influential in the confused, frustrating situation of Little Rock. In Atlanta, for the first time, such an organization has arisen <u>prior</u> to an actual crisis. In every case, these citizens' organizations are composed of and led by respected persons. The Council and its affiliated Human Relations Councils in the states have worked intimately with all of them, supplying them with materials for distribution and helping them in a number of other ways. We can expect that similar groups will emerge as circumstances require in other states and localities. The Council believes that this spontaneous mobilization of people to defend their schools is the most hopeful event that

has occurred. We shall support it, therefore, to the limit of our capabilities.

We have indicated the two general objectives which would benefit from a renewal of your grant. The project would be supervised by the Executive Director, with the assistance of our field, information and research staffs. We estimate that approximately $1,500 would be spent for printing, $1,000 for distribution. Cost of research and editorial work would be carried by our general operating budget.

CONSOLIDATED STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES
General Operations - ~~1958~~ 1959

Income		
Foundation Grants	$124,280.80	
Other Contributions	34,582.68	
Office-Related Income	20,945.90	$179,809.38
Expenses		
Salaries, Consultant Fees, Taxes	$ 70,310.47	
Printing, Postage	10,168.88	
Travel	11,073.23	
Rent	3,600.00	
Supplies, Equipment and Communication	7,065.92	
Other Overhead	2,414.81	
Reserve Fund	27,507.00	
Subsidies to State H.R. Councils	34,750.00	$166,890.31
Excess of Income over Expenses		$ 12,919.07

CONSOLIDATED BALANCE SHEET, Dec. 31, 1958

Assets		
Cash in Banks, Checking ~~& Savings~~	$124,573.61	
Investment in Securities	177,112.00	
~~Equipment, Inventory, Accts.Rec.~~	4,252.28	$305,937.89
Liabilities		
Due to Special Projects, 1959-60	$134,802.74	
Advance Appropriations, 1959-60	68,730.00	
Due to State Councils on H.R.	59,550.00	
Reserve Fund	27,507.00	
Obligations Outstanding	2,785.90	$293,375.64
~~Surplus Applied Toward 1959 Budget~~		~~$ 12,562.25~~
		~~$305,937.89~~

PRYNCE HOPKINS

1920 GARDEN STREET, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

TELEPHONE WOODLAND 2-6964

April 28, 1959

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am very glad to have your letter of April 24th with the six copies of your proposal. I will bring them before our Committee when we meet next month.

Sincerely,

Pryce Hopkins

Encl: Montgomery Home News - 5/14/59 - "Gallion Plan to Expose Race-Meddling Group..." by Cleghorn

May 28, 1959

Dr. Prynce Hopkins
Hopkins Charitable Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

7

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

Thank you for your letter of May 22.

Naturally we are disappointed by the decision of the Board. But we are grateful for the consideration given to our request and will hope that at some time in the future the Council's needs may again be judged worthy of your support.

If we may, we will continue to send you our annual and semi-annual reports. Meanwhile, you might find the enclosed article from one of the more violently pro-segregation papers -- the Montgomery (Ala.) Home News -- of clinical interest.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

RECEIVED MAY 25 1959

PRYNCE HOPKINS

1920 GARDEN STREET, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

TELEPHONE WOODLAND 2-6964

May 22, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

At our meeting on May twelfth, the Board of the Hopkins Charitable Fund considered your request for a grant. We regret to have to tell you, however, that, with a very large number of applicants for the limited sums at our disposal, your application, notwithstanding its merits and claims, has had to be denied because of others which interested the Board still more.

Sincerely yours,

Pryce Hopkins

Chairman

Hopkins Charitable Fund

PH:mp

PRYNCE HOPKINS
1920 GARDEN STREET, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA
TELEPHONE WOODLAND 2-6964

acknowledged 1/12/60

January 7, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Please do not take this letter as implying any probability that we will make another donation to you but if you are still in need of help and would care to make another application to us on the off-chance of our repeating our gift, the Hopkins Charitable and Hopkins Donations Funds invite you to do so.

In case you have mislaid the guidance form which we sent you previously, I am enclosing another.

We are expecting to have our next meeting in March. Applications should therefore come in before the month of February.

Sincerely yours,

Prynce Hopkins

Chairman,

Hopkins Charitable Fund
Hopkins Donations Fund

PH:mp

enclosure

January 12, 1960

Dr. Prynce Hopkins, Chairman
Hopkins Charitable Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

Thank you so much for your letter of January 7. It is especially timely and helpful, since I have been intending to write and inquire about the propriety of the Southern Regional Council's submitting another application.

We understand, of course, that your letter is not to be construed as any indication of the outcome of our request.

I shall see that you receive our application before the end of this month, in order that it may be considered by the March meeting. Meanwhile, with kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

U. S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT
INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

IN REPLY REFER TO
T:R:EO:3
RFB

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JAN 29 1960

Gentlemen:

This is in reference to the additional information submitted by you for our use in reconsidering your status for Federal income tax purposes as an organization described in section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, which corresponds to section 101(6) of the Code of 1939.

We regret the delay in this matter which was due principally to the fact that the regulations relative to the section of law under which your status is being reconsidered, had not become finalized. However, the regulations were approved by the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, and they are contained in Treasury Decision 6391, which was published in Internal Revenue Bulletin dated July 27, 1959, No. 1959-30, on page 7.

Our records disclose that in a ruling dated July 28, 1947, we held that you were entitled to exemption as an educational organization under section 101(6) of the Code of 1939 for 1944 and subsequent years.

In connection with our consideration of this matter, we deem it advisable to state that generally, in order to be exempt as an organization described in section 501(c)(3) of the Code, an organization must be both organized and operated exclusively for one or more of the purposes specified in such section of law. If an organization fails to meet either the organizational or operational test, it is not exempt. As interpreted by section 1.501(c)(3)-1 of the applicable regulations, an organization is organized exclusively for one or more exempt purposes only if its articles of organization limit its purposes to the purposes specified in section 501(c)(3) of the Code; and do not expressly empower the organization to engage, otherwise than as an insubstantial part of its activities, in activities which in themselves are not in furtherance of one or more exempt purposes. Also,

an organization is not operated exclusively for one or more exempt purposes if it is an "action" organization as defined in paragraph (c)(3) of the above-mentioned section of the regulations. However, an organization will not fail to meet the operational test merely because it advocates as an insubstantial part of its activities the adoption or rejection of legislation. In determining whether an organization has such characteristics, all the surrounding facts and circumstances including its articles and activities are to be considered.

Your articles of incorporation list certain purposes which appear to be neither charitable nor educational as those terms are used in section 501(c)(3) of the Code and section 1.501(c)(3)-1(b) of the regulations. However, since you have previously been determined to be exempt under section 501(c)(3) and that exemption was not revoked prior to July 27, 1959, amendment of your articles of incorporation to bring them into complete compliance with the "organizational test" set forth in the regulations will be required only if you seek a new determination of exemption.

On the other hand, you will be expected in the future to conform your operations strictly with the "operational test" set forth in the regulations. This means that you will be regarded as "operating exclusively" for one or more exempt purposes only if you engage primarily in activities which accomplish one or more of such exempt purposes specified in section 501(c)(3) of the Code. An organization will not be so regarded if more than an insubstantial part of its activities is not in furtherance of an exempt purpose. Furthermore, an organization is not operated exclusively for one or more exempt purposes if it is an "action" organization as that term is defined in the applicable regulations. As stated in the regulations, an organization is an "action" organization if a substantial part of its activities is attempting to influence legislation by propaganda or otherwise. For this purpose, an organization will be regarded as attempting to influence legislation if the organization: (a) contacts or urges the public to contact members of a legislative body for the purpose of proposing, supporting or opposing legislation; or (b) advocates the adoption or rejection or legislation.

In view of the foregoing, our ruling of July 28, 1947, with respect to your Federal income tax status remains in full force and effect under the applicable provisions of the Code of 1954.

In accordance with this ruling, you are not required to file Federal income tax returns so long as you retain an exempt status, unless you are subject to the tax imposed by section 511 of the Code and are required to file Form 990-T for the purpose of reporting unrelated business taxable income. Any changes in the character of your organization, the purposes for which you were organized or your method of operation should be reported immediately to the District Director of Internal Revenue for your district in order that their effect upon your exempt status may be determined.

We deem it advisable to state that your present tax-exempt status may be jeopardized in the event you make distributions to organizations, which have not established an appropriate exempt status for Federal income tax purposes, or use your funds for purposes, which are not considered to be exclusively charitable or educational within the intent of section 501(c)(3) of the Code.

This ruling does not cover any of your State affiliated organizations. Each of such organizations desiring exemption for Federal income tax purposes is required to establish its own exempt status.

The District Director of Internal Revenue, Atlanta, Georgia, is being advised of this action.

Very truly yours,

J. T. Worley

Chief, Exempt Organizations Branch

PRYNCE HOPKINS

1920 GARDEN STREET, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

TELEPHONE WOODLAND 2-6964

January 29, 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am glad to receive your "Proposal to the Hopkins Charitable Fund" under date of January 26th, in sextuplet, and will see that copies get to all our Board members.

I note that your audited statement for 1959 is in preparation and that we may hope for a copy later. Meantime the financial data on page two of your appeal is useful.

Sincerely,

Pryince Hopkins

Chairman,

Hopkins Charitable Fund

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

January 26, 1960

Via Air Mail

Dr. Prynce Hopkins
Hopkins Charities Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

Enclosed are six copies of our summary proposal to the Hopkins Charities Fund, one copy of our most recent report of program activities, and a list of the Council's board members. Since our materials and releases are sent to you as a matter of course, we will not add to the bulk of the request by duplicating them here.

Our annual audited statement for 1959 is in preparation, and a copy will be sent to you promptly on completion. Meanwhile, for the financial data on page 2 of the appeal, we are using the unaudited 1959 figures. It seemed to us that this would be preferable to audited figures that are no longer current -- especially since the official audit can be sent to you within a few weeks.

If further information of any kind would assist the Trustees in considering our appeal, please advise me. We are most grateful for your willingness to consider the Southern Regional Council's needs.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm
Enclosures - 6 copies proposal
1 copy Program Report
1 copy Board list
1 tax exemption letter

File copy

A PROPOSAL TO THE HOPKINS CHARITIES FUND FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

January 26, 1960

This is to request again the Hopkins Fund's consideration of a grant of $2500 in support of an important program need of the Southern Regional Council.

As the attached report of 1959 activities will suggest, major new developments have occurred in the South since 1958, when the Fund made its earlier grant to the Council. One effect of these developments has been sharply increased demands on the Council by influential groups that find themselves, for the first time, inescapably involved in the school issue. The groups in question range from newly organized "save-the-schools" efforts, to such established agencies as P-TAs, professional associations, denominational groups, and government bodies. The services requested of the Council are equally varied, including finances, fact-finding, preparation of published material, and counsel on policy and program.

We regard this function as of central importance; the knowledge, skill, and experience of the Council cannot be invested more effectively than through assistance to main-line organizations that are at last willing to shoulder their responsibilities for orderly social change.

Yet to render such services, without crippling the Council's own ongoing program, requires both staff time and money; hence this request. Following, in brief, are illustrative examples of the assistance we are called upon to give:

(1) Members of various leading professional societies have asked the Council to survey hotels and other public accommodations that could be persuaded to accept interracial conventions. This question has had national attention as regional and national associations have grappled with discrimination against their Negro members in Southern meeting places. Fortunately, city officials are becoming aware of the decline in revenue which would result from loss of such conventions. The comprehensive survey requested of us would not only assist the associations, but should also serve to persuade more cities and convention sites to remove racial barriers.

(2) Citizen movements to preserve public education, in the face of school-closing laws, have been waging an essential battle in Virginia, Little Rock, and Georgia. As emergency groups with a strictly limited objective, they can mobilize "moderates" who cannot be enlisted for longer-range efforts to achieve desegregation. But, being emergency efforts by volunteers, they need the quiet help and direction that only an established agency like the Council can give. Moreover, we have the task of stimulating similar groups where they are needed and do not yet exist.

(3) The past few months have seen the launching of several new staffed efforts in the human relations field -- for example, the recently formed Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity and the Southern Project of the National Student Association. As one might expect, these special-purpose organizations in their formative stages look to the Council for almost daily advice and services.

(4) Finally, it should be noted that the Council is called on to serve as convener and secretariat for cooperative activity by more than thirty religious, educational, and youth organizations that have long had a staffed concern with human relations in the Southern region. To the extent that our resources permit us to perform this interagency function, these groups are enabled to carry on a coordinated movement, rather than a series of disparate efforts.

The requested grant of $2500 will permit the Council to increase its work with other organizations, as described, by allocations to printing, mailings, clerical services -- and above all by freeing professional staff members for guidance and program cooperation. These efforts will be supervised by the Executive Director with the special assistance of the Field Director.

The Treasury letter confirming the Council's tax-exempt status (copy enclosed) is dated April 1946, Number 1491M.

CONSOLIDATED STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES
General Operations - 1959

Income			
Foundation Grants		$110,280.00	
Other contributions (individuals, churches, etc.)		10,286.23	
Office-Related Income (subscriptions, interest, etc.)		18,973.41	
	TOTAL		$139,539.64
Expenses			
Salaries, Consultant Fees, Soc. Security		68,739.57	37.~~184~~154.83
Printing & Postage		12,017.75	7,126.86
Travel		10,851.20	5,012.87
Rent		3,600.00	1,800.00
Supplies, Equipment, and Communications		6,315.98	3,253.48
Other overhead		2,768.46	2,403.64
Subsidies to State Human Relations Councils		32,550.00	15,900.00
Reserve Fund		2,416.57	
	TOTAL		$139,259.53
Excess of Income over Expenses			280.11

CONSOLIDATED BALANCE SHEET, DEC. 31, 1959

Assets		
Cash in Banks, Checking	$ 52,968.01	
Investment in Securities	145,155.20	
TOTAL		$198,123.21
Liabilities		
Due to Special Projects, 1960-61	$ 74,313.57	
Advance Appropriations, 1960	69,060.19	
Due to State Councils on H.R.	25,000.00	
Reserve Fund	27,982.45	
Obligations Outstanding	1,767.00	
TOTAL		$198,123.21

This is to request again the ~~Prynne~~ Hopkins Fund's consideration of a grant of $2500 in support of an important program need ~~for~~ of the Southern Regional Council.

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(5) Finally, it should be noted that the Council is called on to serve as convener and secretariat for cooperative activity by more than thirty

PAGE (s) MISSING

VIA AIR MAIL

April 26, 1960

Dr. Prynce Hopkins
Chairman
Hopkins Charitable Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council, I acknowledge most gratefully your letter of April 13 informing us of the Hopkins Charitable Fund's grant of $1,000.

This is welcome assistance, indeed, and we shall keep you informed of the program efforts that it will make possible during the course of the year.

Let me add that I hope it will sometime be possible for me to meet you and express personally our appreciation of your interest in the Council's work. If you or other trustees of the Fund should ever get this far South, you are cordially invited to visit us. Meanwhile, our sincere good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RHA ✓
HCF

PRYNCE HOPKINS

1920 GARDEN STREET, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

TELEPHONE WOODLAND 2-6964

April 13, 1960

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am glad to inform you that at the meeting of the Hopkins Charitable and Hopkins Donations Funds Board in New Haven last month we voted to grant the sum of $1,000 to your organization. This check will come to you direct from Crocker-Anglo National Bank of this city by August 1, 1960, or before.

Our Board would appreciate hearing from you during the course of the year just how you used the money we have granted you.

Sincerely,

Pryn Hopkins

Chairman

M F

August 1, 1960

Hopkins Charitable Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Gentlemen:

The Southern Regional Council acknowledges receipt of the grant in the amount of $1,000.00 from the Hopkins Charitable Fund.

Receipt of the check has been acknowledged by signing and returning the copy of the transmittal letter of July 25, 1960, to the Crocker-Anglo National Bank as requested.

The Council's official receipt is enclosed for your records.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosure (Receipt for $1,000.00)

CROCKER-ANGLO NATIONAL BANK
CHARTERED 1870
SANTA BARBARA MAIN OFFICE • 1000 STATE STREET • SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

July 25, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The Trustees of the Hopkins Charitable Fund voted at their last annual meeting to grant your organization the sum of $1,000.00. CR RHA 8/1/60

We are enclosing a check for this amount. Will you please acknowledge its receipt by signing and returning the enclosed copy of this letter.

Very truly yours,

M. George Russell

M. George Russell
Administrative Assistant

MGR/ir
Enc

A5-0793

cc: Dr. Prynce Hopkins

via air mail

December 15, 1960

Dr. Prynce Hopkins
Hopkins Charitable Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

It was thoughtful of you to advise us of the deadline for requests to be acted on at the Fund's next board meeting. We should, indeed, be grateful if the work of the Council may be considered again then.

Six copies of our request are enclosed. Since you have received our reports and materials, we are not encumbering the request with a great many bulky exhibits. If, however, any further material would assist in the consideration of the request, we shall be happy to supply copies at once.

With renewed thanks for your interest and support, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 7.

A PROPOSAL TO THE HOPKINS CHARITABLE FUND FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

This is to request the Fund's consideration of a grant of $2,500 in support of program needs of the Southern Regional Council in 1961.

The attached report of 1960 activities discusses some of the main program efforts which the Fund's past assistance has helped to make possible. In addition to continuing these efforts, we feel that in 1961 the Council must give high priority to two major developments which will affect American race relations: the coming of desegregation to the heart of the deep South, and the approach of the new national Administration to civil rights.

The first court-ordered school desegregation in the deep South (New Orleans) has attracted national attention and concern, and is still far from resolved. In New Orleans, Jacksonville, Atlanta, and elsewhere in the deep South, the advent of the student "sit-in" movement has created new pressures, psychological and economic, and consequent tensions. These developments are certain to continue and spread. As a result, the Council's functions of public interpretation and consultation with community leaders have taken on added and urgent importance. There is and will continue to be a great need for the services of the Council in these troubled communities where a broad range of skills and materials must be brought to bear.

In a situation like that in New Orleans, intimidation and mob action go far beyond the immediate issues involved; they threaten the basic values of our society. Here the Council must continue to seek to support courageous individuals in the pioneering role, while prodding the established leadership of the community to maintain order and reason.

As we prepare for a new Administration in Washington, the Council is giving high priority to the role of national leadership. We have long worked closely with the Federal agencies charged with civil rights responsibilities. In the months ahead, we foresee many more requests for such advice and cooperation. Of perhaps even more fundamental importance, we believe the Council should make the best recommendations it can muster for greater effectiveness of the Executive Branch in the civil rights field. As the leading Southern organization of its kind, the Council has a unique obligation to exert a positive and helpful influence on the planning of the President-elect and his advisers in this field.

To this end, we commissioned Professor Daniel Pollitt of the University of North Carolina Law School to prepare a draft memorandum on executive powers and responsibilities for civil rights. The memorandum has been widely circulated to knowledgeable persons for comment, and was the subject of an early December conference by a small, especially qualified group. At the end of this process -- by early January -- we expect to transmit to the President-elect and other appropriate persons a thoughtful analysis and set of recommendations.

Apart from this special effort, of course, we anticipate that the Council will have unprecedented opportunities in 1961 to work

with the new administration in whatever approaches to racial problems it may adopt.

In order to carry on these and other essential efforts, the Council must raise approximately $40,000 from uncommitted sources.

We should like to express once again the gratitude of the Council's policy leadership and staff for the Hopkins Fund's assistance. It is our hope that the periodic reports and other communications from the Council convey something of the challenge and excitement of the work which the Fund has helped make possible.

The Fund has on file the Treasury letter confirming the Council's tax-exempt status, dated April 1946, Number 1491M. Our application of January 1960 contained the consolidated report of operations during 1959. An audit of the full year's operation will be sent early in 1961. Meanwhile, the following information is taken from the Council's most recent audit, covering the period January 1, 1960 to June 30, 1960.

CONSOLIDATED BALANCE SHEET, JUNE 30, 1960

Assets		
Cash in Banks & Investment in Securities	$181,448.53	
Inventory Materials & Office Equipment	6,618.17	
		$188,066.70
Liabilities		
Due to Special Projects, 1960-61	81,985.65	
Advance Appropriations, 1960-61	37,500.00	
Special Grants-in-Aid to State Councils on Human Relations	21,522.00	
Reserve Fund	38,008.62	
Obligations Outstanding	8,298.64	
		187,314.91
Excess of Assets over Liabilities		751.79
		$188,066.70

CONSOLIDATED STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES
January 1 - June 30, 1960

Income		
Foundation Grants	$ 45,000.00	
Other Contributions (Individuals, churches, etc.)	18,561.63	
Office-related (subscriptions, interest, ect.)	6,467.31	
		$ 70,028.94
Expenses		
Salaries, Consultant Fees, Soc. Security	37,154.83	
Printing & Postage	7,126.86	
Travel	5,012.87	
Rent	1,800.00	
Supplies, Equipment, and Communications	3,253.48	
Other	2,403.64	
Aid to State Human Relations Councils	15,800.00	
		72,651.68
Excess of Expenses over Income		($2,622.74)

PRYNCE HOPKINS
1920 GARDEN STREET, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA
TELEPHONE WOODLAND 2-6964

December 8, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

You have been sending us periodically quite a lot of material. Is it your intention to ask us for an additional grant? If this is the case, it should be done at once because any requests must be in by December 20th to be in time for our next Board meeting.

In case you have mislaid the last guidance form we sent you, I enclose another one.

Of course this application need not cover all the ground you brought up previously but should mention specifically any new projects that you have in mind. Please send this information in sextuplet.

Sincerely,

Prynce Hopkins

Chairman,

Hopkins Charitable Fund

enclosure

HOPKINS CHARITIES FUND AND HOPKINS DONATION FUND

1920 GARDEN STREET, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

Information and Instructions for Applicants

The Hopkins Charities Fund and Hopkins Donations Fund are prepared to consider, without prejudice, an application from your organization for financial aid.

The income at our disposal is small. We make a few grants in amounts of from $500 to $5,000. Each is a single grant, and does not carry an expectation of repetition. The Hopkins Donations Fund may make grants to agencies which do not have federal tax exemption status for contributors.

The trustees do *not* give to any person or organization which:

(a) Can expect support from the general public: e.g., organizations such as hospitals, Red Cross, churches, boys' or girls' clubs, etc., or

(b) Comes within the scope of programs to which other foundations or funds are already contributing, or

(c) Is primarily political or sectarian, or

(d) Is under Communist or any other anti-democratic influence.

The trustees have a preference for:

(a) Public causes rather than individuals.

(b) Treating the sources of evils rather than treating their unfortunate consequences.

(c) Poorly supported and pioneering causes rather than those already fairly well supported.

(d) Programs with widespread rather than local implications.

(e) Special projects rather than general budgets.

Each applicant should:

1ST: Submit six copies of a brief summary of the appeal. This, including tabular data, must be reduced as nearly as possible to two letter-sized, single-spaced typewritten pages setting forth:

(a) What the project aims to accomplish, and how.

(b) How much money is needed, and how much is requested from the Hopkins Funds.

(c) How it is proposed to spend the funds requested.

(d) Who will supervise the project.

✓(e) Income and disbursements of the last financial year.

✓(f) Last consolidated balance sheet.

(g) Other sources solicited for funds, with what results.

(h) Date and number of Treasury ruling providing tax-exempt status, if secured.

2ND: Send a *single* copy of supplementary information you consider relevant.

3RD: Address the above material to Hopkins Funds, 1920 Garden Street, Santa Barbara, California.

Yours on behalf of the Board,

_____

CHAIRMAN

(To be routed in order numbered)

Date

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

HCF

PA

MA

LWD

MM

EW

SM

PR

JC

LEC

MET

BC

1 RHA ✓ F.Y.I

PP

WF

2 MF

3 FILE

January 11, 1961

Dr. Prynce Hopkins, Chairman
Hopkins Charities Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

We are more grateful than I can say for your letter of January 6 advising us that the Hopkins Fund Board has awarded the Council a grant of $2,500. This generous support will substantially enlarge the usefulness of the Council's work in the coming year.

We are no less appreciative of the confidence in this organization and its efforts which the action of your Board signifies.

Our analysis for the new National Administration, which was mentioned in our request, has been completed and is being submitted today to President-elect Kennedy and key persons in his administration. I shall send you a copy very shortly.

This welcome word of the Fund's action comes at a time of momentous developments in race relations here, including the desegregation of the University of Georgia. We shall be

reporting to you on this and similar events in due course.

With appreciation and good wishes, both personally and on behalf of the Southern Regional Council, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California
January 6, 1961

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The Hopkins Fund Board, meeting on January 3rd, voted your organization the sum of two thousand five hundred dollars ($2,500). However, if may be several weeks before your check is sent by the Crocker Anglo Bank of Santa Barbara.

Yours truly,

Prynce Hopkins

Prynce Hopkins, Chairman

Report L-23
January 24, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W. - Rm. 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Listed below are formerly all-white colleges and universities of 17 Southern and border states, and the District of Columbia, which have desegregated since 1935 (when the University of Maryland admitted a Negro to its Law School) plus a few opened integrated in recent years.* Most of these schools did not desegregate until after 1948. Some still restrict Negro students to graduate and professional schools while others accept them at all levels. A few of the institutions listed may not as yet have enrolled a Negro; however, their governing bodies have announced a non-racial admission policy.

	Legal Control
ALABAMA	
Spring Hill College, Mobile	Roman Catholic
ARKANSAS	
Arkansas A. & M. College, College Heights	State
Arkansas College, Batesville	Presbyterian
Arkansas Polytechnic College, Russellville	State
Arkansas State College, State College	State
Arkansas State Teachers College, Conway	State
College of the Ozarks, Clarksville	Presbyterian
Henderson State Teachers College, Arkadelphia	State
Southern State College, Magnolia	State
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville	State
DELAWARE	
University of Delaware, Newark	State
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	
American University	Methodist
Catholic University of America	Roman Catholic
District of Columbia Teachers College (a merger of Wilson Teachers College and Minor Teachers College)	Municipal
Dunbarton College of Holy Cross	Roman Catholic
George Washington University	Private
Georgetown University	Roman Catholic
Georgetown Visitation Junior College	Roman Catholic
Immaculata Junior College	Roman Catholic
Trinity College	Roman Catholic

*The list is based on information in our files, and may not be complete. Periodic reports in Southern School News have been a principal source.

FLORIDA	Legal Control
Barry College, Miami	Roman Catholic
Dade County Junior College, Dade County	State
University of Florida, Gainesville	State

GEORGIA	
Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur	Presbyterian
University of Georgia, Athens	State

KENTUCKY	
Asbury College, Wilmore	Private
Ashland Junior College, Ashland	Municipal
Bellarmine College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Bethel College, Hopkinsville	Southern Baptist
Brescia College, Owensboro	Roman Catholic
Berea College, Berea	Private
Centre College of Kentucky, Danville	Presbyterian
The College of the Bible, Lexington	Disciples of
Eastern Kentucky State College, Richmond	State / Christ
Georgetown College, Georgetown	Southern Baptist
Lees Junior College, Jackson	Presbyterian
Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Louisville	Presbyterian
Midway Junior College, Midway	Private
Morehead State College, Morehead	State
Murray State College, Murray	State
Nazareth College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Paducah Junior College, Paducah	Municipal
Pikesville Junior College, Pikesville	Presbyterian
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville	Southern Baptist
Union College, Barbourville	Methodist
University of Louisville, Louisville	Municipal
University of Kentucky, Lexington	State
Ursuline College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Villa Madonna College, Covington	Roman Catholic
Western Kentucky State College, Bowling Green	State

LOUISIANA	
John McNeese State College, Lake Charles	State
Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge	State
Louisiana State University at New Orleans	State
Loyola University, New Orleans	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's Dominican College, New Orleans	Roman Catholic
Southeastern Louisiana College, Hammond	State
University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette	State

MARYLAND	
Baltimore College of Commerce, Baltimore	YMCA
Baltimore Junior College, Baltimore	City
College of Notre Dame of Maryland, Baltimore	Roman Catholic
Goucher College, Baltimore	Private

MARYLAND, CONTINUED	Legal Contral
Hagerstown Junior College, Hagerstown	County
Hood College, Frederick	Private
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore	Private
Loyola College, Baltimore	Roman Catholic
The Maryland Institute, Baltimore	Private
Mt. St. Agnes College, Baltimore	Roman Catholic
Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg	Roman Catholic
Peabody Institute of the City of Baltimore, Baltimore	Private
St. Joseph College, Emmitsburg	Roman Catholic
St. John's College, Annapolis	Private
St. Mary's Seminary Junior College, St. Mary's City	State
State Teachers College, Frostburg	State
State Teachers College, Salisbury	State
State Teachers College, Towson	State
United States Naval Academy, Annapolis	National
University of Maryland, College Park & Baltimore Divisions	State
Washington College, Chestertown	Private
Western Maryland College, Westminister	Methodist

MISSOURI	
Central Missouri State College, Warrensburg	State
Culver-Stockton College, Canton	Disciples of Christ
Harris Teachers College, St. Louis	Municipal
Joplin Junior College, Joplin	District
Junior College of Kansas City	Municipal
Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, Kirksville	State
Northwest Missouri State Teachers College, Maryville	State
St. Louis University, St. Louis	Roman Catholic
St. Joseph Junior College, St. Joseph	Municipal
Southeast Missouri State College, Cape Girardeau	State
Southwest Missouri State College, Springfield	State
University of Kansas City, Kansas City	Private
University of Missouri, Columbia and Rolla Divisions	State
Washington University, St. Louis	Private
Webster College, Webster Groves	Roman Catholic

NORTH CAROLINA	
Belmont Abbey College, Belmont	Roman Catholic
Black Mountain College, Black Mountain	Private
North Carolina State College, Raleigh	State
Sacred Heart Junior College, Belmont	Roman Catholic
Pfeiffer College, Misenheimer	Methodist
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill	State
Warren Wilson Junior College, Swannanoa	Presbyterian
Woman's College of University of North Carolina, Greensboro	State
Southeastern Theological Seminary, Wake Forest	Southern Baptist

OKLAHOMA	
Cameron State Agricultural College, Lawton	State
Central State College, Edmond	State
Conners State Agricultural College, Warner	State

OKLAHOMA, CONTINUED	Legal Control
East Central State College, Ada	State
Eastern Oklahoma A. & M. College, Wilburton	State
Murray State Agricultural College, Tishomingo	State
Muskogee Junior College, Muskogee	Municipal
Northeastern Oklahoma A. & M., Miami	State
Northeastern State College, Tahlequah	State
Northern Oklahoma Junior College, Tonkawa	State
Northwestern State College, Alva	State
Oklahoma Baptist University, Shawnee	Southern Baptist
Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City	Methodist
Oklahoma College for Women, Chickasha	State
Oklahoma Military Academy, Claremore	State
Oklahoma State University of Agriculture & Applied Science,	State
Panhandle A. & M. College, Goodwell /Stillwater	State
Phillips University, Enid	Disciples of Christ
St. Gregory's College, Shawnee	Roman Catholic
Southeastern State College, Durant	State
Southwestern State College, Weatherford	State
University of Oklahoma, Norman	State

TENNESSEE	
Austin Peay State College, Clarksville	State
East Tennessee State College, Johnson City	State
Madison College, Madison College	Private
Maryville College, Maryville	Presbyterian
Middle Tennessee State College, Murfreesboro	State
Memphis State University, Memphis	State
Peabody College, Nashville	Private
Scarritt College for Christian Workers, Nashville	Methodist
Tennessee Polytechnic Institute, Cookeville	State
Tusculum College, Greeneville	Private
University of the South, Sewanee	Episcopal
University of Tennessee, Knoxville	State
Vanderbilt University, Nashville	Private

TEXAS	
Amarillo College, Amarillo	Municipal
Austin College, Sherman	Presbyterian
Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Austin	Presbyterian
Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas	Private
Del Mar College, Corpus Christi	Municipal
DeMazenod Scholasticate, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest, Austin	Episcopal
Frank Phillips College, Borger	District
Gainesville Junior College, Gainesville	Municipal
Howard County Junior College, Big Spring	County
Incarnate Word College, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Kilgore College, Kilgore,	District
Lamar State College of Technology, Beaumont	District
Laredo Junior College, Laredo	Municipal

TEXAS, CONTINUED,	Legal Control
Lutheran Concordia College, Austin	Lutheran
Midwestern University, Wichita Falls	Municipal
McMurry College, Abilene	Methodist
North Texas State College, Denton	State
Odessa College, Odessa	District
Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Pan American College, Edinburg	County
Paris Junior College, Paris	Municipal
St. Edwards University, Austin	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's University of San Antonio, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
San Angelo College, San Angelo	Municipal
San Antonio College, San Antonio	Municipal
Southern Methodist University, Dallas	Methodist
Southwest Texas Junior College, Uvalde	District
Southwestern Baptist Seminary, Fort Worth	Southern Baptist
Texas College of Arts and Industries, Kingsville	State
Temple Junior College, Temple	Municipal
Texas Christian University, Brite College of the Bible, /Fort Worth	Christian
Texas Lutheran College, Seguin	Lutheran
Texas Southmost College, Brownsville	Municipal
Texas Western College, El Paso	State
Texarkana College, Texarkana	Municipal
Trinity University, San Antonio	Presbyterian
University of Dallas, Dallas	Roman Catholic
University of Texas, Austin	State
Victoria College, Victoria	Municipal
Wayland Baptist College, Plainview	Southern Baptist
Wharton County Junior College, Wharton	County

VIRGINIA	
Bridgewater College, Bridgewater	Brethren
College of William & Mary, Williamsburg and Norfolk Divisions	State
Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg	Mennonite
Medical College of Virginia, Richmond	State
Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia, Alexandria	Episcopal
Richmond Professional Institute of the College of William & Mary, /Richmond	State
Union Theological Seminary, Richmond	Presbyterian
University of Virginia, Charlottesville	State
Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg	State

WEST VIRGINIA	
Bethany College, Bethany	Private
Concord College, Athens	State
Davis and Elkins College, Elkins	Private
Fairmont State College, Fairmont	State
Glenville State College, Glenville	State
Marshall College, Huntington	State
Potomac (Junior) State College of West Virginia University, Keyser	State
Salem College, Salem	Seventh Day Baptist
Shepherd College, Shepherdstown	State
West Liberty State College, West Liberty	State
West Virginia Institute of Technology, Montgomery	State
West Virginia University, Morgantown	State
West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon	Methodist

MEMORANDUM

Feb. 24, 1961

TO: BC, LEC, WF

FROM: MF

Please remove Dr. Prynce Hopkins of the Hopkins Charitable Fund, Santa Barbara, California, from all our mailing lists. Recently mail sent to them has been REFUSED by them and returned to us.

It's HCF's feeling that they're not interested in our second-class mailings.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MILDRED FLOWERS**

Harold,

Our mail to Hopkins continues to be returned. Do you think a letter (if one can be gotten thru to him) of inquiry from you would be in order? Or do you think we should simply remove them from our lists? -- This, I don't think would be wise since we ought to keep some line of communication open -- this means Moneyel!

April 24, 1961

Hopkins Charitable Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Gentlemen:

This will acknowledge receipt of the $2,500.00 check from the Crocker-Anglo National Bank on April 21, 1961, representing a grant from the Hopkins Charitable Fund.

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council, I would like to say that we are indeed grateful to the Trustees of the Fund for this fine expression of support and interest in the work of the Council.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/hs

CROCKER-ANGLO NATIONAL BANK

CHARTERED 1870

SANTA BARBARA MAIN OFFICE • 1000 STATE STREET • SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

April 14, 1961

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The Trustees of the Hopkins Charitable Fund voted at their last annual meeting to grant your organization the sum of $2,500.00. CK 4/21/61 RHA

Signed and Mailed 4/24/61 RHA

We are enclosing a check for this amount. Will you please acknowledge its receipt by signing and returning the enclosed copy of this letter.

Very truly yours,

M. George Russell

M. George Russell
Assistant Trust Officer

MGR/ir
Enc

A5-0793

Hopkins Charitable Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

January 17, 1962

Miss Mary Hagedorn, Secretary
Hopkins Funds
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Miss Hagedorn:

Please express to Dr. Hopkins and the Board of the Hopkins Funds our deep gratitude for the grant of $1,000 to the Southern Regional Council. The support of the Hopkins Funds means a great deal to us.

Within a few weeks we shall be sending you a copy of my Annual Report, which will provide interpretation of the programs your support helps make possible.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. Receipt

PRYNCE HOPKINS
1920 GARDEN STREET, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA
TELEPHONE WOODLAND 2-6964

January 9, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I take pleasure in informing you that the Hopkins Funds at their board meeting on December 30th granted you $1000. However, it may be a few weeks before you receive your check for this from the Crocker-Anglo National Bank.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Hagedorn

Secretary to Dr. Hopkins,
Chairman of the Board

CROCKER-ANGLO NATIONAL BANK
CHARTERED 1870
SANTA BARBARA MAIN OFFICE • 1000 STATE STREET • SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

February 1, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

At their annual meeting on December 30, 1961, the Trustees of the Hopkins Charitable Fund voted to grant your organization an award of $1,000.00. CR 2/5/62 RHA

We are enclosing a check for the stated amount. Will you please acknowledge receipt by signing and returning the enclosed copy of this letter.

Very truly yours,

M. George Russell

M. George Russell
Assistant Trust Officer

MGR/ir
Enc
A5-0793

cc: Dr. Hopkins

February 7, 1962

Dr. Prynce Hopkins, Chairman
Hopkins Charitable Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

The Council is deeply grateful to you and the Trustees of the Hopkins Charitable Fund for the $1,000 grant received February 5, 1962, from the Crocker-Anglo National Bank.

Please convey our sincere appreciation to the Trustees of the Fund for this fine expression of support and interest in our program.

The receipt has been mailed to the bank as requested.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/ha

LWD

PRYNCE HOPKINS
1920 GARDEN STREET, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA
TELEPHONE WOODLAND 2-6964

February 5, 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I regret very much to have to inform you that the Hopkins Funds did not make a grant to the Southern Regional Council at their last annual meeting in December. Since no report was received on your use of last year's grant before this year's deadline for receipt of application (December 1st) no grant could be made at that meeting.

Please note that the Board on December 16th voted to advance the deadline for receipt of applications to November 1st and made sextuplicate applications a requirement for previously-awarded grantees as well as for new applicants.

They also ask that by November 1st of the year in which a grant has been received, a report be sent to the Chairman on the way the money has been spent up to that time and what has been accomplished through its use.

Dr. Hopkins is abroad on a two months trip, otherwise he would sign this letter.

Sincerely,

Mary Hagedorn

Secretary to Dr. Hopkins,
Cjairman Hopkins Funds

MH:br

PRYNCE HOPKINS
1920 GARDEN STREET, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA
TELEPHONE WOODLAND 2-6964

RECEIVED
JAN 4 1963
RECEIVED
JAN
RECEIVED

file

February 27, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I acknowledge receipt of one copy each of your budget for 1963, your financial statement for 1962 and your program report for last year and thank you for same.

Yours truly,

Pryince Hopkins

Chairman, Hopkins Funds

March 5, 1963

Dr. Prynce Hopkins
Hopkins Charitable Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

Miss Hagedorn wrote to us on February 5 that we would not receive a grant in 1963 from the Hopkins Funds because, due to our neglect in applying by December 1, 1962, we could not be considered.

This is, of course, a keen disappointment and all the more so because the responsibility was ours or, more accurately, mine. I simply and inexcusably overlooked the application deadline.

We recently sent you, routinely, some documents, which you kindly acknowledged by letter of February 27, 1963. We do hope that if you have any questions concerning them that you will let me know, even though no grant is to be made this year. We shall later put before you an application for 1964, according to your requirements.

On another subject, I have been informed that the Hopkins Funds have contributed to the Mississippi Free Press. I think you could have hardly made a more worthwhile grant, and I would like to add my words of appreciation to those which I am sure Charles Butts has already sent.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

VIA AIR MAIL

November 13, 1963

Dr. Prynce Hopkins
Hopkins Charitable Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

The demands and pressures of our work load have resulted in our failure to submit an application, to the Hopkins Fund, by the November 1 deadline.

If we submitted an application to you, by December 1, is it possible that your Board would consider the Southern Regional Council for a grant for 1963.

With sincerest regrets for any inconvenience, we are

Very truly yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

PRYNCE HOPKINS
1920 GARDEN STREET, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA
TELEPHONE WOODLAND 2-6964

File
Foundations
Prynce Hopkins Fund

file

November 15, 1963

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Yes, the deadline for the submission of applications to the Hopkins Funds has passed. Nevertheless, if we get through with the other business on time, I will see if I can bring up the application of the Southern Regional Council if you wish to submit it in the usual sextuplicate form. Only don't be too hopeful.

Yours truly,

Prynce Hopkins

Chairman, Hopkins Funds

November 30, 1963

Dr. Prynce Hopkins
Hopkins Charitable Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

Please find enclosed six copies of our proposal to the Hopkins Charitable Fund and a list of the Council's board members.

We appreciate the opportunity to submit an application, and we are most grateful for your willingness to consider the needs of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director

VEJ;jl
enc.

LWD✓
MJ file

PRYNCE HOPKINS
1920 GARDEN STREET, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA
TELEPHONE WOODLAND 2-6964

December 4, 1963

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Jordan:

We made a deadline of November 1st for receiving applications to the Hopkins Funds, and, according to that rule, your application of November 30th is late and I am not sure that the committee will accept it. There is no time left before our annual meeting for them to consider the sextuplicate copies which you correctly sent me.

I will, however, try to circulate these. If it is possible to take the matter up, I will do so, because I expect that we failed to give notification to you of the date by which the applications would have to be in.

I am glad that you feel that your efforts in the past year have been rewarded with success and our committee will be glad to get the data which you supply in your letter.

Sincerely yours,

Prynce Hopkins

Chairman, Hopkins Funds

See Foundations, "Hopkins Charitable Fund"

FILE COPY

VIA AIR MAIL

January 23, 1964

Mr. Prynce Hopkins
Chairman, Hopkins Funds
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Mr. Hopkins:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of January 9 informing us that the Hopkins Funds board will grant the Council $2,000.00.

We are indeed appreciative of your generous consideration of the work of the Council. Be assured that we will keep you informed as to how the grant is used. We will also, from time to time, share our publications and materials with you.

Upon receipt of the funds from the Crocker Citizens National Bank, you will be notified immediately.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

VJ
Congratulations!

PRYNCE HOPKINS
1920 GARDEN STREET, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA
TELEPHONE WOODLAND 2-6964

January 9, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Jordan:

I am glad to inform you that at the meeting of the Hopkins Funds board it was decided to grant the sum of $2,000.00 to your organization.

This check should come direct to you from the Crocker Citizens National Bank of this city in the course of a month or so.

Our board would appreciate hearing from you before the following October how you used the money we have granted you.

Further applications for grants should also be received by us before October 1st.

Yours truly,
Betty Russ
for Prynce Hopkins
Chairman, Hopkins Funds

File
Foundations - Hopkins Charitable Fund

March 9, 1964

Mr. Barry B. Boldeman
Assistant Trust Officer
Crocker-Citizens National Bank
1001 State Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Mr. Boldeman:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council I acknowledge with deep appreciation your letter of February 27, 1964, and the accompanying check for $2,000.00 as an award from the Hopkins Charitable Fund; our official receipt is enclosed.

We are extremely grateful to the Fund for this renewal of its support, and for its continued interest and confidence in our work. We shall, as always, try to keep the Fund informed of our activities.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)
cc: Dr. Prynce Hopkins

CROCKER-CITIZENS NATIONAL BANK
CHARTERED 1870
SANTA BARBARA MAIN OFFICE
1001 STATE STREET • SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

TRUST DEPARTMENT

February 27, 1964

Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

Gentlemen:

At the annual meeting on January 4, 1964, the Trustees of the Hopkins Charitable Fund voted to grant your organization an award of $2,000.00. CK 3/2/64 RHA

We are enclosing a check in the stated amount. Will you please acknowledge receipt by signing and returning the enclosed copy of this letter.

By November 1, 1964, please submit to Dr. Prynce Hopkins, 1920 Garden Street, Santa Barbara, California, U. S. A., a report on the expenditure of these funds and what their use has accomplished up to the time of your report. Requests for renewal grants should be submitted in six duplicate, according to the guidance sheet, by November 1, 1964.

Very truly yours,

Barry B. Boldeman
Assistant Trust Officer

BBB/sc
A5-0793
Enclosure

cc: Dr. Prynce Hopkins

October 29, 1964

Dr. Prynce Hopkins
Chairman
Hopkins Charitable Fund → file
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

Enclosed are six copies of the Southern Regional Council's proposal to the Prynce Hopkins Fund, for 1965, and a list of the Council's board members.

Under separate cover we are forwarding for your use and information, our recently developed fund-raising book. We hope that you will not find its size bothersome.

We appreciate the opportunity of submitting this proposal to the Hopkins Charitable Fund, and hope that we will merit your every consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures
1-board list
2-6 copies of Proposal
3-cy tax exempt letter

U. S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT
INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

IN REPLY REFER TO
T:R:EO:3
RFB

Code
3/1/60

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JAN 29 1960

Gentlemen:

This is in reference to the additional information submitted by you for our use in reconsidering your status for Federal income tax purposes as an organization described in section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, which corresponds to section 101(6) of the Code of 1939.

We regret the delay in this matter which was due principally to the fact that the regulations relative to the section of law under which your status is being reconsidered, had not become finalized. However, the regulations were approved by the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, and they are contained in Treasury Decision 6391, which was published in Internal Revenue Bulletin dated July 27, 1959, No. 1959-30, on page 7.

Our records disclose that in a ruling dated July 28, 1947, we held that you were entitled to exemption as an educational organization under section 101(6) of the Code of 1939 for 1944 and subsequent years.

In connection with our consideration of this matter, we deem it advisable to state that generally, in order to be exempt as an organization described in section 501(c)(3) of the Code, an organization must be both organized and operated exclusively for one or more of the purposes specified in such section of law. If an organization fails to meet either the organizational or operational test, it is not exempt. As interpreted by section 1.501(c)(3)-1 of the applicable regulations, an organization is organized exclusively for one or more exempt purposes only if its articles of organization limit its purposes to the purposes specified in section 501(c)(3) of the Code; and do not expressly empower the organization to engage, otherwise than as an insubstantial part of its activities, in activities which in themselves are not in furtherance of one or more exempt purposes. Also,

an organization is not operated exclusively for one or more exempt purposes if it is an "action" organization as defined in paragraph (c)(3) of the above-mentioned section of the regulations. However, an organization will not fail to meet the operational test merely because it advocates as an insubstantial part of its activities the adoption or rejection of legislation. In determining whether an organization has such characteristics, all the surrounding facts and circumstances including its articles and activities are to be considered.

Your articles of incorporation list certain purposes which appear to be neither charitable nor educational as those terms are used in section 501(c)(3) of the Code and section 1.501(c)(3)-1(b) of the regulations. However, since you have previously been determined to be exempt under section 501(c)(3) and that exemption was not revoked prior to July 27, 1959, amendment of your articles of incorporation to bring them into complete compliance with the "organizational test" set forth in the regulations will be required only if you seek a new determination of exemption.

On the other hand, you will be expected in the future to conform your operations strictly with the "operational test" set forth in the regulations. This means that you will be regarded as "operating exclusively" for one or more exempt purposes only if you engage primarily in activities which accomplish one or more of such exempt purposes specified in section 501(c)(3) of the Code. An organization will not be so regarded if more than an insubstantial part of its activities is not in furtherance of an exempt purpose. Furthermore, an organization is not operated exclusively for one or more exempt purposes if it is an "action" organization as that term is defined in the applicable regulations. As stated in the regulations, an organization is an "action" organization if a substantial part of its activities is attempting to influence legislation by propaganda or otherwise. For this purpose, an organization will be regarded as attempting to influence legislation if the organization: (a) Contacts or urges the public to contact members of a legislative body for the purpose of proposing, supporting or opposing legislation; or (b) advocates the adoption or rejection or legislation.

In view of the foregoing, our ruling of July 28, 1947, with respect to your Federal income tax status remains in full force and effect under the applicable provisions of the Code of 1954.

In accordance with this ruling, you are not required to file Federal income tax returns so long as you retain an exempt status, unless you are subject to the tax imposed by section 511 of the Code and are required to file Form 990-T for the purpose of reporting unrelated business taxable income. Any changes in the character of your organization, the purposes for which you were organized or your method of operation should be reported immediately to the District Director of Internal Revenue for your district in order that their effect upon your exempt status may be determined.

We deem it advisable to state that your present tax-exempt status may be jeopardized in the event you make distributions to organizations, which have not established an appropriate exempt status for Federal income tax purposes, or use your funds for purposes, which are not considered to be exclusively charitable or educational within the intent of section 501(c)(3) of the Code.

This ruling does not cover any of your State affiliated organizations. Each of such organizations desiring exemption for Federal income tax purposes is required to establish its own exempt status.

The District Director of Internal Revenue, Atlanta, Georgia, is being advised of this action.

Very truly yours,

J. T. Worley

Chief, Exempt Organizations Branch

11

A PROPOSAL TO THE HOPKINS CHARITABLE FUND FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

November 3 1964

OCTOBER, 1964

This is to request the Hopkins Charitable Fund's consideration of a grant of $2,500 in support of the general operations program of the Southern Regional Council.

Rapidly changing events in Southern race relations in 1964 placed increasingly heavy demands upon the program of the Southern Regional Council. The Council, because of perhaps unique qualities, was flexible enough to be able to adapt its program to meet the demands of events.

Our major concern has continued to be the Voter Education Project which concludes this year. Present figures show that the Voter Education in the last two and a half years has increased Negro registration in the South by 600,000 in addition to the compilation of vital research data on the problems of Negro voting in the South.

In the Spring, the Council launched an unusually important special field project known as Operation Opportunity. At the request of other agencies making up the Southern Interagency Conference, SRC planned and coordinated intensified southwide community efforts to maximize compliance with the then pending public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Bill. We worked not only through established intergroup relations agencies and our affiliated state Councils on Human Relations but through women's groups, businessmen, and municipal officials. The generally good response of the South to the public accommodations law owes much, we believe, to the preparatory efforts.

Other activities of the Council were equally demanding and productive. Our publications for 1964 are as follows:

(1) The Southern Regional Council, 1944-1964. (How, why and by whom SRC was organized, statement policy, aims, views.)

(2) A series of special reports tell of progress in race relations in four Southern cities: Charlotte, Louisville, Memphis, Brunswick.

(3) Law Enforcement in Mississippi - (Special Report on Mississippi during the Summer of 1964).

(4) The Price We Pay - (Samples of the cost - chiefly money - incurred by the South s resistance to equal opportunity).

(5) Monthly issues of New South.

(6) The Question from Jacksonville.

Our participation in the formation and success of the Mississippians for Public Education, a movement in Mississippi that advocated and worked for open schools and continued public education, is a highlight in this year's field program. School desegregation in three districts in Mississippi was quiet and peaceful largely through the work of the Mississippians for Public Education.

A major program emphasis for 1965 will be an Economic Counselling and Study Project. We have acquired the services of Lloyd J. Elliott, a former professor of William and Mary College, who holds the Ph.D. degree from the University of Texas, to direct the program. The research will center on the southern economy as affected by discriminatory policies and practices by business, industry, and related governmental agencies.

We are prepared to render whatever services are needed in the interpretation and implementation of the Civil Rights Law in the South. New agencies such as the Community Relations Service have enlisted our resources. The same is true for the poverty program. The Council will continue its general program of research, information, consultation and action. The requested grant of $2,500 will help the Council implement these projects.

The Treasury letter confirming the Council's tax exempt status is dated April, 1964, Number 1941M.

Consolidated Statement Income and Expenses
General Operations - First Six Months 1964

Income

Foundations, Individuals, Organizations	$ 107,688.00	
Interests, Dividends	2,494.17	
Subscriptions	4,396.89	
Overhead from Project Grants	10,343.77	
Gain on Sale of Securities	149.94	
Total Income		$125,072.77

Expenses

Salaries, Consultant Fees, Soc. Security	$ 64,390.46	
Travel, Executive Comm. Meeting	10,102.60	
Postage, Printing	6,053.38	
New South	7,647.13	
Rent	4,035.05	
Supplies, Communication, Accounting	7,166.10	
Books & Subscriptions	2,016.58	
Employee Benefits & Insurance	3,646.24	
Reinvestment in Trust Fund	1,176.13	
Foreign Visitors	109.28	
Repairs, Maintainence	422.38	
Moving Expenses	4,042.14	
Miscellaneous, Taxes	640.42	
Total Expenses		$111,447.89
Excess of Income over Expenses		$ 13,624.88

Assets

Cash in Banks:		
Savings	$ 44,596.18	
Checking	147,462.82	
Investments & Securities	144,384.50	
Loan	5,000.00	
Inventory, Pamphlets	1,500.00	
Office Equipment	20,880.30	
Total Assets		$363,823.80

Liabilities

Due Special Projects	$ 144,821.91	
Grants to State Councils on Human Relations	31,128.17	
Advance Appropriations	75,000.00	
Reserve Fund	69,384.50	
Obligations Outstanding	10,233.14	
Total Liabilities		$330,567.72
Excess of Assets over Liabilities		33,256.08
Total		$363,823.80

10/28/64 DRAFT

A PROPOSAL TO THE
HOPKINS CHARITABLE FUND FROM THE SOUTHERN
REGIONAL COUNCIL
OCTOBER, 1964

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See other page present

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Le Rogier

insert

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The Treasury letter confirming the Council's tax exempt status is dated April, 1964, Number 1491 M.

Consolidated Statement Income + Expense
General Operations - First Six Months 1964

Income	
Foundations, Individuals, Organizations	107,688.00
Interest, Dividends	2,494.17
Subscriptions	4,396.89
Overhead from Project Grants	10,343.77
Gain on Sale of Securities	149.94
Total Income	125,072.77
Expenses	
Salaries, Consultant, Fee, Soc. Security	64,390.46
Travel, Executive Comm. Meeting	10,102.60
Postage, Printing	6,053.38
New South	7,647.13
Rent	4,035.05
Supplies, Communication, Accounting	7,166.10
Books + Subscriptions	2,016.58
Employee Benefits + Insurance	3,646.24
Reinvestment in Trust Fund	1,176.13
Foreign Visitor Expense	109.28
Repairs Maintenance	422.38
Moving Expenses	4,042.14
Miscellaneous, Taxes	640.42
Total Expenses	111,447.89
Excess of Income over "	13,624.88

Consolidated Balence Sheet - June 30, 1964

Assets

Cash in Bank	
Savings	44,596.18
Checking	147,462.82
Investments + Securities	144,384.50
Loan	5,000.00
Inventory, Pamphlets	1,500.00
Office Equipment	20,880.30
Total Assets	363,823.80

Liabilities

Due Special Projects	144,821.91
Grants to state Councils on Human Relations	31,128.17
Advance Appropriations	75,000.00
Reserve Fund	69,384.50
Obligations Outstanding	10,233.14
Total Liabilities	330.567.72
Excess of A over L	33,256.08
Total	363,823.80

VIA AIR MAIL

February 11, 1965

Dr. Prynce Hopkins
Chairman
Hopkins Charitable Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

This is to acknowledge with appreciation the grant of $2,500 from the Hopkins Charitable Fund to the program of the Southern Regional Council.

The renewal of the Hopkins Fund support and the increase in the grant over the 1964 grant is indeed gratifying and encouraging. We shall continue to make every effort to merit your interest and confidence in our work.

Be assured that we will keep the Fund informed of our program.

With very best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm
Enclosure

VIA AIR MAIL

February 10, 1965

Mr. A. Benjamin Fox
Assistant Trust Officer
Crocker-Anglo National Bank
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Mr. Fox:

In accordance with your instructions, in your letter of February 1, we are enclosing the acknowledgment, with signature properly affixed, of a grant in the amount of $2500 from the Hopkins Charitable Fund.

Be assured that we will comply with your request to submit a report on the expenditure of these funds and what has been accomplished by their use, by October 1, 1965.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

CROCKER-ANGLO NATIONAL BANK

_____ Office

February 1, 1965

RECEIPT OF THIS LETTER AND THE CONTENTS AS LISTED IS HEREBY ACKNOWLEDGED

DATE 2/3/65 SIGNATURE Vernon E. Jordan

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

COPY

Gentlemen:

At the annual meeting on December 20, 1964 the Trustees of the Hopkins Charitable Fund voted to grant your organization an award of $2,500.00.

We are enclosing a check in the stated amount. Will you please acknowledge receipt by signing and returning the enclosed copy of this letter.

By October 1, 1965 please submit to Dr. Prynce Hopkins, 1920 Garden Street, Santa Barbara, California a report on the expenditure of these funds and what their use has accomplished up to the time of your report. Requests for renewal grants should be submitted in six duplicate, according to the guidance sheet, by October 1, 1965.

Very truly yours,

A. Benjamin Fox
Assistant Trust Officer

ABF:ls
A5-793
Enclosures

cc: Dr. Prynce Hopkins

XERO COPY (REV. 4-56) XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

Memo from **VERNON E. JORDON, JR.**

Les ✓

You indicated that you wanted to reply to this.

✓ I'll draft reply for my sig

CROCKER-CITIZENS NATIONAL BANK
CHARTERED 1870
SANTA BARBARA MAIN OFFICE
1001 STATE STREET • SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA 93102

TRUST DEPARTMENT

February 1, 1965

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

Gentlemen:

At the annual meeting on December 20, 1964 the Trustees of the Hopkins Charitable Fund voted to grant your organization an award of $2,500.00. CR 2/3/65 RHA

We are enclosing a check in the stated amount. Will you please acknowledge receipt by signing and returning the enclosed copy of this letter.

By October 1, 1965 please submit to Dr. Prynce Hopkins, 1920 Garden Street, Santa Barbara, California a report on the expenditure of these funds and what their use has accomplished up to the time of your report. Requests for renewal grants should be submitted in six duplicate, according to the guidance sheet, by October 1, 1965.

Very truly yours,

A. Benjamin Fox
Assistant Trust Officer

ABF:ls
A5-793
Enclosures

cc: Dr. Prynce Hopkins

les

You said you wanted to reply to this.

VJ

CWDJ
SW file

HOPKINS DONATIONS FUND and HOPKINS CHARITIES FUND
1920 GARDEN STREET, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA 93101

Dec. 30, 1964

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Jordan:

I am glad to inform you that at the meeting of the Hopkins Funds Board, it was decided to grant the sum of ...$2,500.00.... to your organization. In case you have not already told us whether you are tax exempt, we shall appreciate your doing so.

The check should come direct to you from the Crocker Citizens National Bank of this city in the course of a month or so.

Our board would appreciate hearing from you before the following October how you use the money we have granted you.

Yours truly,

Prynce Hopkins

Prynce Hopkins
Chairman, Hopkins Funds

LWD

HOPKINS FUNDS
1920 GARDEN STREET
SANTA BARBARA, CALIF. 93101

Your large book and

Your application in sextuplicate has just been received. It will have the attention of our board at their next meeting in December and you will be duly informed of their decision.

Prynce Hopkins

Prynce Hopkins, Chairman
Hopkins Charities Fund
Hopkins Donations Fund

We regret that your letter of November 2nd came too late to be considered this year. Our deadline is October 1st. You may apply for next year.

GUIDANCE SHEET

Nov. 1965

for those applying to the

HOPKINS CHARITABLE FUND and HOPKINS DONATION FUND
1920 Garden Street, Santa Barbara, California

The Hopkins Charities Fund and Hopkins Donation Fund are prepared to consider, without prejudice, an application from your organization for financial aid. The Board of the two funds meets annually, usually towards the end of the year.

The income at our disposal is small. We make a few grants in amounts of from $500 to $5,000. Each is a single grant, that will not necessarily be repeated. The Hopkins Donation Fund may make grants to agencies which do not have federal tax exemption status for contributors.

The trustees do **not** give scholarships nor to any person or organization which:

(a) Can expect support from the general public: e.g., organizations such as hospitals, Red Cross, church, boys' or girls' clubs, etc., or
(b) Comes within the scope of programs to which other foundations or funds are contributing substantially, or
(c) Is primarily political or sectarian, or
(d) Is under Communist or any other anti-democratic influence.

The trustees have a preference for:

(a) Public causes rather than individuals. Where an individual applies, we require that some organization or committee shall assume responsibility for all disbursements.
(b) Treating the sources of evils rather than alieviating their unfortunate consequences.
(c) Poorly supported and pioneering causes rather than those already fairly well supported.
(d) Programs with widespread rather than local implications.
(e) Special projects rather than general budgets.

Each applicant should:

1st: Submit six copies of a BRIEF summary of the appeal. This, including tabular data, MUST be reduced as nearly as possible to TWO LETTER-SIZED, SINGLE-SPACED TYPEWRITTEN PAGES and <u>not more</u>, setting forth:

(a) What each project aims to accomplish, and how.
(b) How much money is needed, and how much is requested from the Hopkins Funds.
(c) How it is proposed to spend the funds requested.
(d) What organization or committee will supervise the project.
(e) Income and disbursements of the last financial year.
(f) Last consolidated balance sheet.
(g) Other sources solicited for funds, with what results, and if turned down, why?
(h) Date and number of Treasury ruling providing tax-exempt status, if secured.
(i) How you first heard of the Hopkins Funds.

2nd: Send a **single** copy and not more of supplementary information you consider relevant.

3rd: Address the above material to Hopkins Funds, 1920 Garden Street, Santa Barbara, California, 93101, and mail to arrive not later than October 1.

In the interest of fairness, inasmuch as it would be impossible to interview ALL our applicants, NO interview will be granted to ANY applicant.

Via Air Mail Special

November 2, 1965

Dr. Prynce Hopkins
Chairman
Hopkins Charitable Fund ← file
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

Enclosed are six (6) copies of our request for assistance during 1966 from the Hopkins Charitable Fund. I regret this is several days late, and can only beg as an excuse the newness of my present position in the Council.

Please know we are deeply grateful for the Fund's interest and support. In the enclosed request we have attempted to state briefly how important your support is, and how much it contributes to what we consider the most valuable of our program.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - Proposal (6 copies)
Board List
Financial data

A PROPOSAL

to the

[illegible] CHARITABLE FUND

from the

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

November 1965

-1-

This is to request the Hughes Charitable Fund's consideration of a grant of $2,500 in support of the general operations program of the Southern Regional Council.

This support for general operations is the most valuable support received by the Council; general operations is the heart of our work. In addition to administrative functions, this is our research and information program, our on-going field program and that part of our operation which develops and administers new projects.

During 1965 the Council has concluded a very successful voter registration program. This program has been so successful that we are now being asked to develop a new program along somewhat different lines. It is now clear, even with the new civil rights law, that registration itself is not enough. (Although, programs of voter registration remain vitally important.) In many instances, the percentages of newly registered voters who actually go to the polls is disappointingly low, as is the percentage of those who vote the full ticket if they do go. We have been asked to determine what programs can be developed to correct this. What programs of leadership training can be developed -- especially in the city slum and rural areas? How can truly non-partisan civic education programs be conducted?

If we find possible answers to the above questions it will be done through the Council's general operations. We cite this as the most recent instance where support such as that we have enjoyed from the Hughes Charitable Fund not only supports program, but serves as the basis from which we can develop programs to meet new needs and stimulate more substantial support for other sources.

The same observation can be made of our publications program, so far as public opinion is informed and influenced. The SNC publication which received the greatest attention during the year was Encounter With the Future, written by Pat Watters, SNC Director of Information. This publication attempted to comment on the liberal to radical student movement in the South, especially as related to SNCC. Mr. Watters tried with understanding, and compassion, to explain these young people, their objectives, their frustrations, and the dangers inherent in the region's slow disposition to correct its evils. Dr. James Silver, formerly of the University of Mississippi and now at Notre Dame, has made this publication required reading by all his history students; it is quoted in the current issue of Fortune Magazine; Lillian Smith called it "brilliant and moving." We will report the full listing of our publications for the year. We cite this, however, as another example of the way in which support from the Fund has been used for what we feel is very important program rather than for administrative costs.

A major program for the coming year will be related to the new federal programs in the areas of race, employment, and poverty. We will assist in the development and organization of these programs, provide analysis of their effectiveness and, if need be, offer constructive criticism of them. We will also attempt to reach the people for whom these programs are intended; to inform them, to help them develop organization to the point of being able to benefit from these programs.

The requested grant of $2,500 will help the Council implement these and other needed programs.

The Treasury Letter confirming the Council's tax exempt status is dated April 1964, Number 1941M.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND FUND BALANCES
ARISING FROM CASH TRANSACTIONS

September 30, 1965

ASSETS

Cash in Banks:		
Regular Checking Account	47,338.19	
Voter Education Project - Checking	17,821.72	
Payroll Account	541.38	
Savings Account	46,622.03	112,323.32
Investments:		
Trust Fund	67,113.92	
Other Securities	190,741.70	257,855.62
Due from Foundations:		
Summer Teaching Project	2,188.00	
Mississippi Study Project	5.44	2,193.44
		372.372.38

FUND BALANCES

General Operations	14,311.32	
Add amounts withheld from employees and not yet remitted	2,726.66	17,037.98
Advance Appropriations		125,000.00
Reserve Fund		67,113.92
Voter Education Project	17,860.59	
Add amounts withheld from employees and not yet remitted	27.13	17,887.72
Grants-in-Aid to State Councils		84,669.76
Southern Leadership Project		19,743.72
Economic Research and Counselling		5,377.91
Special Fund for Educational Projects		4,704.42
Rural Advancement Project		16,100.00
Fellowship of the Concerned		1,215.28
Labor Project		13,473.88
Second Special Fund for Educational Projects		47.79
		372,372.38

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
GENERAL OPERATIONS
STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

September 30, 1965

RECEIPTS

Foundations	98,681.02	
Organizations	5,005.00	
Individuals	1,438.03	
New South Subscriptions	3,127.35	
Advance Appropriations	50,000.00	
Interest Income and Dividends	2,312.49	
Miscellaneous Literature	1,892.98	
Overhead from Projects	14,000.00	
Total Receipts		176,456.87

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries and Wages	110,715.80	
Social Security	3,075.55	
Travel	8,151.00	
Telephone and Telegraph	4,841.52	
Executive Committee and Annual Meeting	1,732.42	
Consultant Fees and Travel	854.74	
Books, Subscriptions, Research Materials	2,990.11	
Office Supplies, Equipment, Maintenance, Rentals	3,669.46	
New South Postage, Printing, Authors' Fees	10,590.16	
Postage General	2,149.29	
Rent	6,772.05	
Printing	4,841.07	
Accounting	1,800.00	
Staff Benefits and General Insurance	5,695.22	
Foreign Visitors	295.41	
Development	212.86	
Special Research	1,037.50	
Moving Expenses	655.88	
Miscellaneous	1,258.69	
Total Disbursements		171,338.73
Excess of Receipts over Disbursements		5,118.14
Fund Balance, Beginning 1/1/65		9,193.18
Fund Balance, Ending 9/30/65		14,311.32

IF YOU RE-APPLY NEXT YEAR

Please send us a new *entirely* complete application, mentioning the sum you request, the number of your tax exemption certificate if you have one, and the purpose of your project. You need not send new supportive material.

Your application should be in triplicate. We no longer require it in sextuplicate.

Please get it to us by our deadline of October 1st.

HOPKINS DONATIONS FUND and HOPKINS CHARITIES FUND
1920 GARDEN STREET, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA 93101

MJ — let's remember to try again

The annual meeting of the Hopkins Funds Board was held this December.

There were many more applications than the limited funds, at our disposal enabled us to grant, and our preference fell to some of the others. I have, therefore, to inform you that we must reject your request.

This does not, of course, preclude you from applying again, another year. Time your application to reach us before October.

Regretfully,

PA - our request is dtd. Sept. 15 1966 ulj

Prynce Hopkins
Chairman, Hopkins Funds

Enclosures:
Request - 6 copies
Annual Report, 1965
Audit, 1965
Financial data prepared by RHA
Tax Exemption letter

via air mail September 15, 1966

Dr. Prynce Hopkins
Chairman
Hopkins Charitable Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

Enclosed is our request for support from the Hopkins Charitable Fund.

We are deeply grateful for your past support, and would appreciate such consideration as you may be able to give thithis.

If additional information is needed, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

A REQUEST TO THE HOPKINS CHARITABLE FUND
FOR SUPPORT OF THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

September 15, 1966

This is to request the consideration of the Fund of a grant in support of the general operations of the Southern Regional Council.

From time to time we have attempted to keep the leadership of the Fund informed on Council program and finances. These reports reflect the ever-increasing opportunity to expand in project program areas. They reflect, too, the continued difficulty of securing support for the organization's general operations. Yet, ironically, it is the general operations function of the Council which pays basic salaries; in research, information, and field supervision, as well as in administration. It is from this budget also that all costs for essential items such as rent, telephone, major travel and related items must be covered.

This is not to make light of the special projects and programs or of the support which makes them possible. Under this format we have been able to begin a second Voter Education Project. (The first resulted in the registration of over 600,000 new Negro voters, and a book on the research results is to be published this winter by Harcourt-Brace.) We have begun a significant project in labor education that attempts to reach into the lower echelons of labor leadership and to the rank-and-file members. A program in community organization is providing significant help to rural as well as urban people centered around housing and cooperatives. A project in prison reform and criminal rehabilitation holds promise of substantially improving this regionwide need. This project will also attempt a pilot project of a community-wide attack on juvenile delinquency and the causes of delinquency. A distinguished architect has joined our

staff to develop a program in urban planning, with emphasis on abolishing the ghettos.

These, and our other projects, are needed and welcomed. Our only concern is that those major sources of support for SRC are project-oriented and look on general operations as something akin to an endowment fund. This is not the case, of course. For instance, on the date this is written, our general operations is, among other things, finishing a study on school desegregation, 1966 with emphasis on the effective resistance of school officials and politicians; consulting with the Mayor of Atlanta on long-range programs to abolish the city's slums; attempting to ease tensions and to get white support in Grenada, Mississippi; planning a conference on regional economic development; conducting state-by-state meetings of women to get their support for court reform; and more.

We have yet to raise more than $20,000 for our general operations budget for 1966. For the reasons outlined above, we respectfully request consideration of the Hopkins Charitable Fund.

The requested financial information is attached.

HOPKINS FUNDS
1920 GARDEN STREET
SANTA BARBARA, CALIF. 93101

File

Sep. 22, 1966

Your application in sextuplicate has just been received. It will have the attention of our board at their next meeting in December and you will be duly informed of their decision.

In the future only 2 copies will be required not 6. Thank you also for your Annual Report, letter from Treasury Dept. and financial statement.

Prynce Hopkins, Chairman
Hopkins Charities Fund
Hopkins Donations Fund

August 16, 1967

Dr. Prynce Hopkins
Chairman
Hopkins Charitable Fund
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California 93101

Dear Dr. Hopkins:

Enclosed is a request for support from the Hopkins Charitable Fund.

The Council is grateful for this opportunity to submit the proposal, and is most grateful for the past support provided by the Fund.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 6.

A REQUEST TO THE HOPKINS CHARITABLE FUND
FOR SUPPORT OF THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

August 16, 1967

This is to request the consideration of the Hopkins Charitable Fund in support of a modest special project of the Southern Regional Council.

In June of this year the Council cooperated in a program in which a group of distinguished physicians went into rural Mississippi to investigate reports of severe hunger among the people there. We subsequently published the enclosed report "Hungry Children." The attention given this report has been astonishing and gratifying. It has enjoyed substantial coverage in the media, national as well as regional, has been used by a number of private and public agencies, and led to a request that the doctors testify before the Senate Sub-Committee on Poverty, chaired by Senator Clark. (For the latter purpose, the Council sent a photographer into the region who provided dramatic photographic evidence to support the testimony.)

The Council would like to take advantage of the interest and concern which has been expressed. Specifically, we would like to work with public agencies at the state and local levels; encouraging them to take action and informing them of action being taken by their counterparts elsewhere. In Georgia we have been asked to cooperate with the director of the Bureau of Family and Children's Services -- the state welfare agency -- in a campaign to get food distribution programs in every county in the state. This is, however, the only state where commendable action has been taken. We would like to encourage such action in other states, especially to keep the media and concerned private groups informed so they can continue to call for such action on the part of responsible officials.

We would like also to be able to support requests for assistance from other private agencies. For instance, at our urging the United States Youth Council is attempting to begin a nationwide drive for food and medicines

to be distributed to the needy. We all recognize this as a stop-gap measure at best, and certainly no solution. But for those now in need it will help and for some local groups it will provide not only physical necessities but keep hope alive. If the Youth Council is successful in its campaign to any degree, we have agreed to coordinate their distribution program, directing them to those areas of most need and those local groups best able to handle distribution.

For these follow-up programs of information, encouragement, and supportive services we respectfully request the Fund's consideration of a grant of $2,500.

Enclosed is a copy of the Council's letter of tax exemption. We have provided the Fund with a copy of our Audit for 1966, and will provide the same information at the end of this current year. The requested summary financial information is enclosed. If additional information is needed, we shall be happy to supply it.

HOPKINS FUNDS
1920 GARDEN STREET
SANTA BARBARA, CALIF. 93101

Sir — Donations Charitable Fund
Hopkins Aug. 21. 1967

Your application in ~~sextu~~tri plicate has just been received. It will have the attention of our board at their next meeting in December and you will be duly informed of their decision.

P. Hopkins

Prynce Hopkins, Chairman
Hopkins Charities Fund
Hopkins Donations Fund

Thank you for pamphlets

1967

GUIDANCE SHEET

for those applying to the

HOPKINS CHARITABLE FUND and HOPKINS DONATION FUND

1920 Garden Street, Santa Barbara, California

The Hopkins Charities Fund and Hopkins Donation Fund are prepared to consider, without prejudice, an application from your organization for financial aid. The Board of the two funds meets annually, usually towards the end of the year.

The income at our disposal is small. We make a few grants in amounts of from $500 to $5,000. Each is a single grant, that will not necessarily be repeated. The Hopkins Donation Fund may make grants to agencies which do not have federal tax exemption status for contributors.

The trustees do **not** give scholarships nor to any person or organization which:

(a) Can expect support from the general public: e.g., organizations such as hospitals, Red Cross, church, boys' or girls' clubs, etc., or
(b) Comes within the scope of programs to which other foundations or funds are contributing substantially, or
(c) Is primarily political or sectarian, or
(d) Is under Communist or any other anti-democratic influence.

The trustees have a preference for:

(a) Public causes rather than individuals. Where an individual applies, we require that some organization or committee shall assume responsibility for all disbursements.
(b) Treating the sources of evils rather than alieviating their unfortunate consequences.
(c) Poorly supported and pioneering causes rather than those already fairly well supported.
(d) Programs with widespread rather than local implications.
(e) Special projects rather than general budgets.

Each applicant should:

1st: Submit ~~six~~ 3 copies of a BRIEF summary of the appeal. This, including tabular data, MUST be reduced as nearly as possible to TWO LETTER-SIZED, SINGLE-SPACED TYPEWRITTEN PAGES and <u>not more</u>, setting forth:

(a) What each project aims to accomplish, and how.
(b) How much money is needed, and how much is requested from the Hopkins Funds.
(c) How it is proposed to spend the funds requested.
(d) What organization or committee will supervise the project.
(e) Income and disbursements of the last financial year.
(f) Last consolidated balance sheet.
(g) Other sources solicited for funds, with what results, and if turned down, why?
(h) Date and number of Treasury ruling providing tax-exempt status, if secured.
(i) How you first heard of the Hopkins Funds.

2nd: Send a **single** copy and not more of supplementary information you consider relevant.

3rd: Address the above material to Hopkins Funds, 1920 Garden Street, Santa Barbara, California, 93101, and mail to arrive not later than October 1.

In the interest of fairness, inasmuch as it would be impossible to interview ALL our applicants, NO interview will be granted to ANY applicant.

HOPKINS DONATIONS FUND and HOPKINS CHARITIES FUND
1920 GARDEN STREET, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA 93101

Yale - Hopkins Fund

January 17, 1968

The annual meeting of the Hopkins Funds Board was held.

There were many more applications than the limited funds, at our disposal enabled us to grant, and our preference fell to some of the others. I have, therefore, to inform you that we must reject your request.

Regretfully,

Prynce Hopkins
Chairman, Hopkins Funds

Prynce Hopkins
1920 Garden Street
Santa Barbara, California 93101

Please note that as of January 1, 1969, the address of the Hopkins Charities Fund and Hopkins Donations Fund is:

Care of ALVIN PELAVIN
10th Floor
300 Montgomery Street
San Francisco, California 94104

1-28-69: noted: MJ

file

pw
fyi

THE HOPKINS FUNDS
CARE OF
GRAND MANAGEMENT AGENCY
CORPORATION
ROOM 1030 • 300 MONTGOMERY STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94104
AREA CODE 415 • DOUGLAS 2-7575

HOPKINS DONATIONS FUND
HOPKINS CHARITABLE FUND

PRYNCE C. HOPKINS, FOUNDER
DAVID S. P. HOPKINS, CHAIRMAN
MRS. JORGEN HANSEN, SECRETARY-TREASURER
ALVIN H. PELAVIN, ADMINISTRATOR

We have received your application to The Hopkins Funds. However, the Trustees have resolved to limit grants henceforth to a few areas of concern and specific projects in which the Funds are already involved, and to consider no other requests.

We regret our inability to be of help to your worthy cause.

Very truly yours,

Alvin H. Pelavin
Administrator

AHP:ac

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Rm. 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - ITS ORIGIN AND AIMS

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have been active since 1919. The Commission was founded in that year by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Through the ensuing years it built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset. It worked to encourage an interchange of ideas and mutual trust between the South's two peoples. The notion of cooperative action by persons of good will, both white and Negro, took firmer root and has continued to grow.

In time the Commission sought ways of expanding its activities to permit a broader approach to the problems of the South. This led to the formation of the Southern Regional Council, which was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of the Methodist Church; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation formally merged its program and assets with those of the Council.

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 Southerners, drawn from the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region. These people are the Southern Regional Council. The Council is non-profit, non-political, and non-denominational.

In 1951, the Council formally committed itself to the aim of an unsegregated society. It did so because it believed segregation to conflict with moral values, with democratic principles, and with the best interests of the country and this region. The Council has, therefore, an announced point of view. It has, furthermore, a single-minded devotion to the method of fair, open, and well-informed discussion. It believes that Southern problems cannot be satisfactorily solved unless Southerners are willing to discuss them frankly, critically, and realistically. The Council's program is planned and its publications are prepared to serve that end.

Financial support for the Council has come from many different individuals and organizations. The latter include national foundations, many church denominations, and various trade unions and business firms.

The Council's present functions may be summarized as follows: 1) it provides consultative services to private and official agencies; 2) it carries on research and publishes frequent reports of findings; 3) it publishes a monthly magazine, New South, and works with the press, radio, and television; 4) it is a clearinghouse and coordinator for other agencies concerned with Southern problems.

The Southern Regional Council seeks to be a practical organization, aiming at working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. It is an educational organization. It believes that each community in the South must find its own answers to social issues within the framework of law and conscience. It offers no blueprint, no panacea for the South's human problems. It does offer a method -- that of representative citizens, white and Negro, coming together in equal dignity to find the best ways to move ahead.

* * *

Present officers of the Southern Regional Council:

President

James M. Dabbs
Planter and Author
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Vice-Presidents

Josephine Wilkins
Athens, Georgia

Dr. Albert W. Dent, President
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Marion A. Wright
Attorney and Past President,
S. R. C.
Linville Falls, North Carolin

Chairman, Executive Committee

John H. Wheeler, President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Executive Director

Leslie W. Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

8/24/56

Frances:

Will you please put the foundations, as listed on the attached sheet, on the mailing list to receive New South gratis for one year?

Thank ye kindly

Cards made for address file. 8/24/56

EAB

FOUNDATIONS CULTIVATED
AS PER THE ATTACHED LTR
FROM FRANK LOESCHER

Mailed August 21, 1956
Mailed August 22, 1956

B. and J. Association
177 North State Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Louis D. Beaumont Foundation
820 National City Bank Building
Cleveland 14, Ohio

The S. Brachmans Fund, Inc.
706 Commercial Standard Building
Fort Worth, Texas

Never send anything to this one without checking Am

W. C. and Sarah H. Bradley Foundation
1017 Front Avenue
P. O. Box 140
Columbus, Georgia

Never send anything to this one without checking with boss. Bam

Burroughs Foundation
6071 Second Avenue
Detroit 32, Michigan

Godfrey L. Cabot Charitable Trust
77 Franklin Street
Boston 10, Massachusetts

Cabot-Saltonstall Charitable Trust
140 Federal Street
Boston 10, Massachusetts

Colt Foundation
Empire State Building
Suite 8024
New York 1, New York

The Division Fund
134 North LaSalle Street
Chicago 2, Illinois

Farfield Foundation, Inc.
133 East Fortieth Street
Suite 205
New York 16, New York

~~The Field Foundation, Inc.~~

The Louis J. and Mary E. Horowitz Foundation, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Rec'd note

Ittleson Family Foundation
1 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Irving D. and Janet S. Karpas
Foundation, Inc.
c/o Irving D. Karpas
39 Broadway
New York 6, New York

The Henry Luce Foundation, Inc.
9 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

The Louis B. Mayer Foundation
9885 Charleville Boulevard
Beverly Hills, California

Old Dominion Foundation, Inc.
140 East 62nd Street
New York 21, New York

Olin Industries, Inc., Charitable Trust
St. Louis Union Trust Company
323 North Broadway
St. Louis 2, Missouri

Payne Fund, Inc.
350 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, New York

Sam Spatt Foundation, Inc.
514 West 49th Street
New York 19, New York

Standard Oil Foundation, Inc.
910 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 5, Illinois

Aaron Straus and Lillie Straus
Foundation, Inc.
1 South Howard Street
Baltimore 1, Maryland

1. Each to receive 1 yr. subscription to N.S. Beginning August, '56

2. Each sent packet of materials as shown on individual carbons

3. Tickler for September, '56 in re sending each a quarterly report.

rec'd to 8/24

RECEIVED APR 30 1956

MEMORANDUM

4/26/56

Dear George

Would it be useful for SRC to cultivate 30 or 40 carefully selected foundation presidents by sending them New South and occasionally other publications if they show interest?

Even if you did not seek support, it would be a good thing for these people to know about the Council and the quality of its work.

Same thing might be done with heads of national firms with branches in the South.

I am still admiring your latest progress report.

All the best

Frank

FRANK S. LOESCHER

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . FRED B. ROUTH . . . .

HCF –

MSM asked me to pick out 40-50 before I left –

I got tied up on other things –

I want to confer with you prior to submitting it to him –

Could you?

V = university men

Fred –

see inter-cultural list
plus list of Foundation –

40 - Oh
28 - good available to SRC -
of those 8 are helping us.
20 could be interested in our program.

Mixed history SRC -
Changing Patterns -
what the Sp Ct. said
3 Views -
Toward the South of the Future

SAMPLE LETTER
To be mailed to Foundations [being typed up] as shown on the list.

Dear _____:

We note the interest of the _____ Foundation in intercultural relations.

Our Southern Regional Council has been working at intercultural relations for a goodish run of years. Various foundations from time to time have helped us.

We would like you to know about the Southern Regional Council. To that end I send you a slim packet of recent publications, including our magazine, New South, and we will send New South to you for a while to come. And I hope to send you from time to time our quarterly mimeographed reports.

We are fact-gatherers about the Southern situation; and would be glad to be serviceable to you if at any time you think we can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Packet to contain:

last three issues of N.S.
grey leaflet
changing patterns
what the supreme court said
mimeographed history of the ~~xxxxx~~ src
publications list.

[EB you to see that each listed fndtn gets NS for 1yr, & that a tickler turns up to review in Sept; 1957.]

ITTLESON FAMILY FOUNDATION
ONE PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.

August 30, 1956

RECEIVED SEP 6 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for sending the material about the Southern Regional Council.

Although I fear there is little likelihood of there being any support for the Council from the Ittleson Family Foundation in the foreseeable future, I am glad to have a chance to know a little bit more about your work.

Sincerely yours,

Nina Ridenour
(gc

Nina Ridenour
Secretary

NR-EBC

One of the foundations excluded 8/21/22/56
(ath)

Under Separate Cover:
New South, April-June, '56
Grey Leaflet
Changing Patterns
What the Supreme Court Said
Mimeographed History of the SRC
Publications List
Three Views of the Segregation Decision

August 22, 1956

Ittleson Family Foundation
One Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Gentlemen:

We note the interest of the Ittleson Family Foundation in intercultural relations.

Our Southern Regional Council has been working at intercultural relations for a goodish run of years. Various foundations from time to time have helped us.

We would like you to know about the Southern Regional Council. To that end I send you a slim packet of recent publications, including our magazine, New South, and we will send New South to you for a while to come. And I hope to send you from time to time our quarterly mimeographed reports.

We are fact-gatherers about the Southern situation; and would be glad to be serviceable to you if at any time you think we can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

An original of this ltr to:

1. B & J. Association
2. Louis D. Beaumont Foundation
3. Burroughs Foundation
4. Godfrey L. Cabot Charitable Trust
5. Cabot-Saltonstall Charitable Trust
6. Colt Foundation
7. The Division Fund
8. Farfield Foundation, Inc.
9. Ittleson Family Foundation
10. Irving D. and Janet S. Karpas Foundation, Inc.
11. Henry Luce Foundation, Inc.
12. Louis B. Mayer Foundation
13. Old Dominion Foundation, Inc.
14. Olin Industries, Inc., Charitable Trust
15. Payne Fund, Inc.
16. Sam Spatt Foundation, Inc.
17. Standard Oil Foundation, Inc.
18. Aaron Straus and Lillie Straus

November 8, 1956

Miss Nina Ridenour
Secretary
Ittleson Family Foundation
One Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Ridenour:

In furtherance of our purpose to keep you informed, I send you a copy of a recent quarterly report from the Southern Regional Council to its own Board.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

file

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

ANNOUNCES THE OPENING OF OFFICES AT

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE

NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

AFTER NOVEMBER 1, 1959 ALL CORRESPONDENCE

SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO THE NEW YORK OFFICE

HOME ADDRESS
VERNON A. LAMBE
SICKELTOWN ROAD
RFD ORANGEBURG
NEW YORK

MLK folder

returned for improper action
See 2nd ltr.

April 22, 1963

Miss Nina Ridenour
Secretary
Ittleson Family Foundation
1 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Ridenour:

Dr. M. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist, has been attached to our staff since August 1961 engaged in studies of the Negro and white children in school desegregation in Atlanta and New Orleans. Dr. Coles is seeking to learn more about how these children react to the specific challenges and turmoils that confront them, and to learn generally something more about reactions of people to community stress. Some of his preliminary findings were set out in his article, "In the South These Children Prophesy," in the March issue of the Atlantic Monthly. He will present a more extended discussion of his findings in a paper, "Southern Children Under School Desegregation," before the American Psychiatric Association in St. Louis, May 6. We shall, within a few weeks, be publishing in pamphlet form a third article of his. These are all preparatory to a book on which he is well advanced.

In a tangential field, Dr. Coles has written an account of his observations of some of the student desegregation workers affiliated with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. This has been published as a chapter in Youth: Change and Challenge, edited by Erik Erikson.

Dr. Coles is eager to continue for at least a third, or possibly a fourth year, his studies of the school children, and at the same time to broaden his area of concern with people under stress by intensive work with children of migratory farm workers. To this end, he has already visited the migratory camp at Belle Glade, Florida.once, and will be going back soon.

His research was supported during the first year by the New World Foundation, and during this year by the General Education Board. At the Southern Regional Council we have come to have a great interest in and respect for the work he is doing, and would very much like to see him enabled to continue it.

I am writing to inquire whether you think the Ittleson Family Foundation might be in a position to assist. If you do, we can send you a full description of Dr. Coles's plans and other pertinent information. I shall also be in New York May 6 through 8, and if you would care to discuss the matter, I would be delighted to come by your office either on the morning of May 6 or at some other time to suit your convenience.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Lwd:

attached re:
Tuttleson Family
Foundation

MMG

April 25, 1963

Miss Nina Ridenour
Secretary
Ittleson Family Foundation
654 Madison Avenue —— Latest address
New York 21, New York

Dear Miss Ridenour:

Dr. M. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist, has been attached to our staff since August 1961 engaged in studies of the Negro and white children in school desegregation in Atlanta and New Orleans. Dr. Coles is seeking to learn more about how these children react to the specific challenges and turmoils that confront them, and to learn generally something more about reactions of people to community stress. Some of his preliminary findings were set out in his article, "In the South These Children Prophesy," in the March issue of the Atlantic Monthly. He will present a more extended discussion of his findings in a paper, "Southern Children Under School Desegregation," before the American Psychiatric Association in St. Louis, May 6. We shall, within a few weeks, be publishing in pamphlet form a third article of his. These are all preparatory to a book on which he is well advanced.

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With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

ITTLESON FAMILY FOUNDATION

654 Madison Avenue • New York 21

NINA RIDENOUR, Ph. D. *Secretary*

Rec'd 5/1/63

MJ - pls make double sure these people are on none of our mailing lists

April 29, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Not on any lists - FCR
Nor N.S.
MMJ
5/2/63

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This will acknowledge your letter of April 25th in which you describe briefly some of the work Dr. Coles has been doing and your hopes for continuing it for another year.

I am sorry to be obliged to say that this type of work falls completely outside the scope of activities of the Ittleson Family Foundation and the Trustees would not be willing to have this request placed on their agenda for formal consideration.

I am sure the Trustees would want me to express their regret at being unable to be of assistance. I hope you succeed in finding the funds you need.

Sincerely yours,

Nina Ridenour

Nina Ridenour
Secretary

Fice
MK Foelee

April 25, 1963

Miss Nina Ridenour
Secretary
Ittleson Family Foundation
654 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Miss Ridenour:

Dr. M. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist, has been attached to our staff since August 1961 engaged in studies of the Negro and white children in school desegregation in Atlanta and New Orleans. Dr. Coles is seeking to learn more about how these children react to the specific challenges and turmoils that confront them, and to learn generally something more about reactions of people to community stress. Some of his preliminary findings were set out in his article, "In the South These Children Prophesy," in the March issue of the Atlantic Monthly. He will present a more extended discussion of his findings in a paper, "Southern Children Under School Desegregation," before the American Psychiatric Association in St. Louis, May 6. We shall, within a few weeks, be publishing in pamphlet form a third article of his. These are all preparatory to a book on which he is well advanced.

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With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

February 19, 1965

Mr. Raymond S. Rubinow
Secretary
The J. M. Kaplan Fund, Inc.
55 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rubinow:

Some time ago we placed before you a request for consideration of assistance to the "Rural Advancement Project," to be sponsored by the National Sharecroppers Fund, the state Councils on Human Relations, and the Southern Regional Council.

There has been some progress with this project. A grant has enabled us to initiate the program in South Carolina under the supervision of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. In addition, we have on hand approximately $5,000 toward the cost of the program in Georgia.

As the programs of the federal government continue to develop we see an increasing need for this kind of assistance. At best, the success of these programs will rest on a partnership between the government and the people. This partnership is not possible for those who most need it without considerable assistance. There is a great need for information, for guidance on organization, for competent observers to determine that the disadvantaged share in the planning and eventually become the recipients of the benefits of these programs. At this point few of these needs are being met. Also at this early stage, there are distressing signs that programs are not being properly developed and will not generally benefit those most in need.

The inability and determination of the poor and disadvantaged to help themselves is incredible. The publicity about the national "war on poverty" has given these people tremendous hope, which is now a stimulus, but which could become a cruel disappointment.

In the final analysis there is no way to break the cycle of poverty or to eradicate 300 years of discrimination but to take people where they are, individual by individual and hamlet by hamlet, and help them to help themselves. We believe the Rural Advancement Project is one means toward this and that the returns will be very great for the investment. Therefore, we do appreciate your consideration of the request which you have before you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mm

Make file on the J. M. Kaplan Fund (file in foundations) cr. ref. "Rural Advancement Proj."

July 31, 1964

Mr. Raymond S. Rubinow
Secretary
The J. M. Kaplan Fund, Inc.
55 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rubinow:

This is to place before the ~~New World Foundation~~ J. M. Kaplan Fund a joint proposal of the National Sharecroppers Fund, the Southern Regional Council, and the state Councils on Human Relations that are affiliated with the Southern Regional Council.

The sponsors of this proposal have faced an area of urgent problems, and have decided that they can contribute best to their improvement by a joint effort. We hope you will find that the proposed Rural Advancement Project merits your support.

Because of the sum involved, we are presenting this proposal to several foundations. As is explained in the proposal, the program is flexible, and depending on funds could be carried on in any number of states up to eleven. We ask, therefore, that you consider it in that light, and we shall, of course, be prepared to keep you advised of fund-raising progress. It is hoped that grants may be for a three-year period, or that, alternatively, renewals up to a third year may be considered.

The proposal is based on experience gained by the sponsors over the past two years in South Carolina. It has, therefore, been tried out, and we think has proved its effectiveness and value.

In addition to the proposal itself, several other documents are enclosed. These are:

1. A descriptive report of the South Carolina project.

2. Copies of programs of conferences held in Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina, illustrating the concerns and resources which the Rural Advancement Project will draw on.

3. A memorandum on the program use made of a Southern Regional Council research study, to illustrate opportunities for cooperative use of reasearch findings.

Both Miss Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund (112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York), and I will be pleased to discuss with you any questions you may have regarding this proposal.

We can only hope that the proposal conveys clearly some of the sense of deep need felt for this program by the sponsoring agencies. This is a very special period in American history, where a keen awareness is supplanting past indifference for the human resources -- for the people -- of the country. No where is attention and intelligent help more imperative than in the rural South, where an over-supply of people (on the basis of present economic realities) will either be re-directed toward useful and dignified pursuits, or will inevitably carry their handicaps with them to already overburdened cities of the South and the North.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/rph
Enclosures

make folder

Or ref. Rural Advancement ~~Other~~ Project

October 14, 1964

Mr. Emory W. Morris
President and General Director
W. K. Kellogg Foundation
250 Champion Street
Battle Creek, Michigan

Dear Mr. Morris:

This is to place before the W. K. Kellogg Foundation a joint proposal of the National Sharecroppers Fund, the Southern Regional Council, and the state Councils on Human Relations that are affiliated with the Southern Regional Council.

The sponsors of this proposal have faced an area of urgent problems, and have decided that they can contribute best to their improvement by a joint effort. We hope you will find that the proposed Rural Advancement Project merits your support.

Because of the sum involved, we are presenting this proposal to several foundations. As is explained in the proposal, the program is flexible, and depending on funds could be carried on in any number of states up to eleven. We ask, therefore, that you consider it in that light, and we shall, of course, be prepared to keep you advised of fund-raising progress. It is hoped that grants may be for a three-year period, or that, alternatively, renewals up to a third year may be considered.

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With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

Recd 12/14/64

PA (plz send copy to FB)

LFE

SW file

W. K. KELLOGG FOUNDATION
250 CHAMPION STREET
BATTLE CREEK, MICHIGAN
49014

DIVISION OF AGRICULTURE
GLENWOOD L. CREECH
DIRECTOR

PHONE AREA CODE 616
NO. 965-1221

December 8, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Please excuse our long delay in replying to your letter of October 14. Our President, Dr. Morris, referred your letter to me for reply, and due to an extended absence from the office, I was unable to reply promptly.

We have reviewed the materials which you sent to us and wish we could give you some encouragement with respect to a possible grant from the Foundation in support of your Rural Advancement Project. At the present time, however, we are not in a position to provide the type of assistance you have requested.

You perhaps know that we have recently made a very substantial grant to North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina to make possible the continuation through 1969-70 of the program of the Agricultural Policy Institute, which we helped to establish in 1960. The emphasis in this program, which is under the direction of Dr. C. E. Bishop, is being shifted from problems of commercial farmers to those of low-income rural families in the southern region. Owing to the extent of our commitment with respect to this program, we are not in a position to make additional grants in this area of activity.

Sincerely yours,

Glenwood L. Creech

GLC:las

File

ADELE R. LEVY FUND, INC.
100 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

OREGON 9-3620

ADELE R. LEVY
PRESIDENT

April 5, 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming:

As President of the Adele R. Levy Fund, Inc., I am happy to send you the enclosed check for $2500. as a contribution to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. for 1957. It comes with my every good wish for the successful expansion of the Council's fine program.

Will you please send the Fund an official receipt for its files.

Cordially,

Adele R. Levy

President

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

via air mail

November 2, 1959

Mrs. Adele Levy
993 Fifth Avenue
New York 28, New York

Dear Mrs. Levy:

When I was in New York briefly last week, I was fortunate to have an hour with Mrs. Ascoli. She confirmed my assumption that there would be little point in the Southern Regional Council's applying for further aid from the New York Fund for Children. It was made quite plain at the beginning that the three-year period of assistance, now expired, was a special diversion from the normal pattern of the Foundation and that a renewal should not be expected.

Mrs. Ascoli very generously promised a porsonal contribution to the Council, to be spread over the next five years, and she suggested that you might also be willing to help further in this way. I hope I may have an opportunity to discuss this with you when I am next in New York, and will be writing in due course for an appointment. Quite apart from the question of further assistance, I should like to tell you personally something of the Council's work and achievements since I saw you last. Meanwhile, I am enclosing a recent report of our program activities during the past year.

I shall never forget your kindness and generosity at our last meeting. The support of the New York Fund for Children, which you made possible, has been invaluable to the Council, and I sincerely hope that you and the other trustees feel that we have justified your confidence.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

...m thanks on
kindest personal

Sincerely,

HCF/mf

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

November 23, 1959

Mrs. Adele R. Levy, President
Adele R. Levy Fund, Inc.
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Levy:

You are very kind to respond to my recent letter with a generous commitment of $1,000 annually for five years from the Adele R. Levy Fund. This is both a generous and an effective way of assisting the work of the Council.

I hope I may still have the opportunity in the near future to see you and express our appreciation in person.

Meanwhile, please accept my warm thanks on behalf of the Council and my kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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Meanwhile, please accept my warm thanks on behalf of the Council and my kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,
HCt

Info copy to RHA + PA

ADELE R. LEVY FUND, INC.
100 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

OREGON 9-3620

ADELE R. LEVY
PRESIDENT

November 16, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Fleming:

As President of the Adele R. Levy Fund, Inc., I am happy to pledge a total of $5,000 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., payable over a five year period. A check for $1,000 covering the first installment on this pledge will be forwarded to the Council on or about January15, 1960.

With all good wishes for the continued success of the important work the Council is doing.

Cordially,

Adele R. Levy

President

January 28, 1960

Mrs. Adele R. Levy
President
Adele R. Levy Fund, Inc.
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Levy:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council, this is to acknowledge most gratefully the Fund's check for $1,000 representing the first annual payment of its five-year pledge.

The Council's official receipt is enclosed.

With appreciation and personal good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

ADELE R. LEVY FUND, INC.
100 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

OREGON 9-3620

ADELE R. LEVY
PRESIDENT

January 20, 1960

My dear Mr. Fleming:

As President of the Adele R. Levy Fund, Inc., I am pleased to send you the enclosed check for $1,000. as a contribution to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. for 1960. This represents the first payment on the five year pledge of $5,000. made by the Fund to the Council. With the enclosed comes my warm good wishes for the success of your fine work.

RHA
1/25/60

Will you please send the Fund an official receipt for its files.

Cordially,

Adele R. Levy

President

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

January 20, 1961

Mr. Richard E. Deutsch, President
Adele R. Levy Fund, Inc.
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Deutsch:

This is to acknowledge your letter of January 11 and the Adele R. Levy Fund's check for $1,000. representing the second instalment on the five-year pledge to the Council. We are most grateful for this continuing support of the Council's work, and for your thoughtfulness in transmitting it so promptly in the new year.

Our official receipt is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

ADELE R. LEVY FUND, INC.
100 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

OREGON 9-3620

January 11, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed is a check of the Adele R. Levy Fund, Inc. in the amount of $1,000 as a contribution to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. This represents the second installment on the five year pledge of $5,000 made by the Fund to the Council.

CR 1/16/61 RHA

Will you please send the Fund an official receipt for its files.

Yours very truly,

ADELE R. LEVY FUND, INC.

By Richard Deutsch
Richard E. Deutsch, President

red:mc
encl.

January 14, 1963

Mr. Richard E. Deutsch
President
Adele R. Levy Fund, Inc. — free
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Deutsch:

On behalf of the Council I acknowledge with deep gratitude your check for $1,000 as the fourth installment of the five-year pledge made by the Levy Fund in 1959; our official receipt is enclosed.

We shall, in a month or so, be sending to you, together with our 1962 Financial Statement, a copy of our program report for the past year. It has been a year of heavy activity and involvement, and we trust also a year of some worthwhile accomplishments.

I hope if you are ever visiting Atlanta you will look in on us, and that on one of my occasional trips to New York I will have an opportunity of meeting you.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
(Official receipt)

ADELE R. LEVY FUND, INC.
100 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

OREGON 9-3620

January 10, 1963

Mrs. Ruth House Alexander
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Alexander:

CR
1/14/63
R (+)

Enclosed is a check in the amount of $1,000 as a contribution from the Adele R. Levy Fund, Inc., to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. for 1963. This check is in full payment of the fourth installment on the $5000 pledge, made in November 1959, payable $1000 a year over five years.

Will you please send the Fund an official receipt for its files.

Yours very truly,

ADELE R. LEVY FUND, INC.

By Richard E. Deutsch
Richard E. Deutsch
President

red:mc
encl.

Mrs. Max Ascoli
23 Gramercy Park South
New York 3, New York

March 31, 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your kind words of sympathy. During these sad days the understanding of our friends is a great comfort. The family joins me in extending to you our deep appreciation.

Gratefully,

Marion R. Ascoli

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MILDRED FLOWERS**

MARCH 14, 1960

MEMO TO FOURTH FDOOR STAFF:

We have received word of Mrs. ~~Marion Ascoli's~~ Levy's death (~~Marion Ascoli Fund~~ Adele Levy Fund of New York). Please remove her name from any and all lists on which it might appear.

DOMESTIC SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram

FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$

S

E

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL	11:00 AM

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MARCH 14, 1960

MRS. MARION ASCOLI
23 GRAMERCY PARK, SOUTH
NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK

I AM DEEPLY GRIEVED TO LEARN OF MRS. LEVY'S DEATH. I WILL NEVER FORGET HER KINDNESS AND UNDERSTANDING. YOU AND THE ENTIRE FAMILY HAVE OUR PROFOUND SYMPATHY.

HAROLD C. FLEMING
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

January 23, 1964

Mr. Richard E. Deutsch
President
Adele R. Levy Fund, Inc.
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Deutsch:

On behalf of the Council I acknowledge with deep appreciation your letter of January 7, 1964, and the enclosed check for $1,000 in payment of the fifth and final installment of the Fund's pledge to us; our official receipt is enclosed.

These last four years have been full of events and full also of hardships. We think, however, that they have been as well the four years of the South's greatest progress. And because whatever happens here is crucially important to the democratic health of the whole nation, these have been four years of national strengthening. We hope that the Council has made its contribution to this, and, if we have that has been only because of the faithful support of friends such as the Adele R. Levy Fund.

We shall, as always, keep you informed as to our work. In a month or so we expect to have

prepared a rather full summary of the work, the aims, the needs, and plans of the Council. I would like to send it to you.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

ADELE R. LEVY FUND, INC.
100 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

OREGON 9-3620

January 7, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Enclosed is a check in the amount of $1,000 as a contribution from the Adele R. Levy Fund, Inc., to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. This check represents the fifth and final installment on the $5000 pledge, made in November 1959, payable over five years.

CR 1/10/64 RHA

Will you please send the Fund an official receipt for its files.

Yours very truly,

ADELE R. LEVY FUND, INC.

By Richard E. Deutsch
Richard E. Deutsch
President

red:mc
encl.

file
foundations

March 20, 1964

Mr. Richard E. Deutsch
Adele R. Levy Fund
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Deutsch:

With further reference to my letter of January 23, 1964, we are enclosing a notebook of materials about the Council and its program.

We are sending you this for two particular reasons. One is that it includes our annual report and financial statement for 1963 and our budget for 1964. Secondly, its exhibits show what we have tried to achieve here; viz., an institution balancing strong commitment with objectivity, evolving in our program as circumstances require, and able to take on assignments that we are uniquely fitted to do.

I hardly need tell you that we hope that it will be possible for the Adele R. Levy Fund to keep our needs on its agenda. If the Fund could see its way clear to making again a multiple year grant to the Council, not only would we be deeply grateful but we believe you would find it a sound investment toward the strengthening of our national democracy.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Enclosure

Fund-raising notebook

File
Foundations
~~Fdn~~
Levy, Adele R. Fund

April 24, 1964

Mr. Richard E. Deutsch
President
Adele R. Levy Fund, Inc.
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Deutsch:

Thank you for your kindness in writing to me so fully on April 7, 1964. Of course we regret that the Fund will no longer be able to assist our program. But we can well understand the needs which you face, and we shall always be sincerely grateful for the valuable help which you have given us.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

ADELE R. LEVY FUND, INC.
100 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

OREGON 9-3620

April 7, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The Board of Directors of the Adele R. Levy Fund, Inc. has considered the request contained in your letter of March 20, 1964.

For your information, our Board has adopted a policy whereby its grants are now being substantially committed to an area of special interest. Unfortunately, the work of your Council does not fall within that particular area.

We regret our inability to be of assistance to you and trust that you will be successful in raising the necessary funds from other sources to enable you to go forward with your program.

Thank you for sending me the material about the Council and its program. I found it most interesting and informative.

Yours very truly,

ADELE R. LEVY FUND, INC.

By Richard Deutsch
Richard E. Deutsch
President

red:mc

LIGHTNING FOUNDATION CLUB
308 Haynes Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314
525-4109

September 15, 1967

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sirs:

The Lightning Foundation Club was formed over a year ago by residents of this community. Their intentions were to mainly help children and teenagers of the community by getting for them some recreational facilities; and also to help other persons in the community who had problems. Now, about six weeks ago, Foundation Club members succeeded in establishing a community center in an old five room house at 308 Haynes Street, N. W.

The center has already been put to a number of uses, and many more are planned. So far, the emphasis has been on programs for teenagers and older children: daily recreation hours, teenage dances on weekends (which have been quite popular), weekend movies aimed toward children and teenagers (with a projector borrowed from EOA and films on loan from SCLC and the public library) have been a great success: fifty-six people squeezed into our meeting room last weekend. We also have initiated a study hall from 6-8 p.m. week nights for the same age group with Volunteer Task Force Volunteers to help with homework, and checking out books from our library of about 500 donated books.

Everything we have done so far has been by means of voluntary donations of time, money and equipment. The City agreed to pay our first two months' rent, but beginning October 1st we are on our own. We also have utility bills, a phone bill, rent for a Coca-Cola vending machine to pay for. In addition, as we intend to increase our activities, including a clothing thrift shop, we hope in the future to be able to pay one or two persons from the community a small salary to enable them to work at the Center and staff the programs.

By phone and in-person visits, a number of club members have gotten us a surprising number of donations -- two checks, enough used furniture to get along with, and an old small pool table, card tables and games on loan from the city, a stove, refrigerator and a clothing rack, the books,

and some food for various fund-raising parties and activities which we have had. The center has been organized and is run by volunteers from the community who donate their time -- the center is presently open about 48 hours each week.

However surprised we have been at our initial success in getting donations, we find we seem to be fast running out of resources, and are now faced with bills and expenses for which we must find a reliable source of income. Our basic expenses per month are

Rent	$65.00
Phone	7.00
Gas, Lights, Water	20.00
Coke Machine rental	8.90
Total	$100.90

We are appealing to you for any kind of help that you may be able to give us in order that we can continue our present efforts toward improving our community and the chance young people in it have to succeed. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Alonzo Caldwell

Alonzo Caldwell, President

Gary Chuse

Gary Chuse, VISTA Volunteer

Excerpts from Report done by Johnnie Booker A.U. School of Social Work Intern with Crime & Corrections Project. 1/68

Lightning is a small, crowded, low income Negro slum area, located in the center of Atlanta. It is bounded by Northside Drive, Marietta, Magnolia, and Simpson Streets, and is opposite another well known Atlanta slum, Vine City. The Atlantic Coastline Railroad tracks pass through the center of this community; that has been rezoned by the city as an industrial or commercial area. There are several warehouses and manufacturing companies located in the area. On the fringe is the Atlanta City Incinerator and in the center, the Atlanta Provision Company, Continental Movers, Price Horton Hardware Supply Company, Atlanta Metallic Casket Company, and the Simmons Bedding Company are very prominent. Noises from trains, trucks, manufacturing companies, and the unpleasant odors from the incinerator fill the area.

The streets are narrow, filled with broken glass and debris, and many of them are unpaved. There are very few sidewalks in Lightning, and the ones that do exist are broken and uneven. It is very dark at night because of inadequate street lights or the absence of them.

The families (from 5 to 10) live in single-family houses or duplexes. Other structures that have more units are old homes that have been divided into small apartments or cheaply constructed apartments that have replaced, condemned or totally delapidated homes. Many of the homes are beyond repair, and there is very little evidence of even minimal maintenance. Screens for windows and doors, adequate electric wiring, sanitary plumbing and heating are nonexistent. Most of the residents rent from typical "slum landlords" and pay exorbitant rents.

There are very few families that consist of husband, wife and children in this community. However, there are many paramour relationships and female headed households. Divorce rates are very low, due to the lack of funds to acquire them, but separation is high. Among the married couples and paramour relationships, the men do not appear oriented toward stable family life, and do not exercise the responsibilities of husband and father. The child

rearing, discipline and care is usually left to the mothers. Heavy drinking and gambling serve as a means of recreation for many of the males and females, and drains much of the meager income of the family. There are many welfare recipients, the majority of them receiving Aid to Dependent Children. Many of these recipients are not aware of their rights and are often intimidated or refused assistance for trivial reasons.

Bethune Elementary, Central Junior High and Washington High Schools are attended by the youth of Lightning. An extremely high percentage of children are absent from school and some have never attended. The drop-out rates are very high as a result of poor attitudes of parents and teachers, lack of funds for lunch, clothing, and other school expenses; the need of older children to care for younger children while parents work, and many other reasons. The average adult resident has not completed the eighth grade. Many do not know how to read or write, and others read so poorly that it is difficult for them to secure employment.

Most of the employed residents are domestic workers and unskilled laborers with construction companies, the city's sanitation department or other private companies in the Atlanta area. Many residents receive unemployment compensation and there are others who do not receive any form of compensation. These persons stand on street corners, hoping that they will be able to secure employment, on a day to day basis, with construction companies or businesses in the neighborhood. There are some that have lost hope, and spend their time drinking or amusing themselves in some other manner. They do not possess the education or skills to compete in a society that has displaced the unskilled laborer. The residents of Lightning are unemployed or underemployed, and many other problems are caused because of this.

Ill health is very vivid in this community. There are many old people with obvious traits of senility and many mentally retarded children. Many of the residents have inadequate knowledge

of good health practices and immunizations. They depend entirely on Grady Hospital for medical treatment and find it difficult to secure transportation due to insufficient funds. They are often discouraged by the poor attitudes of the personnel at Grady, and the length of time they must spend there to secure service. Insufficient funds to secure adequate food is also a cause of poor health. Most of the food is bought "on credit" at neighborhood stores. The food is usually cheap or spoiled and sold at very high prices. Although surplus food is available, many are not aware of agencies offering transportation to secure this food. To these persons, transportation is lacking.

There appears to be a strong interest in religion and church life among the residents. Most of them attend Greater Mount Gilead Baptist Church. Others attend Holiness churches in the area. After a joyous weekend of "wine, women, and song", they express great pride in attending church on Sunday. It seems that religion is a means of escape from their dreary lives and surroundings.

There is one small playground in Lightning. The land was donated by a landlord of many delapidated homes. Upon requests, and constant visits to city hall by interested residents, play equipment was provided by the city. Because of its size, this playground is inadequate, and many children continue to play in the narrow streets without supervision. Although Carver Boys Club is located on the fringe of the community, very few youths take advantage of the opportunities and activities provided.

Crime and deliquency do exist in the community, but it is on a small scale. There is evidence of illegal whiskey houses, gambling and lottery, but they seem to be controlled. It is interesting to note that very few policemen patrol the area, but a police informer circulates through the neighborhood frequently. It is very important that the residents be as congenial and friendly as possible to him. Frequently, many are arrested and/or intimidated without just cause.

The residents seem to be immobile for many have lived in Lightning for a long time. There is considerable evidence of neighborhood identification and pride. They appear to be very peaceful people. The disturbances are ones of individual grievances, not mutual group unrest. Unlike many Negro ghettos, attitudes of rebellion, bitterness and hatred of white people do not exist in Lightning. There appears to be only a small sign of dislike for an outside group, and this is directed toward the people of Vine City.

From many interviews with older residents, it was explained that this dislike began with a church rivalry. Years ago, the members of Mount Gilead Baptist Church were from Lightning and Vine City. The Vine City members became dissatisfied with reference to church policy and/or inconvenience of the location. This caused a split in the church. As a result of this split a new church, commonly referred to by residents of Lightning as "Little Mount Gilead", was erected in Vine City.

This feeling of dislike for Vine City has been passed on from generation to generation. There are current evidences that it still exists. Youths from the two communities fight, and there is a strong reluctance to accept invitations extended by Vine City residents to attend or participate in programs, etc. They have received many invitations to use the services of the Vine City Foundation, but have failed to do so. Many people have indicated that the current friction in the two communities is due to conflicting personalities, interests, and approaches of professional people assigned to the area.

There are strong indications that many residents are aware of the problems that exist in Lightning. These persons have tried to work toward solving the problems and/or directing other residents to help themselves. From this awareness, and interest in the community, the Lightning Foundation Club was organized. With the assistance of Mrs. Helen Howard, presently the director of the

Vine City Foundation (she was at this time an E. O. A. neighborhood aid), Mrs. Dorothy Marshall and other interested residents, resolved that they would improve living conditions in Lightning. The club was organized to provide structured and supervised recreation for the youths, and various kinds of aid and assistance to other residents, in an effort to prevent crime, deliquency, riots and civil disorder.

The club has many projects that are helpful to residents. Through the club transportation has been provided to pick up surplus food for those residents that cannot afford it. Fort McPherson and the Free For All Baptist Church have provided buses for this purpose. Members met with city officials and arranged a special day for all residents to pick up their food. Clothing and household articles are donated by private citizens and businesses, and these items are sold for small amounts in a thrift shop, located in the recreation center. Movies are provided for the youth. Ambulance service has been donated by several Negro funeral homes, to transport the ill to and from the hospital and clinic. A little league baseball team has been organized for the youth. They have participated in games against other teams in Vine City, Eagan Homes, and other communities within the city. A tutorial program and study hour are conducted for the school children. Lessons are also given to the adults in sewing, home management, and budgeting. Sometimes the adults receive lessons in basic education. Volunteers from colleges in the Atlanta University Center serve as tutors for these programs. Future programs include, organizing a little league basketball team, surveying the community to determine the number of residents and their needs, and issuing baskets of food, clothing and toys to the needy during the Christmas season.

Although the club appears to be operating smoothly, the members have had many obstacles to confront them. It was necessary for them to sell sandwiches on weekends, solicit funds from private citizens and organizations, and occassionally tax each member to initiate the aforementioned programs.

With the support of club members, officers and community leaders, notably, Mr. and Mrs. James Marshall, Mr. Alonzo Caldwell, Mrs. Annie Stephens, and two white Vista volunteers, Mr. and Mrs. Gary Chuse, rent for a year (paid by the city) for a five room frame house was secured. This house serves as the club's base of operation and the recreation center for the youth. These leaders and other members of the club volunteered their services to work as supervisors for the recreation center. Recently, a young resident was hired under the Atlanta Concentrated Employment Program (ACEP) at $1.40 per hour to operate the center.

From attending several club meetings, I have observed continuous conflict among the members. This conflict appears to stem from a "fight" for power or leadership. Many members express subtle desires to be leaders rather than followers. It is interesting to note that for the same reasons mentioned above, most of the original members, including Mrs. Dorothy Marshall, have resigned their memberships. They are continuing, however, to work with the club toward improving the community.

The Nash-Washington Neighborhood Service Center: Vine City Extension, under the auspices of Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Incorporated serves this area. This agency offers service to the residents of Lightning in three broad areas: employment, social service, education and recreation. All programs are designed for the "hard to place" indigenous individual.

Training opportunities for men and women and other vocational educational programs are offered. Opportunities for on-the-job training are developed with employers. Counseling is provided to aid in vocational adjustment.

Professionals work as a team to understand and aid in solving the problems of the residents of Lightning. Through neighborhood aides, employed by E. O. A., residents of this community needing service, and fail to ask are located. They aid in making the Lightning community aware of the public assistance programs, and in many instances, interpretations of eligibility requirements are given.

Counseling is provided for youth, adults and families referred by various agencies or programs. It is hoped that in the future, programs for instruction in basic education for adults will be provided.

Community representatives are elected in Lightning, as well as other communities in the city. These persons serve as a liaison between the professionals and their community. This organization of representatives is the Citizens Neighborhood Advisory Council. Mr. and Mrs. James Marshall hold the positions of Community Representative and Area Block Chairman in Lightning.

Recently, Mr. and Mrs. Marshall were honored at a banquet by the Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority for their outstanding service to the Lightning community. Residents speak of them as "...two of the most dedicated volunteers anywhere".

There are many needs in Lightning. As I observed this community within the community organization framework, I was able to recognize the following needs: standard housing with reasonable rents, enforcement of housing codes and sanitation laws, day care facilities, conveniently located junior and senior high schools, enforcement of the compulsory school attendance law, adult education, a conveniently located medical facility, vocational training, home management, legal aid, and a means of educating the residents to the available resources in the Atlanta area.

Inspite of the problems, needs and dreary surroundings, the residents of Lightning appear to look forward to a "brighter" day. They have not become discouraged and have not lost confidence in the democratic process and the American ideal. They seem confident that eventually they will truly become a part of the "American dream."

See Lightning Fd.

March 7, 1968

Mrs. Fred Patterson
2959 Andrews Drive, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30305

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

Here, finally, is a little information about the Lightning Foundation, and a report from the young woman who is interning with us from the Atlanta University School of Social Work.

If you need further information, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

Make Folder
Foundations
The Lilly Endowment

July 27, 1964

Mr. John S. Lynn
Secretary
The Lilly Endowment, Inc.
914 Merchants Bank Building
Indianapolis 4, Indiana

Dear Mr. Lynn:

This is to place before the Foundation a request for a two-year grant of $10,000 per annum toward the budget of a project of economic counselling and study.

We have for some time hoped for an opportunity of discussing with you the affairs of the Southern Regional Council. We still look forward to doing so, but in the meantime I am taking the liberty of sending you the enclosed notebook of materials. This is a rather hefty collection, which I am sure you can do little more than scan. Perhaps, however, it may at least suggest to you the variety and the character of the work we do.

Although we have occasionally contributed research and publications* to a better understanding of the economic issues which underlie racial

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*Recent examples include: The Economic Status of Negroes: in the Nation and in the South, by Vivian W. Henderson; The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South (three pamphlet studies on Houston, Chattanooga, and Atlanta); and A Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina.

problems, we have long wanted to provide a more sustained and systematic service. This is, however, peculiarly one of those areas in which what can be done depends on finding someone to do it. We have been fortunate in securing a thoroughly qualified man, and are now able to establish the project.

The Southern Regional Council is one of the few organizations which bridges the dominating interests of the contemporary South; viz., race relations and economic growth. It is perhaps the only one which does so from the vantage point of a thorough commitment to racial equality and Negro advance. We believe that the civil rights movement in the South will increasingly focus its attention on economic problems, and that southern economic leaders will increasingly see the need for confronting the disparities of income and opportunity which are basic causes of racial unrest.

We are, therefore, establishing this project. It will function in the following general ways:

1. provide economic data and interpretation for Negro groups and for businesses with southern interests;

2. provide counselling for bi-racial and Negro groups in the formulation of economic positions;

3. We are constantly consulted by federal agencies regarding administration of their programs in our field of interest, and these programs more and more relate to economic issues; the project will enable us to contribute professionally disinterested and informed advice, and also to review and critique, both quietly and through publications, the effectiveness of those programs.

4. carry on research that relates the issues of regional economic development and racial relations; and publish occasional short studies.

There are several not-so-obvious considerations which underline the high usefulness of this project.

One is that no private civil rights or race relations agency in the entire country, to the best of our knowledge, has the services of a staff economist, and there is a pressing need for informed guidance. Another, is that the area of research indicated in (a) above has been woefully neglected by economists. Basic research in this area is only now being carried through (chiefly, at North Carolina State University on a Twentieth Century Fund grant), and the opportunity is ripe for project research applying basic findings to critical, immediate problems. A third is that the federal poverty program will open new issues as well as new directions for all interested in human relations.

The project will be headed by Dr. J. Lloyd Elliott, a brilliant young economist who comes to us from William and Mary College, where he has been an associate professor. From other sources, we have been assured of approximately half of the necessary funds for a two-year project, and on that basis we have gone ahead. We are budgeting for the project for each year:

Salary for Project Director.....	$ 11,000
Secretarial Help	4,000
Printing	3,000
Travel of Project Director	1,000
Administrative Overhead (15% of Project Director's salary)	1,650
Total	$ 20,650

We hope that this proposal will merit your consideration, and that you will feel free to raise with us any questions you may have concerning it.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (SRC notebook)

Council may be that way. In the meantime, please feel free to ask for any other information about the Council or its work that you may desire. And if we can be of any service to you, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File

September 1, 1964

Mr. John S. Lynn
General Manager
Lilly Endowment, Inc.
914 Merchants Bank Building
Indianapolis, Indiana

Dear Mr. Lynn:

Thank you very much for your gracious letter of August 5, which I found when I returned yesterday from a three week vacation.

I have no expectations of being in the mid-West within the next months, but I shall certainly have in mind your suggestion of a visit if I or another representative of the Council may be that way. In the meantime, please feel free to ask for any other information about the Council or its work that you may desire. And if we can be of any service to you, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

PA-fyi.
LWD

Rec'd 8/7/64

LILLY ENDOWMENT, INC.

914 MERCHANTS BANK BUILDING

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA 46204

August 5, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of July 27, in which you requested a grant of $20,000 toward the budget of an economic counseling and study project. Thank you too for the notebook of materials, which, as you say, suggests the variety and character of the work accomplished by the Southern Regional Council.

You may be sure we will give all of this material our serious consideration. We have no board meetings until fall, and probably will be unable to make a decision about this application until the end of the year, when we know the amount of money we will have available for grants for the balance of 1964.

I would not suggest a trip here from Atlanta for you or any of your associates, but if you do happen to be be in the midwest, it would be a pleasure to make your acquaintance and learn more about your efforts in behalf of equal opportunity for all people in the South.

Sincerely yours,

John S. Lynn

John S. Lynn
General Manager

rm

April 30, 1965

Mr. John S. Lynn
General Manager
Lilly Endowment, Inc.
914 Merchants Bank Building
Indianapolis, Indiana

Dear Mr. Lynn:

Your letter of November 5, 1964 has gone unanswered because I have not since then been anywhere in the vicinity of Indianapolis, and could not follow your gracious suggestion that I visit you. I still hope that I shall have an opportunity soon, though at the present my earliest plan for being your way is a trip to Louisville in early August.

In the meantime, I would like for you to have the enclosed copy of my annual report.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Annual Report)

Rec'd. 11/9/64

LILLY ENDOWMENT, INC.
914 MERCHANTS BANK BUILDING
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA 46204

November 5, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

May I follow up my letter of August 5 by saying that we have now determined the amount of money available to us in the current calendar year, and, therefore, we are able to make disposition of a number of applications we are holding until the end of the year.

I am sorry to say that such money as we will have available has been allocated to other activities, and we will not be able to make a grant to the Southern Regional Council this year.

It goes without saying that you would still be welcome in my office to discuss the possibility of a future grant.

Sincerely yours,

John S. Lynn

John S. Lynn
General Manager

rm

September 22, 1965

Mr. John S. Lynn
General Manager
Lilly Endowment, Inc.
914 Merchants Bank Building
Indianapolis, Indiana

Dear Mr. Lynn:

Earlier this year I wrote to you that I hoped to have an opportunity to visit your office in order to discuss the situation of the Council. I had very much looked forward to doing so, but it proved impossible.

I shall be leaving the Council in a few days, to take up my new position as Executive Director of the Field Foundation in New York. As you can well understand, in entering the foundation world I already find myself beginning to look at things with altered perspective, but I still strongly believe that the Council is an organization worthy of interest.

My successor here will be Mr. Paul Anthony, who has served as our Director of Field Activities. He is an excellent man, and I have suggested to him that he find an occasion to seek an appointment with you.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Make folder
McGregor Fund
(file in Foundations)
cr. ref.
"Rural Advancement Project"

July 31, 1964

Mr. William J. Norton
President
McGregor Fund
2486 First National Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Mr. Norton:

This is to place before the McGregor Fund a joint proposal of the National Sharecroppers Fund, the Southern Regional Council, and the state Councils on Human Relations that are affiliated with the Southern Regional Council.

The sponsors of this proposal have faced an area of urgent problems, and have decidd that they can contribute best to their improvement by a joint effort. We hope you will find that the proposed Rural Advancement Project merits your support.

Because of the sum involved, we are presenting this proposal to several foundations. As is explained in the proposal, the program is flexible, and depending on funds could be carried on in any number of states up to eleven. We ask, therefore, that you consider it in that light, and we shall, of course, be prepared to keep you advised of fund-raising progress. It is hoped that grants may be for a three-year period, or that, alternatively, renewals up to a third year may be considered.

The proposal is based on experience gained by the sponsors over the past two years in South Carolina. It has, therefore, been tried out, and we think has proved its effectiveness and value.

In addition to the proposal itself, several other documents are enclosed. These are:

1. A descriptive report of the South Carolina project.

2. Copies of programs of conferences held in Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina, illustrating the concerns and resources which the Rural Advancement Project will draw on.

3. A memorandum on the program use made of a Southern Regional Council research study, to illustrate opportunities for cooperative use of research findings.

Both Miss Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund (112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York), and I will be pleased to discuss with you any questions you may have regarding this proposal.

We can only hope that the proposal conveys clearly some of the sense of deep need felt for this program by the sponsoring agencies. This is a very special period in American history, where a keen awareness is supplanting past indifference for the human resources -- for the people -- of the country. Nowhere is attention and intelligent help more imperative than in the rural South, where an over-supply of people (on the basis of present economic realities) will either be re-directed toward useful and dignified pursuits, or will inevitably carry their handicaps with them to already overburdened cities of the South and the North.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/rph
Enclosures

Rec'd 8/19/64

✓MJ - copy for FB
PA
MJ - file

File →

McGREGOR FUND
2486 First National Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

August 17, 1964

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This will acknowledge your letter of July 31.

The Trustees of McGregor Fund will not be meeting again until September, at which time your letter will be given consideration.

Yours very truly,

Mildred R. White

(Mrs.) Mildred R. White
Assistant Secretary

File

MC GREGOR FUND
2486 FIRST NATIONAL BUILDING
DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN

September 17, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is in reply to your letter of July 31, requesting support of the Rural Advancement Project, a cooperative program for economic, health and educational advancement.

Because of its heavy program of activities, McGregor Fund was obliged to decline your request and I was directed to so advise you.

Very truly yours,

Mildred R. White
m.

(Mrs.) Mildred R. White
Assistant Secretary

February 19, 1965

Mr. William J. Norton
President
McGregor Fund
2486 First National Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Mr. Norton:

Some time ago we placed before you a request for consideration of assistance to the "Rural Advancement Project," to be sponsored by the National Sharecroppers Fund, the state Councils on Human Relations, and the Southern Regional Council.

There has been some progress with this project. A grant has enabled us to initiate the program in South Carolina under the supervision of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. In addition, we have on hand approximately $5,000 toward the cost of the program in Georgia.

As the programs of the federal government continue to develop we see an increasing need for this kind of assistance. At best, the success of these programs will rest on a partnership between the government and the people. This partnership is not possible for those who most need it without considerable assistance. There is a great need for information, for guidance on organization, for competent observers to determine that the disadvantaged share in the planning and eventually become the recipients of the benefits of these programs. At this point few of these needs are being met. Also at this early stage, there are distressing signs that programs are not being properly developed and will not generally benefit those most in need.

The inability and determination of the poor and disadvantaged to help themselves is incredible. The publicity about the national "war on poverty" has given these people tremendous hope, which is now a stimulus, but which could become a cruel disappointment.

In the final analysis there is no way to break the cycle of poverty or to eradicate 300 years of discrimination but to take people where they are, individual by individual and hamlet by hamlet, and help them to help themselves. We believe the Rural Advancement Project is one means toward this and that the returns will be very great for the investment. Therefore, we do appreciate your consideration of the request which you have before you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mm

Rec'd 3/15/65

PR-for info and fwd to NSF

SW-file

MC GREGOR FUND
2486 FIRST NATIONAL BUILDING
DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN

March 8, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is in reply to your letter of February 19 requesting support of a Rural Advancement Project.

Because of its heavy program of activities, McGregor Fund was obliged to decline your request with regret and I was directed to so advise you.

Very truly yours,

Mildred R. White

(Mrs.) Mildred R. White
Assistant Secretary

Rec'd 9/17/64 JB

Copy made for

Make folder & file in Foundations

Cr. re Rural Advancement Project

THE CHARLES E. MERRILL TRUST
POST OFFICE BOX 392
ITHACA, NEW YORK

September 15, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of September 4, 1964. Because of the very large backlog of applications we have on file, there will be a delay before your request can be discussed by the Trustees of The Charles E. Merrill Trust. However, I should like to advise you that your application will receive full consideration at an appropriate time in the future.

I regret that this is the case, but the delay is unavoidable.

Sincerely yours,

David A. Thomas

David A. Thomas
Administrator

DAT:nac

File
Foundations
Chas. E. Merrill Trust
Mr. Foster

September 4, 1964

Dr. David A. Thomas
Administrator
The Charles E. Merrill Trust
P. O. Box 392
Ithaca, New York

Dear Dr. Thomas:

This is to place before the Charles E. Merrill Trust a joint proposal of the National Sharecroppers Fund, the Southern Regional Council, and the state Councils on Human Relations that are affiliated with the Southern Regional Council.

The sponsors of this proposal have faced an area of urgent problems, and have decided that they can contribute best to their improvement by a joint effort. We hope you will find that the proposed Rural Advancement Project merits your support.

Because of the sum involved, we are presenting this proposal to several foundations. As is explained in the proposal, the program is flexible, and depending on funds could be carried on in any number of states up to eleven. We ask, therefore, that you consider it in that light, and we shall, of course, be prepared to keep you advised of fund-raising progress. It is hoped that grants may be for a three-year period, or that, alternatively, renewals up to a third year may be considered.

The proposal is based on experience gained by the sponsors over the past two years in South Carolina. It has, therefore, been tried out, and we think has proved its effectiveness and value.

In addition to the proposal itself, several other documents are enclosed. These are:

1. A descriptive report of the South Carolina project.

2. Copies of programs of conferences held in Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina, illustrating the concerns and resources which the Rural Advancement Project will draw on.

3. A memorandum on the program use made of a Southern Regional Council research study, to illustrate opportunities for cooperative use of research findings.

Both Miss Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund (112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York), and I will be pleased to discuss with you any questions you may have regarding this proposal.

We can only hope that the proposal conveys clearly some of the sense of deep need felt for this program by the sponsoring agencies. This is a very special period in American history, where a keen awareness is supplanting past indifference for the human resources -- for the people -- of the country. Nowhere is attention and intelligent help more imperative than in the rural South, where an over-supply of people (on the basis of present economic realities) will either be re-directed toward useful and dignified pursuits, or will inevitably carry their handicaps with them to already overburdened cities of the South and the North.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

February 25, 1965

Mr. David A. Thomas
Administrator
The Charles E. Merrill Trust
P. O. Box 392
Ithaca, New York

Dear Mr. Thomas:

Some time ago we placed before you a request for consideration of assistance to the "Rural Advancement Project," to be sponsored by the National Sharecroppers Fund, the state Councils on Human Relations, and the Southern Regional Council.

There has been some progress with this project. A grant has enabled us to initiate the program in South Carolina under the supervision of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. In addition, we have on hand approximately $5,000 toward the cost of the program in Georgia.

As the programs of the federal government continue to develop we see an increasing need for this kind of assistance. At best, the success of these programs will rest on a partnership between the government and the people. This partnership is not possible for those who most need it without considerable assistance. There is a great need for information, for guidance on organization, for competent observers to determine that the disadvantaged share in the planning and eventually become the recipients of the benefits of these programs. At this point few of these needs are being met. Also at this early stage, there are distressing signs that programs are not being properly develpped and will not generally benefit those most in need.

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With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mm

A facility for administering charitable funds according to wishes of donors

Metropolitan Foundation of Atlanta

1423 CANDLER BUILDING • ATLANTA, GA. 30303 • 688-4117

A. B. PADGETT, *Executive Director*

AS A SERVICE TO ATTORNEYS * * * * *

The Metropolitan Foundation of Atlanta has compiled the following list of qualified[1] charitable organizations in the Atlanta area. Contributions to these organizations are deductible for Federal income and estate tax purposes. This service is rendered by Metropolitan Foundation of Atlanta to demonstrate that it is not in competition with any of these organizations but seeks to serve donors who wish to safeguard the effectiveness of their philanthropies by directing their gift through charitable trusts, either *inter vivos* or testamentary, to be administered by the Metropolitan Foundation.

This list will be revised from time to time. This original attempt may have omitted certain organizations through oversight and any corrections will be welcomed. Listing below does not necessarily mean the organization is endorsed, accredited or approved by the Metropolitan Foundation, but is merely the correct legal spelling according to Internal Revenue. Inquiries are invited and we will be glad to share our information compiled on individual organizations on a confidential basis.

(1.) Sources:
Cumulative List, Organizations described in section 170 (c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. Revised 12-62 Supplement Jan.-June 1964
The Directory of Community Services published by Community Council of Atlanta Area, Inc. and United Appeal

CULTURAL

Arts Festival Association Atlanta, Inc.
Atlanta Arts Alliance, Inc.
  Atlanta Art Association
  Atlanta Symphony Guild, Inc.
Atlanta Boy Choir, Inc.
Atlanta Civic Ballet
Atlanta Concert Band, Inc.
Atlanta Music Club
Atlanta Music Club's Scholarship Funds, Inc.
Atlanta Music Festival Association, Inc.

EDUCATION

Agnes Scott College
Arlington Schools, Inc.
Atlanta Christian College — East Point
Atlanta Law School
Atlanta School of Art, Inc.
Atlanta Speech School, Inc.
  (Formerly The Junior League School for Speech Correction, Inc.)
Columbia Theological Seminary — Decatur, Ga.
D'Youville Academy For Girls
Emory University
Georgia Institute of Technology
  Georgia Tech Athletic Association
  Georgia Tech Foundation, Inc.
The Georgia Foundation for Independent Colleges, Inc.
Georgia Military Academy — College Park, Ga.
Georgia State College Foundation, Inc.
Hebrew Academy of Atlanta, Inc.
Joint Tech-Georgia Development Fund
Little Red School House For Special Children, Inc. — East Point, Ga.
The Lovett School
Marist Society of Georgia, Inc.
  (Marist College . . Marist School For Boys)
Marian Howard School, Inc.
The Northside School, Inc.
Oglethorpe University
Pace Academy, Inc.
Rotary Education Foundation of Atlanta, Inc.
The Trinity School
United Negro College Fund, Inc.
  Clark College
  Spelman College
  Morehouse College
  Morris Brown College
  Atlanta University
  Interdenominational Theological Center, Inc.
University of Georgia
  The University of Georgia Foundation
  Georgia Student Educational Fund, Inc.
Westminster Schools, Inc.
Woodrow Wilson College of Law
Young Matrons Circle for Tallulah Falls School, Inc.

HEALTH

Alcoholism Services:
  Atalan Society
  Metropolitan Atlanta Committee on Alcoholism, Inc.
  Northside Alcoholic Benevolent Association, Inc.
American Cancer Society, Inc. — Georgia Division
American Heart Association, Inc.
  Georgia Heart Association
The Arthritis and Rheumatism Foundation — Georgia Chapter
Atlanta Tuberculosis Association
Atlanta Optometric Foundation, Inc.
  (Ben Massell Optometric Clinic)
Catholic Clinic
Jewish Social Service Federation of Atlanta, Inc.
  (Ben Massell Dental Clinic)
Metropolitan Atlanta Mental Health Association, Inc.
Muscular Dystrophy Association of America, Inc. — Atlanta Area Chapter
National Cystic Fibrosis Research Foundation — Atlanta Chapter
National Multiple Sclerosis Society — Greater Atlanta Chapter
The National Foundation
  (Formerly National Infantile Paralysis Foundation)

HOSPITALS

Crawford W. Long Memorial Hospital of Emory University
DeKalb General Hospital — Decatur, Georgia
Elks Aidmore Hospital, Inc.
Emory University Hospital
Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority
  (Grady Memorial Hospital)
Georgia Baptist Hospital
Henrietta Egleston Hospital for Children, Inc.
Holy Family Hospital Medical Center, Inc.
Jesse Parker Williams Hospital, Inc.
Kennestone Hospital — Marietta, Georgia
McLendon Medical Clinic, Inc.
Piedmont Hospital, Inc.
Saint Joseph's Infirmary, Inc.
The Scottish Rite Hospital For Crippled Children — Decatur, Ga.
Tri-Cities Hospital Authority
  (South Fulton Hospital)

INTERGROUP AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Atlanta Committee for International Visitors, Inc.
Institute of International Education
  (Junior League International Student Bureau)
National Conference of Christian and Jews, Inc.
Radio Free Europe Fund, Inc.
  (Formerly Crusade For Freedom)

OTHER

Atlanta Humane Society & SPCA
Churches Homes For Girls, Inc.
Metropolitan Atlanta Chapter, American National Red Cross
Metropolitan Atlanta Community Services
  (Community Chest)
United Appeal

RELIGIOUS (INTERDENOMINATIONAL)

(Individual churches not listed)
Fellowship of Christian Athletes, Inc.
Georgia Association For Pastoral Care, Inc.
The Great Atlanta Council of Churches
Protestant Radio and Television Center, Inc.

SERVICES FOR AGED AND HANDICAPPED

The Atlanta Association For Convalescent Aged Persons, Inc.
  (Happy Haven Home)
Atlanta Section, National Council of Jewish Women, Inc.
  (Golden Age Employment Service)
Central Board on Care of Jewish Aged, Inc.
  (The Jewish Home)
Community Services For The Blind, Inc.
Georgia Light House For The Blind, Inc.
Georgia Society for Crippled Children and Adults, Inc.
  (Easter Seals Rehabilitation Center)
Goodwill Industries of Atlanta, Inc.
Highview, Inc.
  (Highview Nursing Home)
Metropolitan Atlanta Association For The Colored Blind, Inc.
The Servants of Relief For Incurable Cancer
  (Our Lady of Perpetual Help Free Cancer Home)
Recordings For The Blind, Inc. — Athens, Ga. Unit
A. G. Rhodes Home, Inc.
Visiting Nurse Association, Inc.

SOCIAL WELFARE & PLANNING

The American Jewish Committee — Southeast Area
The American Legion Auxiliary — Department of Georgia
The American Social Health Association
The Atlanta Jewish Community Council

MT

Atlanta Jewish Welfare Fund
Atlanta Legal Aid Society, Inc.
Atlanta Union Mission Corporation
Atlanta Urban League
Catholic Social Services of Metropolitan Atlanta, Inc.
The Christian Council of Atlanta
(The Protestant Welfare & Social Services)
Cobb County Emergency Aid Association, Inc.
Community Council of Atlanta Area, Inc.
Family Counseling Center, Inc.
(Family Service Society of Metropolitan Atlanta)
Florence Crittenton Homes of Atlanta
Jewish Social Service Federation of Atlanta, Inc.
(Jewish Family and Children Bureau)
The Salvation Army
Travelers Aid Society of Atlanta, Inc.

YOUTH AND CHILD WELFARE

Atlanta Association For Retarded Children, Inc.
(Fairhaven School — Bobby Dodd Workshop)
Atlanta Council of Camp Fire Girls, Inc.
Atlanta Girls Club, Inc.
Atlanta Jewish Community Center, Inc.
Big Brothers Association of Atlanta, Inc.
Boy Scouts of America — Atlanta Area Council
Carrie — Steele — Pitts Home, Inc.
Central Presbyterian Baby Clinic
Cerebral Palsy Center of Atlanta, Inc.
Children's Center of Metropolitan Atlanta, Inc.
(Merger Atlanta Child Home and Child Service Association)
Gate City Day Nursery Association
Georgia Association For Retarded Children, Inc.
(Maude Daniel Chapter)
Georgia Baptist Children's Home, Inc.—Hapeville, Ga.
Grady Homes Community Girls Club, Inc.
Girl Scouts of the U.S.A. — Greater Atlanta Council
Hillside Cottages
Jewish Children's Service, Inc.
Junior Achievement of Greater Atlanta, Inc.
Methodist Children's Home of North Georgia Conference — Decatur, Ga.
Metropolitan Atlanta Boys' Club, Inc.
Virgil P. Warren — Joseph B. Whitehead — George Washington Carver — South Fulton
Savannah Street Mission, Inc.
The Sheltering Arms
Southern Christian Home
Young Men's Christian Association of Metropolitan Atlanta
Butler Street Young Men's Christian Association, Inc.
Marietta Family Y.M.C.A.
Young Womens Christian Association — Atlanta
Phyllis Wheatley Branch
Young Womens Christian Association of Cobb County

THE METROPOLITAN FOUNDATION OF ATLANTA

What It Is — How It Works

The Metropolitan Foundation of Atlanta was established in 1951 to serve permanently the health, educational and charitable needs of Metropolitan Atlanta. This community trust is characterized by four main features:

1. Its funds are the union of numerous gifts, large, small and medium-sized, left at different times by various donors. Funds may be either designated or undesignated.
2. Local banks, which are Trustees of The Metropolitan Foundation of Atlanta, safeguard and invest the funds, making available the income, and under certain conditions, the principal, for the charitable purposes of the Foundation.
3. Endowment income, and under certain conditions, the principal, is disbursed by a Distribution Committee of twelve persons. Members serve without compensation for one and seven-year terms. Five are selected by the trustee banks, and seven are appointed by public officials.
4. Any donor may designate his preferred charity and his wishes will be observed unless changing conditions make such purpose unnecessary, undesirable, impractical or impossible. In such event the funds can thereafter be used for such other charitable and educational purposes as will, in the opinion of the Distribution Committee, more effectually promote the public welfare.

SUGGESTED LEGAL PHRASES

Basic Clause in a Will or Trust Deed

"I give, devise and bequeath (or give, assign and set over) _____ to (name of bank selected as Trustee) as trustee under its Resolution and Declaration of Trust known as 'The Metropolitan Foundation of Atlanta.'" Then one of the following clauses may be added if appropriate to carry out the donor's wishes:

1. "This gift shall be held, managed, invested, reinvested and the net income used in all respects in accordance with the terms of the Resolution and Declaration of Trust," or

2. "This gift shall be held, managed, invested and reinvested in accordance with the terms of the Resolution and Declaration of Trust except that the net income therefrom shall be paid by the Distribution Committee to BENEFICIARY DESIGNATED BY THE DONOR)," or

3. "The gift shall be held, managed, invested and reinvested in accordance with the terms of the Resolution and Declaration of Trust, except that this gift shall not be commingled with any other funds held by the trustee pursuant to the Resolution and Declaration of Trust; and the net income and so much of the principal as seems wise to the Distribution Committee shall be paid to BENEFICIARY DESIGNATED BY THE DONOR)," or

To Give a Specific Name to a Fund

"This Fund is established in the name of _____ and shall be known as the _____ Fund. The Distribution Committee shall advise any recipient of the benefits of said Fund that such benefits' source is the _____ _____ Fund."

No attempt is made here to set forth provisions adequate in all situations. Counsel for the Foundation and counsel for the trustee will be pleased to assist donor's counsel in drafting other provisions as needed.

THE DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE

WILLIAM C. WARDLAW, JR.
President
JOHN H. BOMAN, JR.
Secretary
Appointed by the President of the Atlanta Bar Association
J. POLLARD TURMAN
Appointed by the President, Atlanta Chamber of Commerce
JAMES T. ANDERSON
Appointed by the Senior Judge, Superior Court of the State of Ga., Cobb Judicial Circuit
CRAWFORD BARNETT, M.D.
Appointed by the President of the Fulton County Medical Society

GUY RUTLAND, SR.
Appointed by the Senior Judge, Superior Court of the State of Ga., Stone Mountain Judicial Circuit
MRS. ALBERT E. THORNTON
Appointed by the Senior Judge, Superior Court of the State of Ga., Atlanta Judicial Circuit
JOSEPH E. BIRNIE*
GEORGE S. CRAFT*
JACK F. GLENN*
GORDON JONES*
JAMES D. ROBINSON, JR.*
*Appointed by Trustees Committee

TRUSTEE BANKS
The Bank of Georgia
The Citizens & Southern National Bank
The Fulton National Bank of Atlanta
The First National Bank of Atlanta
Trust Company of Georgia

THE DIRECTOR
A. B. PADGETT, *Executive Director*
METROPOLITAN FOUNDATION OF ATLANTA
1423 Candler Building. Phone: MU 8-4117

note file

January 11, 1966

Mr. Lawrence J. MacGregor, Trustee
The Moorland Fund
242 Fairmount Avenue
Chatham, New Jersey

Dear Mr. MacGregor:

This will acknowledge the Fund's contribution of $25.00. Our receipt is enclosed. Please know we are deeply grateful for your interest.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

Luther Foster
L. D. Milton

Ruby Hurley

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM June 27, 1958

TO: David Freeman, Harold Fleming and Frank Loescher

FROM: Vernon A. Eagle

So far the off-the-record skull session rather adds up as follows:

The time of day would be from 10:00 a.m. on, as long as we can keep people on Friday, July 18th. The locale would be the Harvard Club, 27 West 44th Street.

Tentatively, we would like to have the following people there: Justine W. Polier, Ralph Bunche, Lloyd Garrison, Dana Creel, David Freeman, Frank Loescher, Whitney North Seymour, Harold Fleming, Dr. Albert W. Dent, Philip Hammer, John H. Wheeler, John N. Popham, Nelson P. Poynter, Roy Wilkins, Ben Segal and William F. Whyte. Any suggestions you have would be most welcome.

I would like to see the meeting rather tightly oriented toward concrete program suggestions and suggest that perhaps the following individuals could lead the discussion in specific areas:

Religion:	David Freeman
Business:	Philip Hammer
Education:	Albert Dent
Employment:	John H. Wheeler
Communications:	Harold Fleming
Labor:	Ben Segal

As you know, what I should like to see is a down-to-earth, skull knocking on the basic problems and possible solutions, particularly in terms of expenditure of Foundation funds. If the meeting suggests feasibility and assuming his availability, I should like to see an on-the-spot follow up by Frank Loescher.

Any and all suggestions will be most welcome. You can telephone me Monday at Financial 6-0614.

Rcd 7/8/58

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

July 7, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is a firm list of the participants for our meeting. John Wheeler backed out due to business pressure, and at your suggestion I asked Mr. Milton.

Phil Coombs promised to come if at all possible, but he is afraid he may be out of the country then and so may send his associate, Scanlon, who is in charge of the Southern Education Reporting Service Program.

I look forward eagerly to receiving your draft outline for the discussions.

If you are planning to be in New York the evening of Thursday the 17th, perhaps you and Frank and I could get together for dinner and a caucus.

Since we will be having luncheon and dinner the next day at the Drake, I shall try to get reservations there.

Best regards,

Vernon

Enclosure

CONFERENCE ON INTERGROUP RELATIONS
to be held
Friday, July 18, 1958, 10 a.m.
at
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Participants

Ralph J. Bunche, Member of the Board of Directors, The Field Foundation
Philip H. Coombs, The Fund for the Advancement of Education

Dana S. Creel, Director, Rockefeller Brothers Fund

Albert W. Dent, President, Dillard University, New Orleans

Vernon A. Eagle, Executive Director, The New World Foundation

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta
David F. Freeman, Rockefeller Brothers Fund

Lloyd K. Garrison, Member of the Board of Directors, The Field Foundation
Philip Hammer, President, Hammer & Company Associates, Atlanta
Frank S. Loescher, Consultant, Intergroup Relations, Philadelphia
L. D. Milton, Citizens Trust Company, Atlanta, Georgia

Justine W. Polier, Member of the Board of Directors, The Field Foundation
Nelson P. Poynter, Editor and Publisher, St. Petersburg (Fla.) TIMES
Katharine Taylor, Member of the Board of Directors, The New World Foundation
William F. Whyte, Director, Social Science Research Center, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

VIA AIR MAIL

July 8, 1958

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation, Inc.
120 South La Salle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

The mouse has labored and brought forth a mountain.

I guess the enclosed, if it is useful for the conference, is useful as background rather than agenda. I'll leave it to you to decide whether a prior distribution of this would help. On the basis of this kind of overall analysis, we could pick out those particular questions which the group might most profitably discuss.

I was moved to do it this way by my strong feeling that consideration of specific program efforts in this field ought to rest on some overall picture of the situation. That's why I included some things that are clearly beyond the purview of our group.

Is everything set?

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

July 8, 1958

To: Mr. Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation

From: Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Re: DISCUSSION OUTLINE FOR JULY 18 MEETING.

Racial developments in the South since World War Two have resulted from powerful forces pressing against the old institutions and practices. The Supreme Court's school decisions were a kind of ultimate pressure, in the legal sense, and gave rise to a strong, organized counter-offensive by the segregationist leadership. But the pressures for change are still operating. How speedily and smoothly the changes come in any given state or community depends on the local reaction to the new pressures and counter-pressures.

The following outline is an attempt to identify the main forces making for desegregation and equal rights. The aim is to focus discussion on specific efforts to make the forces more effective and the reactions to them more constructive.

I. Organized Effort by Negroes

A. Litigation

B. Use of the Ballot

C. Economic Power

D. Emerging new leadership and new "self-image"

Some questions:

How can the quality and quantity of Negro leadership be improved and increased?

Memorandum - 2.
Vernon A. Eagle
July 8, 1958

discrimination

How can voting "apathy" be countered and growth of civic consciousness assisted?

How can white recognition of the "new Negro" be furthered?

How can meaningful communication between whites and Negroes be stimulated?

How can inclusion of representative Negroes on decision-making bodies, public and private, be increased?

? How can freedom of association, personal safety, and security from economic reprisals be protected?

How can employment opportunities be advanced?

How can more decent housing be made available to Negroes?

How can the elimination of social and cultural deficiencies be speeded up?

II. The Courts

Some questions:

How can free access to the courts be protected?

How can attacks on the judiciary be countered, respect for the courts supported?

How can sound legal advice and assistance be made readily available to beleaguered dissenters, white and Negro?

III. Government

A. Legislation

B. Federal agencies with civil rights responsibilities (Committee on Government Contracts, Dept. of Justice, Commission on Civil Rights, Committee on Government Employment).

C. Regulatory agencies (ICC, CAB, FCC)

Memorandum - 3.
Vernon . Eagle
July 8, 1958

D. Federal aid (VA and Hill-Burton hospitals, atomic research grants to Southern colleges, aid to airports and impacted areas, public housing, FHA insurance, etc.)

E. Federal installations (military camps, U. S. Parks, etc.)

F. State and local police agencies

G. State and local education bodies

H. Population shifts and resulting pressures for legislative reapportionment and other reforms

I. Pressures of urbanization: changing demands on local and state governments

Some questions:

Can anything be done to promote within the Federal govt a clear, consistent, across-the-board policy of non-discrimination?

Can anything be done to cause the Executive Department to develop an effective plan of enforcement of court orders?

Can anything be done to persuade the President to exercise the prestige and leadership of his office in this area?

How can the federal agencies mentioned be brought to improve their performance?

Can more capital be made of successful desegregation at federal installations in the South?

How can police performance in prevention and control of violence be improved?

How can educators be assisted in planning and implementing desegregation, maintaining professional independence, and supporting maintenance of public schools?

How (consistent with tax-exemption) can the mounting need for reapportionment of legislatures be dramatized?

Memorandum - 4.
Vernon A. Eagle
July 8, 1958

IV. Economic Pressures

A. Southern industrialization

1. Migrants to and from South

2. Demand for skills in new-type industries

3. Concern for law and order, continued public facilities, taxes, freedom from state interference

B. Negro consumer buying power (transit, department stores, manufacturers, services, advertising media)

C. Bond issues for schools and other public facilities

D. National conventions of bi-racial groups

E. High costs of segregated public facilities in areas of small Negro population

F. Organized labor

Some questions:

How can business and industrial leaders be brought to greater recognition of self-interest in adjustment to racial change? That conservative interests as well as Negroes are threatened by "radical" resistance?

Can more be done to counsel with management on racial patterns when planning location of a plant in the South, as well as after?

How can better use be made of good precedents in Southern plants and businesses?

What is needed to document more fully the economic implications of racial policies and practices?

How can labor organizations be strengthened in achieving non-discrimination internally, in educating rank-and-file members on racial questions, and in playing a constructive role in community leadership?

What can be done to equip more Negroes with needed skills?

Memorandum - 5.
Vernon A. Eagle
July 8, 1958

V. Religion

A. Pronouncements

1. Denominational statements of doctrine

2. Statements by local clergy

B. Conferences

C. Internal policies and practices of churches and religious bodies

D. Literature

E. Seminaries

Some questions:

How Can ~~more and~~ better use be made of official pronouncements?

What kinds of religious conferences could contribute to better racial policies?

What kinds of materials and publications are needed? How can distribution be improved and expanded?

Are pilot practices in desegregation receiving the support they merit?

How can denominational social action programs be strengthened?

How can more individual counselling of ministers on race relations be achieved?

Should seminaries be encouraged and assisted in doing more special work on race relations?

VI. Communication, Opinion, and Voluntary Organizations

A. Press, radio, television, magazines
(Local and national; news, editorial, and feature treatments)

Memorandum - 6.
Vernon A. Eagle
July 8, 1958

B. Voluntary organizations (local, state and national)

1. Civic organizations

2. Professional associations

3. Human relations groups

C. Special publications
(Professional journals, pamphlets, books, studies and reports)

Some questions:

What can be done to make news coverage of racial developments more balanced and constructive?

How can an evaluation of press practices in this area be made with maximum effectiveness?

How can key Southern newsmen be given broader understanding and perspective of their region's problems?

How can more constructive facts and interpretation be supplied to national decision-makers through such influential media as the New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Washington press, quality magazines, etc.?

Can television, network and local, become more of a forum for rational discussion of desegregation?

How can the best materials reaching print get more effective distribution?

Can national voluntary organizations be assisted in developing and applying non-discriminatory policies in the South as well as elsewhere?

What can be done, through any and all media, to create better public understanding in the North and South on the following:

1. Distinction between socio-economic and racial problems?

2. Successful examples of desegregation?

3. Critical importance of racial practices to the national interest? International implications?

4. Recognition of rising status of the Negro.

5. Respect for the courts?

How can the number and quality of Southern professionals in the race relations field be augmented?

How can interracial association, planning, and communication be further promoted in the South?

YU 6-5320

Louis Hoskins-

RIttenhouse 6-9372

Projects: from conference of July 18

Fact finding:

Case studies on the use of the ballot

"A study in depth, for publication, of the economic revolution of the South in relation to the growth of population and the utilization of manpower."

Special information and materials to Federal agencies

Documenting effective human relations programs and their results

documentation of affirmative news for mass media

Ashmore study to be updated?

SRC personnel:

An assistant to Mr. Fleming, to serve as secretary of CCD and work in Atlanta, Washington and New York

Full-time SRC staffer to work with government agencies

SRC staffer for mass media briefings and ideas

Other personnel:

Whole area of finding the necessary number of capable people to fill the existing and potential need - church groups, etc., as well as human relations agencies.

Internes in Negro banks and other businesses - properly selected and supervised

Some underwriting of the 70 people working in Southern race relations

SRC support:

General support

Aid to state councils

Conferences:

Conference of religious leaders

Conference of TV people

Southern conferences of professional people - teachers, etc. - to "open lines of communication" and bring in the subject of race relations as it applies naturally to areas of interest.

CONFIDENTIAL

Conference on Intergroup Relations Called Jointly
BY THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION AND THE FIELD FOUNDATION
and Held in New York During the Morning, Afternoon
and Evening of July 18, 1958

EDUCATION:

The discussion centered around the relatively low level of Negro education in the South.

Mr. Dent stated that there are two fundamental problems: (1) the lack of preparation in the elementary and secondary schools, which, in the case of Negroes, sends them into colleges at a level lower than either the white students in the South or the white students in the North. Thus, the Negro colleges are obliged in four years to remove the deficiencies of 12 years. With these students, college should be a full-time occupation. They ought not to be permitted to work but should be subsidized in some manner so that they can concentrate on their tasks and emerge from college with a sound educational background. (2) Parallel to this is the problem of finding extraordinary teachers who can cope with the situation.

Private college faculties are generally integrated, but state institutions are not. Few permit employment of

other than Negroes in Negro schools. To a large extent buildings have been equalized except at the college level; and, indeed, some of the newer Negro high schools are better than the schools for whites. Generally speaking, salaries have been equalized--that is to say, in dollar values; but it was pointed out that the Negro teacher is often expected to bear at least twice the workload of the white teacher. Also, the education given within the buildings is not the same.

In the first place, vocational training in the Negro schools has lagged far behind that in the white schools, both in the courses offered and in the training and other equipment supplied, including libraries.

Mr. Milton emphasized that these lacks were deliberate. The white groups do not want the economic competition and, therefore, deliberately deprive the Negroes of training for the higher educational and higher vocational skills.

Secondly, owing to the long heritage of educational discrimination (to say nothing of the attitudes induced by the disease of segregation) the quality and pace of the teaching is much lower than that in the white schools--which is low enough in the South to begin with.

Mr. Milton reiterated that in Southern state-supported colleges, no program would be supported which was

Some kind of training — white is organized & training for modern society without regard to race — copy of Pres. Truman's comm. Ed & welfare

intended to raise the economic level of Negroes. Education should be both for culture AND for economic opportunity. The Southern states have no objection to social studies, but there is objection to economic studies. For example, except at Howard University, there are no engineering courses for Negroes. The Engineering School there was planned for an enrollment of 200. There now are 800 enrolled--white and Negro--because there is no other point of opportunity. Private schools, like Dillard College, cannot afford professional schools.

Mr. Coombs said there would have to be an attack on the whole fundamental problem of education in public schools in the South. Perhaps something special could be done with Negroes to motivate and encourage the most promising ones. The limited efforts which had already been made might be extended; but fundamentally, the problem was common to white as well as Negro.

Mr. Dent enlarged on Mr. Milton's statements, noting that in the fields of mathematics and physics there are not enough Negro Ph.D.'s in the entire country to supply one for each accredited Negro college. There is a great demand for well-trained Negro engineers; but, apart from the minute breakthroughs into the white schools, the only engineering school in the South available to Negroes is at Howard University in Washington, D. C. (if this is considered

part of the South).

Atlanta University at one time had a preparatory school attached to it which gave excellent training comparable to that in the best white high schools, and it had a very great influence while it lasted. However, it had to be given up for economic reasons. Mr. Dent pointed out that now, while there are good private secondary schools for whites, there are none for Negroes. He thought that the establishment of a first-class private Negro preparatory school in the South with an insured subsidy would be a great step forward. The relatively few families that can afford it send their children to Northern preparatory schools; and quite often these children who go North for their education do not come back. Private Negro schools would have to be subsidized. It was strictly a matter of economics. Some Negroes could pay normal tuition fees but not sufficient to underwrite the total cost of such education.

It will obviously be a long time before the general level of education for Negroes in the public schools of the South can be brought up even to the level of the white schools; and meanwhile, there is a crying need for private preparatory schools in which at least a few of the many promising students can get adequate intellectual training. If private high schools could be set up, it could make a

tremendous impact on general educational standards.

Miss Taylor asked whether an extra year in college would be feasible, a "fifth year down" to up-grade high-school graduates before they assumed college work.

Mr. Dent replied that few Negroes could see their way clear to going to college for more than four years, even if a fifth year were sponsored.

He described the difficulties of trying to give college level training to the graduates of Negro high schools in the South--many of whom are so far behind in reading and writing and in general knowledge at the time they graduate from high schools that they cannot possibly begin on college work. He stressed also their financial handicaps: all but a few have to work their way through college, thereby depriving themselves of the time needed to catch up with earlier deficiencies in their training. Dillard University has begun experimenting with special summer sessions for the backward students, but here again the economic problem is an obstacle: so many students need the summer months as a time in which to earn money.

Mr. Coombs agreed that summer courses could help these people catch up, and they would also use the presently unused capacity of the campuses which were closed down every year for economic reasons. Teachers probably would welcome the added income as well. A large-scale pilot

operation would symbolize that there was some place to go and something to do. The costs would be less than building new private secondary schools.

Mr. Fleming agreed there were probably one or more good private colleges which would be willing to take on a pilot service project of this kind.

Mr. Coombs remarked that the teaching profession itself has not yet systematically struggled with the real problems.

Mr. Garrison reported that at dinner he asked Mr. Dent, who is active in the work of the United Negro College Fund, whether, since the desegregation decisions, Northern Negro leadership regarded the Fund as a means of perpetuating segregation. Mr. Dent replied that at first some had taken this position, but that now it was generally realized--first, that for a long time to come the great bulk of Negroes in the South seeking a college education would be going to Negro colleges, partly for economic reasons and partly because of continuing patterns of segregation; and second, that as desegregation progressed, the Negro colleges would more and more be available for white students and would be sought after the more their standards were raised. He mentioned the fact that many white students are eager to get into Howard University Engineering School, and the same is true of the Medical School. There are white students

in other Negro colleges, Mr. Dent said, and he also noted that the business school of Atlanta University already is the best in Georgia.

In all the discussion, it seemed to be assumed that thorough-going desegregation in the deep South would not be obtained for many years to come and that in the meantime, the waste of human resources through under-education was of tragic dimensions. Mr. Dent thought the situation might move faster by strengthening existing institutions. Progress toward an intelligent electorate could not come about until we had basically good education.

How can foundation funds be used to ameliorate the situation? The possibilities that were mentioned included:

1. A large-scale pilot project in one or two existing institutions to underwrite summer courses;

2. more fellowships for promising students, e.g., in law and medicine;

3. support of private preparatory school education;

4. a study under appropriate auspices of the inequalities in the separate school systems, which would direct public attention to the needs. (This suggestion is taken up in more detail under Mass Media and Communications.)

LEGAL ASSISTANCE:

Mr. Freeman spoke of the need for good lawyers in the South to represent civil liberties cases. This need

was becoming more acute because of the present circumstances of the NAACP. He reported that Rowland Watts of the ACLU had spent several months in the South trying to get a lawyer in each state to provide consultant services.

Mr. Poynter suggested the desirability of underwriting white lawyers who were willing and able to provide legal aid to Negroes in the South. He felt that many could be found for this purpose and wondered whether it would be possible to enlist the services of bar associations.

The consensus was that bar associations would not cope with this task effectively; and, in fact, an organization would have to be created which would be able to winnow out the cases, locate the meritorious ones, and then locate the lawyers. Over and above a fee in a particular case, there would be need of providing courageous white lawyers with some additional subsidies to enable them to carry on in the face of the loss of white clientele.

Mr. Milton felt strongly that the search for white lawyers would not bear much practical fruit. He believed that the rights of Negroes had to be defended by Negroes. Realistically, he said, we should concentrate on the training of more Negro lawyers, many of whom would sooner or later find their way into the rural areas. It is true that in many parts of the deep South, particularly in the rural areas, there are no Negro lawyers at all; and Negroes are not only deprived of their civil rights but of ordinary

property rights, as for example, encroachments on their land by white farmers, economic coercion, and the like. But, Mr. Milton said, the long-range view of subsidizing some scholarships toward legal training of Negroes and strenthening the program at Howard University, as well as developing law schools in other private institutions, was the best solution.

Mr. Dent mentioned that there are several state-supported Negro law schools in the South (such as North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana and Texas) but that they are extremely inadequate and have very few students.

Mr. Poynter spoke of the importance of having white lawyers speak up immediately, for it was the many "little" violations against civil liberties that lead up to the big violations.

Mr. Fleming called attention to the double question:

(1) The problem of increasing the supply of Negro lawyers. Here the suggestion was that scholarship programs be inaugurated and that law schools such as the one at Howard be strengthened, and that additional law schools in other private Negro colleges be initiated.

(2) The present support of civil liberties cases by ethical, white lawyers who are willing to assume the responsibility but need to be assured of financial support. Here the problem is to find the machinery through which to

operate.

Mr. Fleming mentioned the AFSC Rights of Conscience program, but Mr. Freeman explained that this program operated in very carefully defined channels. It had not focused on the problem in the South, and it had run out of funds and would be dissolved in a month.

Mr. Garrison agreed that something ought to be done in the second area mentioned by Mr. Fleming. The problem was to find the machinery through which to do it.

THE USE OF THE BALLOT:

Mr. Fleming observed that ways should be found to help the Department of Justice in the exercise of its new powers under the civil rights legislation of the last Congress and that the report of the Civil Rights Commission, when finally made, would be of critical importance. For this reason, as well as for others, there was need of documenting the more or less known facts and getting them to the Commission, as well as publicizing them through the mass media. It would be useful to have some case studies made by private agencies on the use of the ballot, especially if the study distinguished the different levels of the problem; i.e., agrarian, urban, etc. Such a study by a human relations organization would be helpful to public agencies in their

SRC follow is indicated so that it can be helpful [illegible]

difficult tasks.

This led to a discussion by Mr. Whyte and Mr. Freeman concerning previous plans for such a study, the time elements involved, etc. Mr. Whyte suggested that a foundation might sponsor both a short-term and a long-term study. The original Cornell approach had intended to include Southern social scientists in such a study. He thought that a very useful report could be made by getting two or three experienced sociologists to tour around and interview people and bring out the facts without elaborate or time-consuming research. He also thought that this would take relatively little money.

Mr. Hammer said that today the program should be action-oriented. It is not necessary to have more studies to identify the present problems.

Mr. Fleming pointed out that white and Negro Southern social scientists are badly needed by action groups.

Mr. Whyte mentioned that Ronald Lippett at the University of Michigan was interested in getting together people from the applied societies of psychology, anthropology, sociology and psychiatry to consider research needs and research action.

Mr. Milton described the efforts of the Negro leadership, approved by the white leadership, to get all

high school graduates to register and vote as soon as they become eligible. Many of the older people are still affected by the disease of segregation and the earlier patterns of fear and apathy; but not so the younger people.

As a result of the growing political power of the Negroes, white candidates now readily appear to address Negro forums, League of Women Voters' meetings, etc.; and Negro and white candidates may appear on television programs together. He observed that if you control the electorate, you can keep people from doing things against you, and that this is a great gain. One does not expect people to do things for you.

These phenomena are not peculiar to Atlanta. Mr. Dent said that the same thing was taking place in New Orleans and in many other Southern cities. He and Mr. Milton described how quiet collaboration between the white and Negro leadership brought about the peaceful desegregation of the busses in New Orleans and the municipal golf course in Atlanta. In each case there was a token litigation, the outcome of which was taken for granted, so much so that in New Orleans the municipal government was unable to get any of the better-known lawyers to represent it as a defendant. (One leading lawyer observed: "Why should I go into court and be made a fool of by Thurgood Marshall?")

There was general agreement that in the rural

areas of the South the situation is quite different; the white resistance is very great and the Negroes are deterred by fear and inherited patterns of submissiveness.

Mr. Hammer, whose firm in Atlanta specializes in city planning, industrial planning, etc., and which operates in various parts of the country as well as in the South, developed the thesis that "metropolitanism" was a great new phenomenon in this country which was effecting a revolution in political and economic patterns and behavior, and which was not yet adequately understood. In the central cities of the South and elsewhere, the Negroes are getting the balance of political power, and this power will tend to grow stronger because the opportunities for the Negroes in the South will be more and more in the urban areas. The dominant white financial and industrial interests have to struggle constantly against the reactionary rural elements in the state legislatures and with their allies among the lower grades of city politicians. For quite other reasons the Negroes need to defend themselves against these same elements. Hence, the working coalition which has developed between the leaders of the two groups. This has resulted in active help from the white leadership in getting Negroes registered and encouraging them to vote. White employers, for example, are now encouraging their Negro employees to register and vote.

He added that the changing patterns of metropolitan government across the country needed study and that the Rockefeller Brothers Fund had looked into it somewhat.

Mr. Creel said that the Rockefeller Brothers studies were concerned chiefly with economic aspects but that the results of the studies might well focus on political-social problems. They preferred to study economic groups rather than racial groups. Social science studies would follow land use as a secondary analysis.

ECONOMICS:

Mr. Hammer spoke of the profound economic revolution in the South and of certain ideas of his for the development of Negro enterprises and skills. What he said ran roughly as follows.

Twenty years ago the basis of the Southern economy was the sharecropper; it was a true colonial economy. In that space of time there has been an economic revolution, and we now have in the South a maturing economy, whose pace of change has been and continues to be much more rapid than in other parts of the country. The supplemental activities brought about by this revolution are even more significant than the primary ones. Hundreds of thousands of people are shifting from one place and occupation to another. The

increase in urban population has been far more rapid than was anticipated by the most expert observers. This increase has come about through the growth of the service industries, following in the wake of the primary manufacturing developments.

Large parts of the South have not yet been touched, but they will be soon, and urbanization is on the march. In Georgia more than half the counties are losing population every day to the municipal centers.

By and large the Negroes have not been taken into the new employments except in the old custodial capacities. This passing up of the Negro is likely to continue for some time to come because there are great untapped resources of Southern white labor -- not people who are unemployed but people who are under-employed, who shift from rural and small service jobs into the better paid jobs. There are also large untapped resources of white female workers who are beginning to move into industry.

The economic situation of the Negroes is nevertheless improving, and proportionately even more so than the whites. The Negroes are taking the jobs of the whites who are moving up the ladder, and the relative improvement in the economic status of the Negroes through this process, since they started so low down, is greater than the improvement in the status of the whites.

The time will come in the South when there will be real labor shortages. Some of the Southern states are still losing population net to other parts of the country. And even now in some areas the pinch is felt--not so much, however, in shortages of white labor as in ways and means of utilizing Negro labor which has been expensively trained by the community and which the community feels the need of utilizing in order to justify the training. Specifically, for example, there are many communities where in recent years expensive high schools have been put up with the hope of avoiding integration and where the graduates disappear from view and go elsewhere because suitable occupations are not open to them.

What about special training programs for Negroes who will be willing to stay in the South

The economic gains of the Negroes in the South have created a big new consumer market which has been largely untapped because of the lack of modern retail and service operations in the Negro areas. The new white suburban areas are being served by white shopping centers and chain stores, but there is nothing comparable in the new Negro areas which have grown up in and around the metropolitan centers. Insurance companies would be interested in financing shopping centers in such areas, and national chain stores are also interested. However, these groups have no close relationship with the Negro leadership, and there is a crying need for co-operation here and also for training programs

Straight labor for economic development

which would equip Negroes with the various skills needed for staffing the new enterprises which are awaiting development in the Negro areas.

Mr. Hammer suggested the following projects:

(1) A study in depth, for publication, of the economic revolution of the South in relation to the growth of population and the utilization of manpower.

(2) A foundation-aided project in a group of selected Southern cities combining (a) economic surveys of the cost and location and required manpower skills for the building and operation of shopping centers, and (b) a training program for Negroes designed to develop the required skills to operate them.

Mr. Hammer made the point that where a white enterprise moves into a Negro market, as through a shopping center, segregation falls. Arterial traffic taps the surroundings and soon 20 to 30 percent of the customers become white. White and Negro owned banking facilities compete with one another in the area, with the white facilities using Negro employees in order to attract customers. In the shops Negro employees work with whites.

Mr. Loescher asked about the role of voluntary organizations in promoting job opportunities leading to integration.

Mr. Milton thought this was a collateral program toward an ultimate solution.

Mr. Dent added that the Southern business man did not realize what he was losing by not taking advantage of Negro manpower and purchasing power. He agreed with Mr. Hammer as to the importance of a study to enlighten the power structure in the South. The NPA's Committee of the South would command respect. Within the framework of the study (past due ten years), much could be done with real effectiveness on a specific area basis, taking up certain locales, such as Dallas, Houston, Atlanta--each of which was a different situation. As for marketing centers, wherever there could be a mixture in employment, that was sounder. It was unsound to depend on any one group either as consumers or labor force.

Mr. Eagle asked about the advisability of vocational training at the secondary-school level to help provide needed skills.

Mr. Coombs replied that it had been tried country wide unsuccessfully, owing to the dynamics of technology and the mobility of the population. In his opinion, on-the-job training was the more desirable approach.

There is going on in this country an invisible secondary form of education by industry whose enrollment and expenditures exceed those of all colleges and universities combined.

Mr. Coombs suggested that Mr. Milton's bank

in Atlanta should be a training center of this sort with a deliberate turnover so that young Negroes trained in bank techniques could go out elsewhere to fill needed positions in both white and Negro-owned banks. (Mr. Garrison later reported it had occurred to him that there might be a possibility of establishing some fellowships for this purpose, using Mr. Milton's bank as illustrative of a number of well-run institutions which might be treated in effect as educational institutions, with accompanying fellowships, etc.)

Mr. Milton said that he is repeatedly called upon by outside employers, both white and Negro, to supply them with technicians from his bank and that generally he has to turn down these requests because he does not have the people to spare.

Mr. Hammer thought that Mr. Milton ought to have at least three internes a year on fellowships; that similar internes should be established at other banks; and that "talent scouts" would be necessary to make this work.

Mr. Milton said that the programs for on-the-job training under the G.I. Bill had been excellent and should be revived in some form or other.

Mr. Fleming agreed with all this and thought that there could readily be a tie-in between the training programs

and placement opportunities.

Mr. Coombs added that Mr. Hammer should have three bright young Negro internes. Foundations should be helpful in the selection of Negro personnel, and in subsidizing them while they built skills. Miss Taylor warned that such programs had to be carefully watched in order to insure continued training of personnel, otherwise they would degenerate to "using" people.

The question arose as to how to locate a number of skilled Negro people who with training would become a core of management people, and through what channels foundations could operate. Mr. Loescher said that the Friends Service Committee had done some work along these lines in the South. He mentioned the Westinghouse plant in Greensboro, South Carolina. He suggested that the Southern Regional Council might work this out as a project, if granted, say, $10,000.

SRC & Treasury Program

Mr. Hammer said that he was emphasizing the development of chains in the new urban Negro areas in the South because chains were more sensitive to consumer opinion and more in need of Negro workers than manufacturers. Moreover, the chains are mostly national in their management and are highly competitive.

Avoid either or of national vs. in detail development

Mr. Coombs, reverting to the idea of training Negroes for the opportunities awaiting them, suggested the possibility of a new agency designed to find top level

talent and to place this talent in the existing training programs of chain stores and industry generally. If the talent were available, the corporations might change their segregation policies; the two factors would interact.

Mr. Poynter was sure that there would before long be a national shortage of skills and that programs of the sort we were talking about would be invaluable.

Mr. Eagle asked whether there would be any advantage to documenting this broad economic potential of the South to generate the right kind of attention. Would it be a way to speed up the perception?

Mr. Dent replied that it would be very useful. A general study would open the eyes of business in the South. Hammer should do the study of the ideas he had put forward. The NPA's Committee on Southern Development could do the general study with foundation report. This would be a good investment. Mr. Fleming also thought we should "unleash" Mr. Hammer.

Mr. Poynter said the documentation of the economic and social revolution in the South would be of particular importance with respect to international relations. This was an area where foundations could be useful. This could be projected to include the future shortage of manpower. Actually, being faced with a shortage of skills was a key pressure toward providing better education,

desegregation and so many of the problems facing the South.

Mr. Whyte suggested the possibility of action through an institution like a university graduate business school, to promote a conference of prestige to which key business and academic people would be invited to discuss the subject.

A joint conference — Agency, foundation & several universities

Judge Polier mentioned the desirability of training people from within the particular community who would be employed in the new enterprises in that community. She thought that this should be kept in mind in the making of the studies.

Mr. Hammer might explore whether, if funds were available for a training program, it would persuade the financiers to do the right thing in the development of projects.

Mr. Hammer agreed, but said it would be helpful to be able to say one had foundation assistance to train the people. To Mr. Garrison's question as to whether one would be able to have a training program within a Southern Negro community, Mr. Hammer replied that he thought it was possible. He did not know the details of on-the-job training; he was talking about retail facilities within a Negro area.

Mr. Whyte pointed out the example of Sears' Latin American program. For example, in the Sears Roebuck

developments in Venezuela the company had started with a small core of trained American workers and had then proceeded to train Venezuelans on the job, expanding its operations as the supply of trained workers increased.

Mr. Dent agreed that in any large community, there would be opportunity for Negroes to get training.

He felt that there should be no difficulty in persuading existing chain stores to train Negroes in their stores where they border on Negro neighborhoods and then shift the personnel, when trained, to the new projects.

Mr. Milton observed that the worst thing about segregated institutions is that they have no competition; hence, the Negro-owned stores, restaurants, etc. in segregated areas are generally of poor quality.

Mr. Hammer responded that at the present time the Negro consuming market was very close to the city centers; that it is hard to assemble properties there for shopping centers or chain store developments; that it is hard for Negro entrepreneurs to compete and expand in these areas; and that the land is very costly. He further stated, however, that urban renewal developments in the South are going to change all these conditions. Three such developments are now projected for Atlanta, Chattanooga and Savannah. These developments will produce space in the city centers in the heart of the Negro areas, and for the most part white developers will move in because Negro

developers are not ready. He stated that forty to sixty cities in the South would soon be taking advantage of the subsidies under the urban renewal program (which has only recently been freed of bottlenecks by new federal regulations), and that both the downtown and peripheral areas will be developed. The big insurance companies (he has talked specifically with one of them) are ready to finance retail developments in the new areas, including enterprises owned by Negroes--at least he seemed hopeful on this score.

There seemed to be general agreement to Mr. Hammer's suggestion that two types of studies at this point would be useful: a general study of the whole line of development in the South which is likely to occur; and a specific one, dealing in detail with the situation in a selected group of cities. Mr. Hammer thought that we should make an effort to interest one of the big insurance companies in making a study of the specifics, and that perhaps the National Planning Association might be induced to make an over-all study. He did not exclude the possibility that his firm might be used to make some specific studies on a professional basis.

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS:

Mr. Freeman reviewed the work of religious institutions in the South. The Protestant churches have

segregated congregations for the most part, and many of the churches have segregated institutions--colleges, homes, etc. Relatively speaking, the Southern Episcopalians are the most enlightened, then come the Southern Presbyterians, and then the Southern Baptists. In the case of the Catholics, the anti-segregation stand taken by the Archbishop of New Orleans looked like a real breakthrough, but as a result of the pressure of Catholic laymen, the original stand had to be severely modified. There is now no hierarchically authorized authority to deal with interracial policy questions, with the result that each individual church is on its own.

Southern Jewish laymen who were members of the American Jewish Committee strongly objected to the brief amicus curiae filed by the Committee in the school cases.

Mr. Freeman thought that the churches as a group could not do very much until their own practices and inner contradictions had been straightened out, but that here and there some particularly brave individual member of the clergy or some enlightened local group could help both in quiet ways and with published statements (like the Atlanta Ministers' statement, which was followed by similar statements in Richmond, Virginia, Columbus, Ga., Gainesville, Dallas and Houston, Texas) and that we should do all we could to encourage such actions and to support them.

Many churches are taking a good look at themselves, but little can be expected in the next four to five years beyond what has already taken place. In several denominations there are full-time staff people in the South, but very little sign that their efforts have reached to local levels, except as is in evidence through objections to their programs. Literature has been ineffective.

The Catholic Committee of the South is now invisible. Mr. Dent commented that what had happened to the Catholic Committee of the South would be a good study.

Mr. Loescher added that some of the local-level social action secretaries were fairly able. They could bring pressure to bear and could stimulate action.

Mr. Freeman said that the religious groups had been strongly urged to have full-time people working on race problems. He emphasized that what is now going on ought to be maintained by Protestant denominations with their own resources. New programs ought to be looked at by foundations with interest. There is a tremendous shortage of effective people in the field. So if a group of foundations made available a half million dollars to be spent over a few years, the church groups themselves would have a difficult time finding people to spend it.

To a question from Mr. Eagle, Mr. Freeman responded that the Catholic Interracial Councils were located in different cities, independent of each other, and their patterns were colored by local hierarchies.

Mr. Milton said that the quality of the preachers in the best of the Negro churches in the South had been much improved in recent years but he regretted the fact that so many ministers had a vested interest in the maintenance of segregation. Mr. Whyte expressed the hope that there might be more inter-church activities between Negro and white congregations. It was observed that the opportunity for leadership on the part of Southern Negro preachers was an unusual one inasmuch as they could not be subjected to economic coercion by white citizens councils, etc.

Mr. Loescher expressed the hope that there might be some one connected with a foundation working full time in this area in a counselling role. He suggested that such a foundation executive should be particularly charged with studying the church groups, keeping in touch with them, stimulating them, and caring about them. He also thought that some of the staff members of some of the Southern churches are sympathetic and able and could perhaps be given more encouragement and assistance.

Mr. Fleming added that quite apart from money, there was a psychological effect in knowing there was a foundation that cared.

SRC has certain things in mind if money were available. There is a plan underway of a meeting of religious leaders of the three major faiths to come out with a statement that would have effect on the situation in Virginia, but organization for that meeting has not progressed very far.

check already

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS:

Mr. Freeman also reviewed the work and structure of the voluntary associations. The Consultative Conference on Desegregation (CCD) is a very loosely knit group of almost all the religious organizations and a good many of the voluntary organizations, including the YMCA, YWCA, NAACP, Urban League, CIO-AFL, AJC, ADL, etc. SRC It is a useful channel to other organizations, to the mass media and to the general public, as well as in the general area of bringing the most immediate problems of the South to the attention of national organizations.

At another level is a grouping of the Southern agencies, the Southern Inter-Agency Conference, which was a branch of CCD but now has a personality of its own. The Southern Regional Council is the ~~sparkplug~~ secretariat for SIAC.

To Judge Polier's question as to the need for strengthening the structure of CCD, Mr. Freeman replied that one reason it has worked as well as it has is that it is loosely and informally arranged.

Judge Polier then asked how it would be possible to provide technical skill or assistance in counselling and program to strengthen the CCD people working in the field.

Mr. Loescher suggested that if Mr. Fleming had an assistant to serve as secretary of CCD, dividing his time between Atlanta, Washington and New York, he could also work with government agencies.

Separate his advice

Mr. Fleming replied that CCD is a very delicate assembly of national organizations, and it would be very easy to throw the mechanism out of gear. If SRC developed such a staff member and such a function, SRC should remain clear of formal connections with CCD. He added that CCD has an inter-religious committee and a mass-media committee. Except for the latter, CCD is not ready for staff work.

Explain how to function

Mr. Dent also stressed the need for giving Mr. Fleming a full-time assistant in the field.

Mr. Poynter repeated an earlier statement that there are a great number of well-educated women who could be enlisted to help, particularly through work, such as health programs and juvenile delinquency problems, that, aimed at child welfare, naturally tended toward both inter-denominational activity and inter-racial activity.

People who were not accustomed to working together could be brought together by co-operative projects that required both races to solve problems.

Mr. Freeman mentioned the effective workshops on race relations carried on by the United Church Women in small Southern towns.

At Mr. Eagle's request, Mr. Freeman explained the NAIRO training program.

Going back to the Southern Inter-Agency Conference, Mr. Fleming pointed out that it is more cohesive than is the CCD. SRC has been acting as secretariat, but SIAC is beginning to sprout programs which require still more services of SRC, particularly with respect to their fact-finding projects, such as the one presently underway to study the erosion of civil rights in recent years. This is creating a staff problem. He could envisage a time when SIAC, under some aegis, would need more staffing. At present, his administrative assistant is giving a third of his time to secretariat matters. Also, other SRC people devote time to SIAC's program activities. Mr. Fleming suggested that foundation people might like to attend a Southern Inter-Agency Conference meeting to see for themselves the activities presently underway.

Mr. Fleming estimated that there are only about 70 effective people in the South who are devoting any substantial time to race relations. Of these, about

20 are with local urban leagues, 20 with SRC and state councils on human relations. The remaining 30 are with other groups. He maintains contacts with all of them.

Mr. Dent stated that through SRC there needed to be some underwriting of these 70 people, who were, for the most part, underpaid and thus forced to engage in other activities.

Mr. Eagle agreed that SRC was the most effective agency working exclusively on race problems, and he asked Mr. Fleming what he would like to do given adequate financial support.

Mr. Fleming explained the problem of any organization's working on a project basis. Projects depend entirely on skilled people, and it is hard to get talent for such short-term operations. He would prefer in the case of SRC that foundations look at SRC's total operations, then decide, if at all possible to do so, to make a grant a general one--an investment in the instrument.

Unless the proposed project were a vital part of SRC's program, the foundation would get more return on its money from general support. To attract really able specialists on a short-term basis (which was what happened with respect to projects) is the biggest problem. Three-year grants for general support,

which provided continuity, are a great boon.

He would not, of course, rule out specific projects if a particular grantor had a vital interest in them, but the temporary character of projects, and the distractions sometimes caused by them, at times becomes a problem.

As for staff, demands and opportunities are endless if one has the right people, but an organization could not do work without adequate staff. If one had really good professionals who could service mass media, government agencies, etc., with, for example, SRC's background materials, much could be done.

He also emphasized the important role of the State Councils on Human Relations. The State Councils on Human Relations have one staff member each, except Arkansas, which has two as a result of help from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. The Fund for the Republic and The New World Foundation have been helping with the others. But still the staff people must necessarily devote a great deal of time and energy to fund-raising. Mr. Fleming thought that consideration should be given to foundation subsidies to the best of these; he mentioned Virginia, which has excellent leadership and a good board; North Carolina which is good, particularly in Charlotte; Arkansas; and Florida, which has excellent

potentialities, mainly in Dade County at the present time.

Mr. Fleming felt that it was important to feed material to the State Advisory Committees of the Civil Rights Commission and to the staff of the Civil Rights Commission (the Commission itself is precluded by law from seeking assistance from voluntary organizations but this does not preclude the staff from reading material which may be sent to them).

Mr. Eagle wondered whether there might not be merit in marshalling the facts for dissemination of all the SRC programs and others that were working well.

Mr. Whyte thought there was merit to research programs documenting effective programs and their results. Foundations might get people like Mr. Seidenberg to do a number of evaluation studies on governmental agencies.

Discussion showed that a good deal of pressure had been put on government to "do something." However, there was another job that needed to be done--that of working with Federal Agencies in supplying them with suggestions. A body of white and Negro southerners might do a "Rockefeller Brothers" type study to cue them on action programs.

A full-time staff member for the Southern

Regional Council to work with government agencies was suggested as most worthwhile.

COMMUNICATION, OPINION AND INFORMATION:

Mr. Eagle asked about voluntary agencies and their work with the press. Was this another way that policy makers could be cued?

Mr. Loescher said that one of the ideas of the Mass Media Committee of CCD was to bring together top people from the three major TV networks, with informed people from the South to discuss the constructive possibilities of TV and radio in tension areas such as Little Rock and Virginia. There are problems such as getting busy people together, how to finance such a meeting and the important question of who would issue the invitation. Such a conference would be well worth trying.

Mr. Fleming agreed that it was urgent to bring together top people from the major networks to meet as quickly as possible with key persons from the particular communities in the South in which there may be a critical school situation in September, with a view to working out the news coverage over television and radio in as constructive a way as possible.

This is a crash program for Sept. I will might as well get new documentation to the contingency need from the Dept. if required

— Put a good free lance on mass media coverage —

He reported that the Southern Regional Council with support from The New World Foundation will have three skilled consultants on the job in Charlottesville, Arlington and Norfolk, where trouble is likely; not in Prince Edward County, simply because they do not know what they could do there which would be of any use. The consultants are John Alexander, Assistant Dean of Columbia College; Bonita Valien of Fisk University; and Harry Walker, of Howard University; with the aid of Paul Ehrling of the staff of the ~~Southern Regional~~ Va. Council on H. R. Council. He again stated that he would like to see the Virginia Council on Human Relations receive additional financial aid before fall.

Mr. Fleming said that in Dallas, prior to the integration effort, the Council had brought together representative white and Negro leadership and had helped to educate the power structure; also the police preparation had been very good. More of this sort of preparatory work should be done.

Mr. Eagle asked for Mr. Poynter's comments on the subject of better communications.

Mr. Poynter said this related to his previous question about the possibility of documenting affirmative news, especially in connection with networks and national magazines. Conflict was a story--not peace. But in this area, affirmative actions could be news.

He suggested that Ed Stanley of NBC (a director of the National Urban League) would be an excellent unpaid advisor on this subject.

It was his profound conviction, Mr. Poynter said, that a story about people determining to keep Federal troops out by the simple process of maintaining law and order would provide a dramatic nation-wide story. Had there been a few people to enlist as shepherds in Little Rock and other similar situations, they would have offset the mobs which were, after all, a small minority.

Judge Polier said we seemed to be talking about a small minority on the one side and a small group on the other; and we had talked about organizations with key people. Was this meeting sufficiently imaginative to involve other and more people? Two years ago, discussions had been held with George Mitchell to find a way to establish more contacts, to find a natural way of meeting our opposite number in the South where problems could be brought up--such as reaching people in the teaching profession, perhaps through refresher college courses or seminars that could be held in the South as a way of exploring race relations.

Perhaps other natural lines of communication could be opened in professional groups, where in discussing their work in technical and professional language, the subject could be brought up. How could foundations sponsor conferences along professional lines which would inevitably bring

up not only a community of interests, but race relations too, not as such, but in relation to the professional activity? For example, the social workers have a committee on social issues; this would naturally include race relations.

In other words, bring people together to think of things they could do in their professional endeavors--programs not aimed at interracial problems per se, but interrelated problems that naturally included integration.

Mr. Eagle asked whether national organizations such as the Lions, Shriners, Rotary had been approached. Mr. Fleming replied that at special times and in specific places they have been asked, but there had been no thoroughgoing determined effort at the national level where more could be done.

Mr. Dent urged foundations to think in terms always of moving forward. He was sure that forward movement could come faster than many thought it could. He recalled the study financed by the Rosenwald Fund on the agricultural situation. As a result of the study "Collapse of Cotton Tenancy," Senator Bankhead had developed the Farm Security Administration. It seemed to Mr. Dent that foundations might develop ideas that would spark power groups to action. It would require a first-rate creative person.

At dinner further discussion ensued on subjects which had been brought up during the day.

On the subject of education, Mr. Dent pointed out that there are no commercial or trade schools for Negroes. Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky (who joined the meeting at dinner) suggested a citizen's fact-finding commission to look at the relative quality of education. Mr. Fleming said the Ashmore Study was to be updated. As a shortcut, perhaps a picture magazine could get a good story on education if it went into a community after careful briefing.

Mr. Whyte agreed that media such as magazines could be useful where the situation is already known. Research talent should be used on problems not already obvious.

On the subject of Mass Media, Mr. Fleming emphasized the importance of providing professional service and interpretation. Few organizations have resources to give to that, but the media would accept such service only when they know it is professional. In fact, it would be necessary for the Information Service to cover the ground first and do much of the story for them. For example, in Virginia, it was necessary to give accurate background information and cues which would allow media to do a better job. The problem of the two kinds of studies was attitude changing which involved the social scientists versus decision making which involved mass media. Mr. Whyte replied there

was no disagreement there with social scientists. People had to be kept moving while institutions were changing; then attitudes changed.

The consensus was that documentation of affirmative news, especially in connection with networks and national magazines, was important. For example, a picture magazine could get a good story on the relative quality of education for white and Negro if it went into a community after careful briefing.

How expand staff coverage depth

It was suggested that the Southern Regional Council might expand its information Service and enlarge its facilities for providing accurate background information to mass media.

Mr. Eagle concluded that in view of all that needed to be done and all the contacts and studies that needed to be made, not only in this respect but in connection with the other topics discussed, it might well be that a foundation interested in the field ought to put on its staff a full-time expert on race relations, not only to advise the foundation on its giving policies in race relations but also to act directly in the field in some of the ways that have been suggested. Mr. Garrison felt this to be a very good idea.

?

* * * * *

Participants

Philip H. Coombs, The Fund for the Advancement of Education

Dana S. Creel, Director, Rockefeller Brothers Fund

Albert W. Dent, President, Dillard University, New Orleans

Vernon A. Eagle, Executive Director, The New World Foundation

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta

David F. Freeman, Rockefeller Brothers Fund

Lloyd K. Garrison, Member of the Board of Directors, The Field Foundation

Philip Hammer, President, Hammer & Company Associates, Atlanta

Frank S. Loescher, Consultant, Intergroup Relations, Philadelphia

L. D. Milton, President, Citizens Trust Company, Atlanta

Justine W. Polier, Member of the Board of Directors, The Field Foundation

Nelson P. Poynter, Editor and Publisher, St. Petersburg (Fla.) TIMES

Katharine Taylor, Member of the Board of Directors, The New World Foundation

William F. Whyte, Director, Social Science Research Center, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

N.B. Owing to the crisis in the Middle East, Ralph Bunche, who had been invited, was unable to be present.

July 29, 1958

Mr. Lloyd K. Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Garrison:

Thank you so much for your kind letter - and for the opportunity to take part in the recent conference. I found it a very stimulating and rewarding occasion.

I haven't yet heard from Vernon Eagle, but when he writes I shall see that you receive a copy of my reply. Meanwhile, don't hesitate to call on me for any information or other assistance I can give you and your fellow Trustees.

It was a pleasure to meet and talk with you, and I shall look forward to the next time.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

ADLAI E. STEVENSON*
SIMON H. RIFKIND
ROBERT E. SAMUELS
JOHN F. WHARTON
LLOYD K. GARRISON
RUSSELL H. WILDE
MYER D. MERMIN
HOWARD A. SEITZ
H. RUSSELL WINOKUR
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ARTHUR J. COHEN
COUNSEL

RANDOLPH E. PAUL (1946-1956)
LOUIS S. WEISS (1927-1950)

July 25, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

On behalf of the Trustees of The Field Foundation I want to thank you most warmly for taking the time and trouble to come to the Conference sponsored jointly by our Foundation and The New World Foundation. It seemed to me that the discussion was extremely helpful and I obtained from it many ideas which I shall be passing on to our Trustees as soon as we can get together early in the fall.

I understand that you will be sending your expense account to Vernon Eagle. I believe also that he is going to write you to ask for any afterthoughts or comments which you might care to give us, to aid us in advising our respective foundations as to what we should do. If you do communicate with him, I would appreciate it if you would send me a copy; or if you should write first to me, send him a copy.

I enjoyed very much the chance to meet and talk with you and hope that our paths will cross again. With many thanks again for your help, I am

Sincerely yours,

Lloyd K. Garrison
L.S.

Lloyd K. Garrison

LKG:LS

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July 29, 1958

Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

After talking at some length with Harold Fleming on Saturday, I have drafted a proposal for a reconnaissance study of the potentials for commercial development in Negro areas in the South. I will send this to you along with a transmittal letter later this week.

I have just received a letter from Lloyd Garrison asking that I send him a copy of such a document when it is prepared. I hope that it will be satisfactory with you for me to do this.

I am enclosing herewith an itemized statement of my expenses incurred on the recent trip to New York. Nothing was said about a per diem or honorarium and I assume that this was not contemplated.

On Thursday I will go to Durham to spin the same tale at the annual meeting of the National Business League at the invitation of Dr. Patterson. Apparently the Phelps-Stokes Fund will be interested in participating in the reconnaissance study if it is made.

Warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

Phil

PH/sr
cc: Mr. Harold Fleming
Enc.

New World Fd. Conference

Important

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

DATE: July 31, 1958 MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Harold C. Fleming

FROM: Vernon A. Eagle, Executive Director, THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

SUBJECT: Conference on Intergroup Relations Called Jointly by THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION and THE FIELD FOUNDATION and Held in New York During the Morning, Afternoon and Evening of July 18, 1958

The attached notes are a compilation of Mr. Garrison's and Mrs. Maskus' summary records.

In attempting to summarize, we may have inadvertently misquoted some of you or attributed statements to the wrong person. We only hope that no one's feelings will be hurt because of pride of authorship.

Should any of you have second thoughts or wish to elaborate further on any points either brought up at the meeting or others, I should be most grateful if you would write me fully and send a copy to Mr. Lloyd Garrison.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE, NEW YORK OFFICE

August 11, 1958

Mr. Lloyd K. Garrison
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Garrison:

Thank you for your letter of July 25th. I was glad to be invited and I hope some useful projects will grow out of the meeting.

I have had one or two afterthoughts that I am glad to share with you. The first I touched on at the meeting, namely, the desirability of having on the staff the sort of person who can advise a foundation impartially and at the same time develop a counseling relationship to the heads of organizations working for desegregation in the South. The agencies appreciate this and a foundation will get more value from its grants.

The right person or persons advising a foundation in the field of race relations could experiment with the suggestions made by Judge Polier and could explore many other lines of action, most of which would probably be unpublicized but could have far-reaching effects. (Harold Fleming indicated the eagerness of the Civil Rights Commission staff for information.)

We spent little time evaluating the channels through which foundation funds can do effective work in the South. Particularly in regard to the churches, there was little differentiation as to their relative effectiveness. Next to the Southern Regional Council, the American Friends Service Committee and selected branches of the Urban League, I would rate the Protestant social action agencies as the best instruments in the South. (In some parts of the Deep South the church groups are the best bets for developing communication.)

Two organizations were not mentioned at all--the Southern Police Institute of the University of Louisville, directed by David McCandless, and the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The Southern Police Institute is supported by the General Education Board and the Carnegie Corporation, but smaller grants for special short term institutes either in Louisville or in other parts of the South could be considered. I have a high regard for the Institute.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews has lagged behind other intergroup relations agencies in some parts of the South and has been deservedly

COPY

AFRICAN AMERICAN INSTITUTE NEW YORK OFFICE

criticized, but in some cities, for example, Louisville and St. Louis, the N.C.C.J. deserves a great deal of credit for the remarkable progress in recent years. The N.C.C.J. reaches the power structure in many Southern cities and is worth considering for support, provided policies of the local group are acceptable and there is good leadership.

I was glad that Harold Fleming was given an opportunity to present some of the needs of the Southern Regional Council. I hope his remarks about "watering the stem rather than buying a rose" may lead to more general support for the Council. The collective wisdom of the South's best brains and finest spirits are in the Council. I would give the Council top priority in a foundation program.

Rightly, the meeting focused on the South. I hope that a similar meeting may meet in six months or so to examine race relations nationally, not only to see what needs to be done in the North and West, but because of the interrelations between the problems in the South and the rest of the country.

My congratulations to you and Vernon Eagle for calling the meeting and many thanks for inviting me.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb

cc: V. A. Eagle
bcc: H. C. Fleming

COPY

AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE, NEW YORK OFFICE

August 11, 1958

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
The New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the notes on the New York meeting. And thanks for inviting me.

I have already drafted a letter to Mr. Garrison (copy to you) based on my afterthoughts. Here are a few comments on the notes.

The suggestion of a pilot project in one or two existing private institutions to underwrite summer courses impresses me favorably. This is a good way to help Negroes make up deficiencies before college; it can also stimulate white institutions in the South. This is a long range approach, but worth exploring.

I am glad Phil Hammer was with us to expand on his ideas of Negroes getting into the chain store field, but I think that needs some very careful examination.

I was disappointed that more attention was not given to the desirability of assisting voluntary organizations to promote employment on merit in the South. Incidentally, the firm I referred to (see page 20) is Western Electric in Greensboro, North Carolina.

I think the role of the American Friends Service Committee, through its Freedom of Conscience program, in providing legal aid to Negroes and others in the South should not be dismissed as lightly as Dave Freeman appears to suggest. The Committee has tried to find funds to continue the program, but without success.

I still feel an effort should be made to get the right kind of person on the White House staff. Perhaps Dave Freeman, working through Paul Hoffman, could arrange for two or three weighty people to see the President and convince him

that there are things he can do and he ought to have someone to help him. As I see the present tragic situation, an effort should be made to reach Ike. This, plus all possible help to the Southern Regional Council, take top priority.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:mb
cc: L. K. Garrison

bcc: H.C.Fleming ✓

COPY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

August 14, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: HCF

From: FBR

Re: Report on Philanthropoid Meeting, July 18th.

If this report accurately reflects the discussions at the Philanthropoid Meeting, the results are somewhat disappointing. With as talented a group as was there present, one might hope for a higher degree of imaginative and creative thinking.

Some specific questions which come to mind, but received little or no attention at the meeting, would include:

1. What, if anything, can the "Mr. Bigs" on the Foundation Boards do to reach the White House for support of the courts?

2. What can these "Mr. Bigs" do about reaching their counter-parts in the South to help them see and accept their responsibilities as community and business leaders in times of crisis?

3. What can the Foundations do to assist Organized Labor implement national policy at the local level; expand apprentice training opportunities for Negroes (blue collar jobs are as important as white)?

4. What can be done by the Foundations to assist the training of law-enforcement officers in human relations know-how; in riot provention; in mob control?

5. What can be done about developing county and community profiles in a wide range of situations so there might be developed a rough measuring stick for "all deliberate speed"?

6. What can be done to offset the "brain washing" being done by Southern politicians, the WCC, etc.; in the South; in the rest of the nation?

FBR:ls

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

August 14, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: HCF

From: EFV

Re: Reactions on the memorandum from the foundations conference

EDUCATION

1. Vocational training

The emphasis placed on the fact that rural vocational training now takes place in industry is well put. However, except where there is a government contract and a real organizational push, there is no guarantee and almost no channels for seeing that opportunities for this training are offered to Negroes. So there is still some advantage in concentrating on public vocational training. However, what is basically needed is a better understanding of what constitutes good vocational training for anyone, and then to see that this standard is applied to all. The exception to this rule is that generally the availability of jobs is taken into consideration in setting up a vocational program. This limitation should not apply to Negroes if race is the factor used to indicate non-availability. Perhaps what vocational training (public) most needs to do is to give students the kind of preparation which makes them "trainable" rather than an attempt to turn out a student with an acquired skill.

I am inclined to think that some special law suits may be required which are aimed specifically at schools offering vocational training. Certainly this would be true in terms of student applications to schools.

2. Preparatory education

I would suggest that this whole area is perhaps more suitable to a developmental approach such as one could envision for Carnegie. There are real dangers inherent in setting up specifically Negro preparatory schools. One idea does suggest itself which could serve both as a pilot project and as a worthwhile endeavor in and of itself. This would be to establish a so-called laboratory high school as an adjunct to some university's education department. The outstanding example about which I know is the one at the University of Chicago. Such a school would have several advantages. It would stand some chance of attracting a few white students; for instance, the children of white faculty teaching in the university. It would offer the advantages of advanced educational techniques and low pupil-teacher ratios for a program geared to overcoming the handicaps of poor prior education, low socio-economic conditions, and the other deficiences occasioned by the circumstances of family background. Aside from serving the needs of the special students, an important function would be filled in that teacher trainees from the education department would be receiving specialized instruction and experience in meeting problems which will continue to confront Negro students for some time to come.

USE OF THE BALLOT

A matter of timing is involved in our voting study. We should feel the need to complete the follow-up study and any other related studies such as reports from the churchwomen in time to allow sufficient interaction with the Civil Rights Commission so that our findings can substantially be a part of their final report.

ECONOMICS

The Hammer proposals are interesting and worthy. I would guess that the right kind of entrepreneur type could uncover enough leads in the Negro and white business worlds to begin to indicate that it would be worth the necessary money to business to undertake some of the proposed studies. There is fear in some quarters that the shopping center idea is running out of steam - essentially that there can be too many of them. However, the Negro markets still represent, as Phil points out, one of the great untapped areas.

I am not sure that separate manpower utilization studies are needed. I wonder if the work of the National Manpower Commission, the Department of Labor, and even Eli Ginzberg's most recent book have been fully explored.

The various suggestions for using the NPA's committe of the South leave me cold. I would suggest that we continue to give a touch of realism to these proposals in light of our recent experience. SRC might have a role in an in-service training program with Negro businesses; however, I doubt that it should be or could be our project. Not even for $10,100.

There is a very real need for intensive development of modern skills among Negroes prior to the time when the national shortage of skills is fully realized. This national shortage of skills actually can be made up through other means than use of Negroes. Which other means are probably currently being explored, consciously or unconsciously, by many persons involved in the development of skills in our national life. There is a great need to build the pressure of available skills in the Negro community now. This is already a serious shortcoming in the efforts to obtain employment on merit. A prestige conference aimed at business and academic people has a degree of appeal. I would suggest the possibilities of a joint conference between the business departments of more than one university, perhaps an agency, and perhaps with the open participation of one of the foundations. There is a great need to continue to develop the climate of opinion that this is a wise long-run proceedure for our economy.

Cold water, in general, to the idea of evaluating existing programs. As to government agencies, the chances of an evaluation leading to a remedy are slim. The documentation is sufficient; the rest is largely political - sometimes in a broader sense, however.

Is there anything in our Prince Hopkins proposal which should be thrown into this mill as well?

There is a continuing need for work to be done on the civil liberties aspects

of the civil rights struggle. Partly this is the continuing to open up the forum. It is in part an educational process. It is both a public education need and a special interest group education need. The aspects relative to lawyers and their function in our society are still important, and should receive emphasis.

End of memo, but more later if I return to the office before your letter to Eagle goes out.

EFV:ls

VIA AIR MAIL

August 20, 1958

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
120 South La Salle Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

Here is a memo which I hope will be helpful in your counselling of the Field board. Garrison wrote, pro forma, that he would like a copy of any suggestions sent to you, but I wasn't sure I should send him this. If you feel I should, please let me know.

A supplementary word or two on the proposals for SRC:

I could hardly say so in the memo, but recent events point up more than ever the Council's importance in the mass media and government agency fields. Along with my memo to you, I'm including a confidential report to our executive committee on our recent push in Washington. Also, we are going through with the briefing of the top TV network news people, Daly included, next Wednesday in New York. As you'll appreciate, these are things we can't talk about, but are the things that really count.

On the personnel front, we have two excellent prospects for the RBF job, one of which should pan out shortly. As to point 1 in the memo to you, I will have more to say about the guy we have in mind for this position -- if the proposal strikes a spark.

If anything in the attached seems unclear or incomplete, let me know.

All the best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/smf
Enclosures - 2 Memo on: Uses of Foundation money in
Confidential Memo to Executive
Comm., Mbrs. Re: Letter to the
President

MEMORANDUM August 20, 1958

To: Mr. Vernon A. Eagle

From: Harold C. Fleming

Re: SUGGESTED USES OF FOUNDATION MONEY IN THE SOUTH.

- : -

Let me begin with three comments on foundation procedures.

First, I heartily endorse the suggestion, advanced in our conference, that the foundation have a staff member concerned primarily with race relations. This would help both the human relations efforts and the foundation's grant-making program in this field.

Secondly, a good many opportunities for effective aid to efforts in the South arise suddenly. A contingency fund, to be used in the discretion of the foundation staff, is the best way to meet these needs. This is particularly true of religious and interagency efforts. A few thousand dollars available for meritorious needs can often make an important difference. $10,000 or so per year might well be a reserve fund for such program needs. This would be effective only if foundation staff were in touch with developments in the field.

Thirdly, a distinction should be made between long-range, developmental approaches to the South's problems and immediate, action-oriented efforts. A good many of the large foundations can be interested in the former; very few in the latter. I should hate to see foundations like Field and New World supporting established institutions and fundamental programs that the Ford Foundation or the Fund for the Advancement of Education might logically be expected to take on.

It seems to me most of the ideas we discussed in the field of education fall in the developmental category, as do many of those in economics. An exception should be made of relatively brief and inexpensive studies which, well distributed and publicized, might cue major public and private groups to new needs or opportunities. Phil Hammer's written proposals deserve consideration in these terms. Some of the educational needs discussed might similarly be put into focus through studies - though this seems clearly in the FAE's area of responsibility.

The Southern Regional Council

General Support. -- As I said in the conference, an organization like SRC is only as effective as its staff and total resources make it. A fair number of foundations will consider support to projects - mostly on the order of $5,000 or $10,000. But few will consider general support. To attract and hold able staff members, to meet opportunities and crises as they arise, SRC's greatest need is for grants in support of the total operation, renewable for three to five years.

Of course, there are projects and projects. Some - like the Consultant Service Program - are basic program efforts that would call for general-budget support if project funds weren't available. The Field Foundation is currently aiding a special survey of voting - $10,000 for one year. This is a valuable project, though obviously not in itself an integral, on-going function of SRC.

If necessary, basic needs of SRC can be "packaged" as separate projects. Following are the ways in which

we feel SRC's effectiveness can best be strengthened, whether through general assistance or earmarked grants:

(1) Addition to the staff of a top-level professional as "Project Coordinator." His qualifications would be experience in intergroup relations, grasp of program and strategy, knowledge of survey techniques, and articulateness. He would work directly under the executive director.

This proposal is the result of considerable analysis and discussion within the existing staff. We feel that adding this position would do more than any other staff increase to raise the total productivity of SRC. At present, the professional staff members are working near capacity in their various specialties. Projects can draw on part-time and temporary consultants, but the problem of full-time staff direction and supervision remains. The proposed staff member would assist the director in implementation of such special efforts as the voting study, the various joint projects of the Southern Interagency Conference, and supplementary services to the Consultant Service Program and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund project, soon to begin. Further projects, now virtually prohibited by lack of staff time, could be undertaken. Cost: For salary, clerical, travel, etc., $15,000 to $20,000 annually for three to five years.

(2) Work with mass media and government agencies. In the interest of space I will say only that some of SRC's most effective work and most promising opportunities lie in these areas. Adding the position described above would help in this area by freeing staff time now otherwise absorbed. Additional funds for travel, communications, preparation of information, and temporary use of specialists are also needed. Cost: $10,000 annually.

(3) Aid to State Councils on Human Relations. These groups, in many Southern States, are almost the only channels for communication and cooperation by whites and Negroes. They are working demonstrations of the fact that the White Citizens Councils do not represent the whole South. The single professional staff member of each Council must spend inordinate time in local fund-raising -- difficult indeed in today's climate. Foundation aid to selected Councils, or in a lump sum

to be distributed on merit by SRC, would release time and skill for sorely needed program in the States. Cost: $25,000 - $40,000 per year for three to five years.

Non-SRC Suggestions

(1) Legal aid to beleaguered dissenters in the South deserves high priority. ACLU, AJCommittee, AJCongress, and ADL are cooperating in attempts to set up such a program; though ACLU is not tax-exempt, the other three agencies might receive foundation funds for this purpose. Another possibility is AFSC, which might set up a counselling program broader in scope than its expiring "Rights of Conscience" program. Estimated cost would depend on various decisions, but would probably be $20,000 or more per year.

(2) Merit employment. The existing programs - AFSC, Urban League - should be looked over for opportunities to enlarge their effectiveness with relatively modest infusions of money. Somebody needs to take on the job of counselling national management, both before and after it launches Southern plants and branches. In-service vocational training and work with the President's Committee on Government Contracts should get more attention. Cost: to be determined by discussion with the agencies.

(3) The YMCA (and YWCA?) College Programs. The YMCA program has expended its Fund for the Republic grant and is seeking new support. The effectiveness of the program would depend heavily on the person chosen as director. But the effort has been a useful one and, with sound staffing, deserves further support. If the YWCA program similarly depends on new funds for continuance, it would deserve as much if not more consideration. Cost: at least $15,000 each per year.

(4) Religious social action agencies. Continued staffed work in race relations within the churches is a must. As the Fund for the Republic grants indicated, foundations can do an important job of "pump-priming" in this area. It may be that the main contribution henceforth can best be made through the contingency-fund method mentioned earlier - that is funds available on fairly short notice for special-purpose conferences,

publications, or other projects that promise good results. In any case, careful attention to potentialities in this area should be part of any foundation program in race relations.

(5) Local Urban Leagues. The program and financial needs of these agencies would have to be considered specifically and individually. But, in general, they are highly useful local organizations, some having special needs because of loss of Chest support.

(6) Police performance. The Southern Regional Council is making some effort in this crucial field. The ADL and NCCJ are experienced in arranging and staffing police training courses in human relations. These agencies and perhaps the Southern Police Institute at Louisville should be explored as instruments through which maintenance of law and order can be furthered.

(7) The international implications of our racial practices need to be better understood, particularly in the South. One proposal made within SRC is that a widely publicized institute on this subject be held in the South. The object would be to dramatize this critical issue by involvement of prestige figures in the international field. Either through this or some other device, there is a job to be done here.

(8) Social scientists. So far these specialists have made little contribution to race relations, as a professional group. There is continuing talk of the desirability of an inter-disciplinary conference on the role of the social scientists in race relations. Under sound leadership - perhaps that of Bill Whyte - such a conference would be worthwhile. Again, interaction between foundation staff and developments in the professions would be a pre-requisite to effective grant-making.

DRAFT

This is a request to the New World Foundation for renewal of the grant to the Southern Regional Council's Consultant Service Program for 1958. The sum requested is $15,000.

School desegregation has advanced from the upper-South into the middle-South during 1957-58. It is now approaching the deep-South where resistance is greatest and the opposition is led by desperate men. Legal assaults on the segregation orthodoxy have resulted in increased violence and intimidation as witnessed in Little Rock, Birmingham, Montgomery, Nashville, and elsewhere. Much of this violence, we are convinced, could have been prevented or dealt with effectively had there been adequate planning and advanced community preparation. Every social scientist reporting on crisis situations in the South has cited the lack of community preparation. We are more convinced than ever that the Consultant Service Program is one of the few effective tools in assisting community leaders to face up to their responsibilities and to help them find meaningful ways of dealing with their problems.

The past year has seen increased use of SRC's Consultant Service Program in a wide variety of situations. The use made of the consultant program reflects the position on the continuum of change of the various communities where consultant services were rendered. Obviously, the needs of communities in Kentucky -- a state well along the path to pupil integration -- differ from the needs of Alabama, a state which has yet to begin the process. The Consultant Service Program has been sufficiently flexible to meet both situations and the wide range in between.

Continued . . .

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, 1957-1958

The Southern Regional Council has twice reported in detail (May 13, 1957 and October 18, 1957) the activities of the Consultant Service Program to the New World Foundation. Therefore, we will only briefly list and describe the activities already reported. A more detailed analysis of activities not yet reported will be included in each section of this report. Activities are reported in functional categories not chronologically.

Service to Public School Leaders

1. In Bryson City, North Carolina, SRC provided two consultants to meet with the local school board and the superintendent. One consultant was a regular member of the Consultant Panel, the other was a superintendent who had successfully desegregated a comparable school system in Kentucky.

2. In a small western Arkansas town, SRC provided three consultants to meet with seven superintendents, a county superintendent, and the head of a college department of education. One consultant was a regular member of the Consultant Panel, the other two were superintendents -- one from Missouri, one from Oklahoma -- who had successfully desegregated their school systems.

3. In Frankfort, Kentucky, two consultants met with the State Superintendent for Public Insturction while attending a board meeting of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations. This official pledged his cooperation in working with the Kentucky Council in furthering desegregation in school districts in western Kentucky and in planning for teacher desegregation by having the State Department of Education issue instructions that certificated teachers should be employed before temporary teachers.

Continued . . .

Service to Community Leadership -- Public and Private

1. In Jacksonville, Florida, SRC provided a team of consultants to staff a workshop of community leaders sponsored by the Northeastern Florida Council on Human Relations. Some sixty community leaders attended including an assistant superintendent of schools, a representative of the sheriff's department, the head of a child psychology clinic, and others of some status.

2. In Memphis, Tennessee, a team of SRC consultants met with a community leadership workshop sponsored by Le Moyne College. Some 150 people attended; among them were a banker, an editor, a leading attorney, and representatives of the white and Negro communities on race relations.

3. Charlottesville, Virginia, was the site of a workshop staffed by SRC consultants. About 125 townspeople and college people attended. This community is under court order to desegregate and much discussion of preparing the community for peaceful acceptance took place.

4. The Peninsula Council for Community Cooperation sponsored, and SRC consultants helped staff, a workshop in Hampton, Virginia. Some 85 people participated; they came from Hampton, Newport News, and Norfolk. Discussion centred around school desegregation and minority employment opportunities.

5. At High Point, North Carolina, SRC provided a consultant for a meeting of staff members of all human relations agencies in the state to discuss agency roles in the three desegregating communities -- Winston-Salem, Charlotte, and Greensboro.

6. In Nashville, Tennessee, SRC supplied two consultants to meet with lay leaders in the Nashville Conference, the principal community organization supporting local desegregation.

7. Continuing assistance has been given by consultants to the community leaders in Knoxville who are anxious to bring about peaceful desegregation in that community.

8. Dallas, Texas, was the scene of what is probably the most intensive use of the consultant program to date. This community faces a court order to desegregate. A consultant was sent in four days prior to the holding of a work session for white and Negro leaders. Communications between the races were at an all time low. Through skilfulspade work, key Negro leaders were brought to the meeting. Through equally skillful spade work representatives of the white power structure were brought to the meeting. Results of this meeting are already evident! Negro leaders, for the first time, were invited to discuss desegregation plans with the president of the school board. Communications between white and Negro leaders have been reestablished -- this time on an honest give and take basis. The group has met twice since the original meeting with SRC consultants. A correspondent in Dallas reports, "this activity has provided and reestablished channels of communication between the Negro and white leadership which, unfortunately, had deteriorated during the past two years."

Service to Religious Leadership

1. SRC provided a consultant to meet with an interracial group of fifty-five clergymen in Orlando, Florida where there are two segregated ministerial associations. Two Rabbis and the Unitarian Minister who are excluded from both ministerial groups also attended. They discussed the role of religion in the current situation.

2. The Atlantic Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. was assisted by an SRC consultant at their meeting held in Charleston, South Carolina. They discussed the role of the urban Negro church in assisting the large number of Negroes leaving rural areas.

3. Nashville, Tennessee was the site of The Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations, a Southwide meeting of Protestant leadership. SRC provided two consultants for the workshop sessions. Thie Conference

Continued . . .

was a significant beginning in uniting church leadership, across denominational lines, in a resolve to advance desegregation through religious channels.

4. White Protestant clergymen from many sections of Alabama met in off-the-record session near Montgomery to discuss the problem. SRC provided a consultant to give the group backgrouhd information and guidance. A member of the Methodist Board of Education in Alabama writes, "perhaps you have heard what your visit to our ministers' group produced. You told us we could not expect to accomplish our purposes through meetings of white ministers only . . . our first interracial ministers meeting on a statewide basis was held in December, with seven denominations participating."

5. SRC has provided consultants for two integrated student Ecumenical Conferences; one Southwide, held at Davidson College, North Carolina, and the other statewide, held at Talladega College, Alabama. The latter was sponsored by the only remaining statewide interracial student ~~body~~ organization in Alabama. In both cases, delegates from state-supported institutions attended.

6. A consultant was provided to attend the annual meeting of the Presbyterian Church, U.S. (Southern) at Montreat, North Carolina. The Committee on Christian Citizenship made full use of his knowledge and insight in discussing the role of the churchman in a changing society.

Service to Merit Employment Conferences

1. SRC provided a consultant to meet with staff members of the AFSC Merit Employment project and the North Carolina Council on Human Relations in Charlotte. Plans were made to coordinate the efforts of several agencies interested in this program area.

2. John Hope, SRC's Chief Consultant, participated in the Washington, D.C. conference of The President's Committee on Government Contracts, seeking to relate merit employment projects to the activities of the Committee. The Committee agreed to send representatives to a later meeting in Atlanta.

Continued . . .

3. The American Friends Service Committee asked SRC to provide consultants to an evaluative session for their Merit Employment Program. The meeting was held in Atlanta and SRC's consultants played a lively role in the discussions. Intermediate goals were further clarified and techniques and methods were carefully reviewed.

4. Two SRC consultants and representatives from AFSC, the Urban League, NAACP, and the Anti-Defamation League met with representatives of the President's Committee on Government Contracts in off-the-record sessions in Atlanta. Here, they discussed how human relations agencies could assist and cooperate with the President's Committee. They learned, in turn, the mechanics and procedures of the Committee.

5. Two SRC consultants participated in a planning session for a merit employment conference in Frankfort, Kentucky. The Kentucky Council on Human Relations and the Louisville Urban League also participated. Out of this meeting came plans for a conference on merit employment to be held at the University of Kentucky in May.

Organizational Services

1. New Orleans, Louisiana was the site of a workshop for board members of the Louisiana Council on Human Relations. This group had had serious problems of maintaining lay interest in its activities. Even though key people came to the meeting and participated in discussions of strategy and organizational problems the Louisiana Council later became dormant. There is hope in the near future that the New Orleans board can be reactivated, and the group will concentrate on the New Orleans area.

Continued . . .

2. A two day conference of all SRC consultants and a slightly larger number of guest social scientists and practitioners was held in Atlanta. Six members of SRC's regular staff also participated. Together, they evaluated the record of the Consultant Service Program, made suggestions for improving its use, and recommended widening the scope of its activities. A brief summary of this conference was contained in the October 18th report; a full account of it is being sent to the New World Foundation.

PROGNOSIS

Based upon an analysis of the developing situation in the region and a careful evaluation of the role of the Consultant Service Program we are convinced that there will be an increasing usefulness for this device. As communities are forced, through court action or voluntary decision, to face up to the actual desegregation of public schools, transportation systems, or other public facilities the need for seasoned, skilled advisers will multiply. There is, at the present time, no other group offering the services of trained and experienced consultants to Southern communities.

It seems obvious that opportunities such as those presented in the Dallas situation, will be on the increase. This will call for a consultant or a team of consultants spending a week or more in a community to prepare the ground work for off-the-record workshops with key people. Even now New Orleans, Miami, Atlanta, Charlottesville, and Houston -- to name but a few -- are facing court suits to desegregate their public schools.

Whether or not these cities become other "Little Rocks" depends to a large extent on the role of local leadership. In most, if not all, of these cases SRC has contacts within the Negro leadership and the white power structure.

Continued . . .

While it may not be possible to precent outbreaks of violence, it is possible for the Consultant Service Program to assist some phases of community leadership in understanding the process of orderly desegregation. Preventative medicine is always more difficult, but usually more significant than curative medicine. In reality, this is the role of the Consultant Service Program: to immunize Southern communities against violence by building up the anti-bodies of advanced planning by informed local leadership.

Proposed Budget

INCOME:

Grant requested from New World Foundation			$15,000

EXPENDITURE:

Administrative costs

SRC overhead charge of 10%	$ 1,500		
Direct Supervisory Services	4,000		
Communications	500		
sub total		$ 6,000	

Consultant costs

Fees for Consultants Services	$ 4,500		
Consultant Service travel	4,500		
sub total		$ 9,000	
Total Expenditure			$15,000
	Balance		-

VIA AIR MAIL

January 21, 1959

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

Adam writes that he has sent, or will be sending, you a full account of his and the Currier's Atlanta expedition, so I won't try to duplicate. In view of our last few conversations, however, I want to give you a word or two of evaluation.

From my point of view at least, the visit was eminently satisfactory. The interagency conference was no better and no worse than most of them and was very well attended. Adam and Currier had an unparalleled opportunity to observe and talk with staff people of causes they have helped or are considering. Currier expressed himself as even more pleased with the occasion than he had expected to be.

On the interpersonal level, everything was most pleasant. Currier was affable, interested, and interesting throughout; Mrs. C. is so quiet and apparently shy that it was hard to judge her reaction. Adam, as always, made good use of all opportunities and missed nothing. I can't answer for any delayed reactions on the Currier's' part, but as of their departure I felt quite good about the whole thing.

It would have gone even better if you'd been here; I'll hope for that next time we're called on to do such honors.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

February 25, 1959

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
120 South La Salle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

Here are copies of our Annual Report and an audited financial statement for 1958. For such progress as both reflect, we are heavily indebted to you and the New World Foundation.

I will be sending you a separate progress report on the "contingency fund" before long.

With appreciation and all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2.

March 2, 1959

Mrs. Winifred G. Meskus
Assistant to the Executive Director
The New World Foundation
120 South La Salle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Winifred:

Thanks for your letter.

Five additional copies of the Annual Report are enclosed.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 5.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

February 27, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Vernon thanks you for your letter of February 25 and the two reports.

Would you please have five copies of the Annual Report sent here, so that we can send them to our Directors? We won't need additional copies of the financial statement.

Cordially,

Winifred

Winifred G. Meskus
Assistant to the
Executive Director

RECEIVED APR 9 1959

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

April 8, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have been promising myself and you that I would be coming South, but for a thousand good or bad reasons, I haven't been able to. Now it doesn't look as though I will have an opportunity before our next Board Meeting the latter part of May.

Although nothing substitutes for on-the-spot observations, I have not been completely out of touch since I see most of the people who come up this way and out of New York from the South.

I have distributed your annual report to our directors, and I wonder if you feel it might be useful to give me an informal report bringing me up to date on SRC's activities for my May Board Meeting. Particularly it would be helpful to have a brief report on the contingency fund.

Enclosed is a verifax copy of a letter from Florida. Can you shed any light on this for me?

Last weekend I attended the annual meeting of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry and was approached by them for support of further distribution of the May 1957 Report on the Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation and/or the revised version of the same which is expected to be about half as long and somewhat less technical. I was told that one of the major church groups would be willing to distribute 10,000 copies to the members of their clergy. Do you think that it would be important to help them distribute this pamphlet? Particularly, what kind of priority would you place on it.

Kindest regards,

Vernon

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED APR 20 1959

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

April 17, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your usual candid and informative note about the Reverend Ben Wyland and his Florida Council for Racial Co-operation and the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry report.

It was most helpful to have your comments.

As ever,

Vernon

VIA AIR MAIL

April 15, 1959

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
120 South La Salle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

I'm sorry your plans for a Southern visit have had to be shelved for the time being. We'll have to do what we can through correspondence.

I will shortly send you an informal updating of our work, with particular reference to the Contingency Fund. The object of this letter is to answer your other two queries. Also, to tell you that I plan to be in New York next week -- Tuesday and Wednesday, April 21 and 22 -- in case you will be in the vicinity. I'll be staying at the Commodore, as usual.

As to the Rev. Ben Wyland and his Florida Council for Racial Cooperation, I don't know him or it at first hand. Our people in Florida, however, tell me that it is pretty much a one-man show, and that Wyland is a well-meaning fellow but something of a screwball. His main achievement seems to have been getting several prestige names on his letterhead -- Bishop Louttit, for example. Wyland is on the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund and has worked closely with Dombrowski. His

account of his role in the Walter Irvin case seems clearly much exaggerated. He was only one of a number of clergymen who joined together -- not under the auspices of his council -- to appeal to the Governor.

In short, the Floridians in whom I have confidence don't feel that this is a very solid or dependable operation.

The GAP report is a useful summary of what has been written and said about desegregation, and no doubt the condensed version will be more readable. I confess that I was disappointed by the report's lack of originality; I should have hoped that it would add something new and distinctively "psychiatric" to our understanding of the problem. While it is good as far as it goes, the report might easily have been done by a group of sociologists, the League of Women Voters, or the Southern Regional Council. The large-scale mailing to ministers might be moderately useful. But it would be a shotgun approach, and, by my estimate, wouldn't rate a very high priority.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

9 April 59

H/CF 1105/am

I called Bill Wms on this - He was out - will be back in an hour will call you then

FBR

RECEIVED APR 9 1959

PRESIDENT-EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: REV. BEN F. WYLAND

SECRTARY: REV. HANDEL H. BROWN

The Florida Council for Racial Cooperation

UNITING RELIGIOUS, SCHOOL, CIVIC LEADERS FOR THE CREATION OF AN AMERICA OF JUSTICE AND EQUALITY FOR ALL

OFFICE: 3028 - 9TH AVENUE NORTH PHONE 7-1832 ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

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SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
Rabbi Morris B. Chapman
THIRD VICE PRESIDENT
Rev. Enoch Davis
TREASURER
Mrs. Ben F. Wyland

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Rev. Harry B. Boyd
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Mr. J. P. Moses
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Miss O. B. McLin
Miss Mary G. Willey
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Dr. O. T. Ayer
Rev. C. B. Higgs
Rev. B. T. Leonard
Rev. Ross W. Adair
Mr. & Mrs. F. D. Burney
Mr. Dean Mohr
Dr. Fred W. Alsup
Dr. & Mrs. Ralph M. Wimbush
Mr. Paul Johnson
Rev. F. E. Sneed
Rev. Thomas A. Stamp
Rev. Raymond T. Allston
Mr. J. F. McTyler
Rev. H. M. Nelson

MIAMI
Rev. Harold Buell
JACKSONVILLE
Rev. Lee King
LAKELAND
Rev. W. Monte Johnson
TARPON SPRINGS
Rev. C. Melvin Elliott
ENGLEWOOD
Rev. I. G. Howard
CLEARWATER
Rev. D. P. McGeachy
Mr. Paul A. Hatchett
TAMPA
Norman E. Jones
Aurelio Fernandez
LARGO
Mr. Willis T. Spiney
Community Service Foundation

ORGANIZATIONS
1. The Metropolitan Council
2. The Cooperative Citizens Committee
3. The Non Partisan Voters League
4. National Council for Social Action Congregational Christian Churches
5. Community Service Foundation
6. A.M.E. Churches
7. West Coast Baptist Churches
8. S.W. Presbytery United Pres. Churches

HONORARY CHAIRMEN:
Bishop Henry I. Louttit, Episcopal Diocese, South Florida
Dr. R. W. Puryear, President Florida N. & I. M. College
Dr. Richard V. Moore, President Bethune-Cookman College
Dr. W. B. Stewart, President Edward Waters College

April 4, 1959

The New World Foundation
Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois.

My Dear Mr. Eagle:

Knowing somewhat your deep concern as a pioneer in the field of racial brotherhood I venture to present the claims of our work for your consideration. Today a few of us are carrying the white man's burden and suffering for his mal treatment of the Negro and the Jew. We are on a long rough road. The enclosed brochure will tell you a little of the work we are doing.

You will probably recall the Walter Lee Irwin case, he being a negro condemned to death for alleged rape in Lake County, Florida. After the NAACP and their famous negro attorney Thurgood Marshall failed to save him I spearheaded the movement to go to his rescue. I went into Lake County, ruled by the notorious Sheriff Willis McCall. I collected evidence that I took to Governor LeRoy Collins. I was the first white man ever to appear before the Pardon Board pleading to save the life of a Negro. The prosecuting attorney of Lake County was Jesse Hunter. I went directly to him and appealed to him. His conscience seemed to bother him about sending Walter Lee Irwin to his death. I said, "Why don't you come out on our side?" He replied that he could only do so if there was new evidence. On asking what new evidence there might be he replied, "There are two things I did not have time to investigate, one being that Greenleaf, the other negro in the party charged with raping the same white woman, was reported having a venereal disease." I followed thru on this, and by affidavits proved Greenleaf was treated before and after going to prison for V.D. It stood to reason the white woman, if raped by a negro with V.D., would have developed V.D. which doctors told me she did not have at the time her baby was born. Thus I followed thru this important clue.

The prosecuting attorney, Jesse Hunter also told me the technician of the White Doctor examining this woman

for rape had reported negative conclusions. He said to investigate this, and I did. We proved our case before Governor Collins. The death sentence was commuted.

Thurgood Marshall, attorney for the NAACP wrote me after our victory as follows:

"My appreciation and the highest regard for the marvelous work you did in the Walter Lee Irwin case. Your initiative, persistence, and great sensitivity to the moral issues involved and your wonderful ability to convey the moral importance of the case to others were some of the most important factors responsible for the great victory."

After the conviction of the prisoner, Sheriff McCall moved them from one prison to another. While en route he claimed they tried to escape. He shot them. They were left for dead. When found and there was evidence of life, they were taken to a hospital where they recovered.

Following the commutation of death sentence, a Grand Jury was convened in Lake County. They summoned Gov. Collins who refused to go, saying he was answerable only to "God and his own conscience". They summoned me and tried to charge me with being a Communist and interfering with racial affairs in Lake County. They failed.

This is the first time I ever wrote this story, but what it costs us to defend the negro should be known. It's a rough road and we need help from northern friends.

You will note in the inclosed brochure "Our Goals". We are starting now a campaign here in St. Petersburg to register negroes to vote. This is one of the few places in Florida it can be done without provoking trouble. If you will examine Exhibit "A" attached you will note the facts and how we will do it. My co-workers are negro ministers and educators. We are leading them to help themselves. Next we will expand our campaign to reach out in the State. This requires financial help we do not have. We can give our experience and influence.

In Exhibit "A" you will note also my report on negro voting in Florida which I presented at Washington, D.C. during a Conference on Civil Rights in the South. This has gained the attention of the Civil Rights commission.

Next I call your attention to our work to eradicate negro slums here. We conducted a Caravan thru the slums, it being supported by both newspapers. They live in single rooms for which they pay $13. a week or $52. per month. 12 families in a tenement paid $7488 yearly. Outdoor toilets, outdoor water. They were rat

infested fire-traps. Statistics show 47% of the fires are in the Negro slums. The conscience of the City was stirred by our Caravan and the facts revealed.

We appeared before the City Council and an Urban Renewal Committee was appointed. The white owners, long undisturbed were prominent white citizens. One said, "Why should I get off the gravy-train, I am making 40% on my investment."

We need desperately to carry the Urban Renewal campaign and removal of negro slums thruout the state. This is but a small beginning. It will not spread out unless we spread it, and that takes money and help.

I wish you to know the atmosphere we work in as shown by the following incidents:

1). A certain gentleman at City Hall is reported as saying My job is to keep the negro in his place." Again on TV the same gentleman said, "Massive resistance would be used if necessary against the negro to keep him in his place." I am reminded of the southern leader who, when asked why he used such good manners in dealing with negroes said, "I am not going to let the Negro excel me in manners." Good manners by politicians prevent ill-will.

2). A well known educator, respected in the public schools, after buying a pair of shoes in a certain store walked across the room to get his old shoes shined. They said, "No. We do not shine the shoes of negroes here." That makes for ill-will.

3). A negro recently collapsed in his auto in front of the Florida National Bank. The police called an ambulance. When the ambulance arrived and saw it was a negro they waved their hand and drove away. I am reminded of the remark of Jesus in the parable of the Good Samaritan, They passed by on the other side." The negro died of a heart attack. A well known negro minister told me when his wife was taken with a heart attack he called a white ambulance with oxygen to take her to the hospital. They refused and she died later when she got to the hospital. This begets ill-will.

4). Recently in a certain store, as related to my wife by a saleswoman, a white woman was being served and by her side was a little girl dressed in a pretty Western costume. A negro girl passing by, stopped to admire and touched the costume. The white mother said, "No! don't! I'd rather a dog did that."

Our brochure will inform you of those who have faith in us. For conscience sake we defend the Negro.

We must have financial assistance if this struggle for racial justice is to be carried on. However, I am not submitting a specific request for funds at this time. If your Foundation is interested in the struggle for justice to Negroes in America this presents an unexcelled opportunity and I shall be glad to come to Chicago to discuss our program and our financial needs with you.

What is needed is a state-wide campaign for racial justice in Florida and we believe that the foundation work which has been done gives us an opportunity to carry on a significant educational and action program over the next five years which will make a tremendous contribution to the cause of racial justice in this state.

There are two leaders in Chicago who know me personally, Dr. John W.Harms, Executive Vice-President of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, 77 West Washington Street, and Dr. Olin E. Oeschger, Executive Secretary of the Methodist Board of Hospitals & Homes, located at 740 Rush Street.

If you consider our claims worthwhile I could fly to Chiago for conference.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Wyland

bfw/mw

References:

The Honorable Herbert Hoover,former President
The Towers,Waldorf-Astoria, New York City.

Mr.Maurice Pate- Director United Nations Children's Fund, United Nations, New York, N.Y.

Mr. Nelson Poynter-owner and publisher of the St.Petersburg,Florida Times.

Mr. Walter Judd, Congressman from Minnesota,Washington,D.C.

Dr.Richard V.Moore-President,Bethune-Cookman Negro College, Daytona Beach,Florida.

Dea Liston Pope- Yale University Divinity School New Haven,Connecticut.

Mr. Thomas Dreier, President, Florida State Library Association, St.Petersburg, Florida.

The Florida Council for Racial Cooperation

UNITING RELIGIOUS, SCHOOL, CIVIC LEADERS FOR THE CREATION OF AN AMERICA OF JUSTICE AND EQUALITY FOR ALL

OFFICE: 3028 - 9TH AVENUE NORTH PHONE 7-1832 ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: REV. BEN F. WYLAND

our campaign produced the Urban Renewal.

Independent Photo

The Rev. Ben F. Wyland (pointing in foreground) shows St. Petersburg leaders the slums in which many of the city's Negroes are forced to live

editorial St Pet. Times

The Spurt In Registration

Those given to worry about lack of citizen participation in political affairs may find reassurance, not to say excitement, in the heavy registration by voters now going on in Pinellas County.

Even after purges, almost 7,847 names have been added to the total of registered voters since the November elections, a whopping 2,000 per month which is a tribute to Registration Supervisor Wilda Cook and her staff as well as to the citizen attitude.

Of course, the big question remains: How many registered voters will exercise a choice in future primaries and elections?

IT WOULD BE our guess that the registration activity, as it affects St. Petersburg citizens, foretells a vote considerably higher than that of past experience in the forthcoming Council elections. Total registration in the city is not available at the moment, but city residents have contributed largely to the overall increase since last November.

If the assumption proves valid, well and good. The disappointingly low vote of 11,576 in the 1957 primary and the still low total of 23,316 in the general election shamed the city's civic sense.

With at least five candidates to contend for the three District posts, the primary becomes exceedingly important this year. Those who have yet to register should do so as soon as convenient, since the books will be closed on April 3.

AND SPEAKING OF the Council races, let voters be reminded again that these are the really important candidacies to be decided upon. The mayor is officially a Councilman-at-large, and no more. It is the makeup of the Council that will determine St. Petersburg's future, with at least three new faces certain, and a possible fourth.

Todate ~ registered 4000 negroes

Contingency

Front Royal
Gn Council TV program
LWV legal summary
Gn Council of Churches - Manifesto
"Economic Effects" - Montgomery
HOPE?

May 4, 1959

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

I'm glad we had a chance to talk today. As promised, here is a picture of the Council's financial situation during 1959. As you will see, we are fairly long on project funds but still lack some $30,000 for general operations. The projected income includes no prediction for the New World Foundation, of course.

The Currier contribution for this year shows up under projects. It helped our general operating budget by permitting us to shift the cost of some activities from the general to the project category. Thus our general budget is lower than it has been for several years, and the shortfall to be made up is a "hard" figure.

If you should need any more detail than this, let me know. Meanwhile, all the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
P. S. Currier is referred to in the analysis as "individual donor."

1959 General Operations Budget

Salaries & Social Security Taxes	$70,550.00	
Travel	7,300.00	
Printing & Postage, New South	8,500.00	
Printing, Other	1,500.00	
Rent	3,600.00	
Telephone, Telegraph & Postage	6,350.00	
Insurance	1,100.00	
Office Equipment	1,300.00	
Board & Exec. Comm. Mtgs.	3,300.00	
Other	2,600.00	
Aid to State Councils on Human Relations	35,000.00	
Total:		$144,700.00

1959 General Operations Income (Committed or Expectable)

Foundations:		
Fund for the Republic	$50,000.00	
The Field Foundation	20,000.00	
N. Y. Fund for Children	5,000.00	
Christopher Reynolds	5,000.00	
New York Foundation	5,000.00	
Wm. C. Whitney Foundation	5,000.00	
Sigmund Silberman Foundation	400.00	90,400.00
Organizations		3,500.00
Churches		4,000.00
Other		16,500.00
Total		$114,400.00

BALANCE TO BE RAISED: $30,300.00

1959 Special Projects Budget

Southern Leadership Project	$40,000.00	
Consultant Service Program	20,000.00	
Special Aid to State Councils	25,000.00	
SRC Research Department	25,000.00	
Contingency Fund	10,000.00	
Fellowship of Concerned	7,500.00	
Fact-Finding (voter survey)	5,000.00	
Interagency Coordination	5,000.00	
Total:		$137,500.00

1959 Special Projects Income
(On Hand or Committed)

1. Southern Leadership Project (Rockefeller Bros. Fund)	$40,000.00	
2. Consultant Service Program (Individual Donor)	20,000.00	
3. Special Aid to State Councils (Individual Donor)	25,000.00	
4. SRC Research Department (Individual Donor)	25,000.00	
5. Contingency Fund (New World Foundation)	10,000.00	
6. Fellowship of Concerned (Phelps-Stokes Fund, John Hay Whitney Foundation, Ella Lyman Cabot Trust)	5,000.00	
7. Fact-Finding (voter survey) (Field Foundation)	5,000.00	
Total:		$130,000.00
Balance to be raised, Projects		7,500.00

RECEIVED MAY 22 1959

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

May 20, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Room 432
63 Auburn Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I attended ~~a~~ the Notre Dame symposium on problems and responsibilities of desegregation and found it worthwhile, indeed.

Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D. C. was there and expressed interest in the work you are doing. I thought perhaps you would like to send him a copy of your latest annual report.

All the best,

Vernon

June 8, 1959

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
120 South La Salle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

This is to acknowledge the New World Foundation's check for $2,500, representing a grant to be used in support of the educational and informational program of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations.

We are pleased to accept this special-purpose contribution, which has been promptly transmitted to the North Carolina Council. You will no doubt be hearing directly from them, both now and periodically throughout the grant period.

With appreciation and kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Official receipt)

cc: Mr. Harry S. Jones

B. C. James M. Dabbs

June 8, 1959

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
120 South La Salle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council, this is to convey our deepest appreciation for the grant reported in your letter of June 4 and for the expressed confidence in the Council and its work.

From its inception, the New World Foundation has been uniquely sensitive to the problems and opportunities of this work in the South. The grant just approved is further and especially heartening evidence of this sympathetic understanding of the Council's needs.

We are lastingly grateful to you and the Directors, not only for invaluable financial support, but for friendship and encouragement that are no less important.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

VIA AIR MAIL
Personal

June 8, 1959

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
120 South La Salle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

Few of my friends could picture me at a loss for words, but your letter of June 4 leaves me in about that condition. The 1959 grant for general support, renewable in 1960, and the generous praise of the Council are worth more to us than most of our other grants put together.

It was a blessed day for philanthropy -- and for us -- when the New World Foundation came into being, and an even more blessed one when the Foundation got you as its executive.

I am writing you separately a more formal acknowledgment and am circulating your letter to our executive committee. Meanwhile, for myself, until I see you at Capahosic, many, many thanks.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED JUN 5 1959

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

June 4, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

You know that we have followed the activities of the Southern Regional Council closely over the past years. At a recent meeting of the Board of The New World Foundation, the Directors carefully reviewed the operations of the Council.

We continue to feel that the Southern Regional Council is the most effective Southern interracial instrument working positively toward better race relations in the South.

In the past The New World Foundation has provided financial assistance to the Council for special projects such as the Consultant Service Program. At the present time with full confidence in the staff and trustees of the Council, the Directors feel that The New World Foundation can best assist the Council with an unrestricted grant for general support of the Council's operations.

I have been requested by the Board of Directors of The New World Foundation to tell you that they have authorized such a grant in the amount of $20,000 for the calendar year 1959, renewable for the calendar year 1960.

I have also been asked by the Board to express their appreciation for the excellent leadership you have been providing the Council.

Sincerely yours,

V. Eagle

VIA AIR MAIL June 24, 1959

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
120 South La Salle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

This is a hasty note written at home during my "vacation", concerning the Ziegler proposal.

Frances Pauley, who directs the Georgia effort, is an old friend and a thoroughly good person. I've talked with her and one or two others connected with the discussion program. Here are the main points:

(1) No question that it is a good, useful effort in adult education. It's not a big program, but it's well done.

(2) In principle - and to a considerable extent in practice -- it is an integrated program. Some of the discussion leaders, as well as participants, are Negroes. The programs organized in other Georgia cities haven't all been integrated -- but a real effort is made to achieve this. The leaders and Oglethorpe University, the sponsoring agency, are fully committed to this principle.

(3) Confidentially, Oglethorpe has the same request - $2,500 a year for two years -- before theFund for Adult Education. Frances Pauley tells me that the prospect looks hopeful.

If the FAE doesn't come through and if this program falls within your framework, I think it merits sympathetic consideration.'

If I can check further at this end, let me know.

Good, as always, to be with you ~~at~~ last weekend at Master Fred's plantation.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

Mailed 6/24/59

AIR MAIL
Vernon Eagle

Dear Vernon:

This is a hasty note, written at home during my "vacation," concerning the Ziegler proposal.

Frances Pauley, who directs the Georgia effort, is an old friend and a thoroughly good person. I've talked with her and one or two others connected with the discussion program. ~~Here are the main~~ Here are the main points:

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Some of the discussion leaders, as well as participants, are Negroes. The programs organized in other Georgia cities haven't all been integrated - but a real effort is made to achieve this. The leaders and Oglethorpe University, the sponsoring agency, are fully committed to this principle

3. Confidentially, ~~they~~ Oglethorpe has the same request - $2500 a year for two years - before the Fund for Adult Education. Frances Pauley tells me that the prospect looks hopeful.

If the FAE doesn't come through and if this program

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING 3

falls within your framework, I think it merits ~~an~~ sympathetic consideration.

If I can check further at this end, let me know.

God, as always, to be with you last weekend at Master Ted's plantation.

Best,

H.

RECEIVED JUN 18 1959

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

June 16, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

If this gets to you before you leave for Capahosic, perhaps you could make a phone call or two to check on Jerry Ziegler's request so that we could discuss it when I see you.

Best regards,

Vernon

AMERICAN FOUNDATION FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION
19 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET • CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS • ANdover 3-5540

June 16, 1959

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
The New World Foundation
120 South La Salle Street
Room 1741
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

The American Foundation for Continuing Education has developed a discussion program in Georgia during the past two years that has been notably successful in securing the participation of Whites and Negroes on an integrated basis. This program has been under the direction locally of Mrs. Frances Panley and has been sponsored by the following organizations:

American Association of University Women
Atlanta Metropolitan B'nai B'rith Council
The Atlanta Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends
United Liberal Church
Council of Jewish Women
League of Women Voters of Georgia
Foreign Policy Association

and

Atlanta University
Oglethorpe University

Additional local sponsors have been involved in the discussion programs in the other cities in Georgia.

To date we have had 645 participants in 35 groups. Of these, 428 in 25 groups have been organized in Atlanta. The remaining 217 participants have met in groups in Augusta, Columbus, Gainesville, Athens, Rome, Dalton and Macon. Mrs. Pauley has acted as coordinator for the groups outside Atlanta as well as for the Atlanta program proper. Our Eastern Director, Harry Boardman, who has supervised this program for the Foundation, reports that the majority of these groups have been integrated, except for those in Columbus and Athens where the University of Georgia has been the sponsor.

From the reports I have received, this has been a most successful program and has been of particular importance coming as it did at a time when the school integration question has caused the usual difficulties.

I believe the people involved in this program would attest to the usefulness of the Foundation's program as an example of what can be done to organize an integrated educational endeavor.

As you know, we are not able to support field operations any longer. It would be a great pity, I believe, to lose the work that has been done in Atlanta and Georgia during these past two years. A modest subvention is needed to continue this effort. The proposed budget submitted by Mrs. Pauley, her committee of representatives of the various sponsoring organizations and Oglethorpe University, which would act as agent, anticipates a deficit of $2,500.00 per year for two years. A total budget calls for expenses of $4,600.00 and income of $2,100.00. It is anticipated that there would be seven discussion groups in politics, three in social anthropology and five in humanities--a total of fifteen groups with an estimated 240 participants. These figures are for Atlanta only. What might be done throughout the state would depend on Mrs. Pauley's conversations with other sponsors. The registration fee in Atlanta is $10.00 per individual and $15.00 per couple.

It would appear to me that support for this program, in the amount of $2,500.00 a year for two years, by the New World Foundation would fit in with the New World Foundation's present program and purposes. I therefore submit this proposal to you for support of an integrated adult education discussion program in Atlanta in the amount of $2,500.00 per year for two years.

Sincerely yours,

Jerome M. Ziegler

Jerome M. Ziegler
Executive Director

Enclosure
JMZ mag

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED AUG 31 1959

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

August 28, 1959

RECEIVED AUG 31 1959

RECEI[illegible] 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

You are way too kind, but I appreciate it.

Delighted to know about the foreign visitors. We will probably work it in.

Cordially yours,

Winifred

Winifred G. Meskus

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

file

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

September 11, 1959

RECEIVED SEP 14 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your letter of September 9 concerning the Springfield College request. As always, your comments will be most helpful.

Kindest regards,

Winifred G. Meskus
Assistant Secretary

via air mail

September 24, 1959

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation — file
120 South La Salle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

Your letter is particularly welcome, since I'm planning a trip to New York and have been wondering what your oscillating schedule is like. I expect to arrive in the big city October 7 or 8 and will be there for a Manpower Council conference the 9th and 10th. Any chance of our getting together? And, apart from this particular trip, can you give me a telephone number to use in New York until the office is moved?

Sorry always to put you to the necessity of reading between the lines, but you do it so well. I should think one of the big, conservative foundations might well be sold on the Springfield College proposal.

It's been a good summer for us, in terms of program, and I hope it has been for you -- despite the headaches of moving. I'm looking forward to our next get-together.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

September 22, 1959

RECEIVED SEP 23 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Back in Chicago for just a few days, I have your letter addressed to Winifred concerning the Springfield College request.

Trying to read between the lines, I am paying most attention to your second to the last paragraph which, of course, echoes my own feelings strongly.

With this in mind, I would think that this was hardly one for The New World Foundation. Perhaps we can foist it off on conservative sources of funds.

From now on, I will be in New York more than here - all of next week, for example; so let me know your schedule so that we can get together. Perhaps you might even condescend to spending a weekend or so at the Old Manse in Rockland County.

More power to your right arm,

Vernon

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED OCT 2 1959

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

29 September 1959

Dear Harold:

I am making temporary headquarters at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 345 East 46th Street, (11th floor), New York 17, N.Y. The telephone number is OXford 7-3131. I will be here through next week.

Please give me a call when you get in town and we will make sure that we will get together.

Best regards,

Vernon

Vernon A. Eagle

p.s. For the record, my home number is Nyack 7-4236.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Metro Club
1 E. 60
2:30

RECEIVED OCT 15 1959

October 14, 1959

Mr. Mickey Levine
American Veterans Committee
45 East 64th Street
New York 21, new York

Dear Mickey:

Thank you very much for your warm welcome home letter of September 25th, even though it is slightly premature.

Our prospective new offices at 475 Riverside Drive are not ready as yet, and it will be some time before we can move in. Meantime I am afraid there will be more commuting between Chicago and New York and elsewhere.

I am very much interested in your prospective trip through the South, an area which I have been covering rather closely during the past two year since intergroup relations is a major interest of our foundation.

I would suggest that if you have not already done so you talk over your trip with Harold Fleming, an old AVCer who is the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council. In my opinion, Harold is the best-informed single individual in the south.

Best regards,

Vernon

December 9, 1959

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Vernon:

This will acknowledge most gratefully the Foundation's check for $20,000 transmitted by your letter of December 3. Our official receipt is enclosed.

I need hardly tell you how much the continued confidence and support of the New World Foundation means to us. You can be sure we will keep you informed of the Council's activities and will gladly be of service to the Foundation at any time.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

Dear Vernon:

This will acknowledge most gratefully the Foundation's check for $20,000 transmitted by your letter of December 3. Our official receipt is enclosed.

I need hardly tell you how much the continued confidence and support of the Ford Foundation means to us. You can be sure we will keep you informed of the Council's activities and will gladly be of service to the Foundation at any time.

Sincerely,

HCT

enc.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

December 3, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

RHA
12/7/59

Further to my letter of June 4th, I am delighted to enclose the Foundation's check in the amount of $20,000. This amount is in payment of the grant for the calendar year 1959 authorized by the Board of Directors of The New World Foundation at its May meeting.

As in the past, I know you will continue to keep us informed of the activities of the Southern Regional Council.

Cordially,

Vernon

Enc.

via air mail

December 10, 1959

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

This is to follow up the several matters we discussed by telephone last week.

First, I'm enclosing a run-down of the standard facts about Shaw University. It may help a little as you contemplate your Spring oratory there.

Second, I spoke to Bob Thompson about the AVC survey of veteran services. Bob would be interested and probably available if it were decided to ask him to do some fact-finding in key areas of the South. I appreciate your keeping me posted on this.

Finally, Alfred Hero did visit the office while I was away and talked with Paul Rilling. (This was appropriate since Paul is an old international affairs man.) Rilling felt that Hero's research, while slightly academic, is sound and promising.

We will be getting the red carpet and the wassail bowl ready for your threatened visit in March, though I hope to see you in New York before then.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

SHAW UNIVERSITY

Shaw University; Raleigh, North Carolina; co-educational; private control; related to National Baptist Convention. Accredited S. A.

Established as Shaw Collegiate Institute 1865. Name changed to present 1875.

Governing board: Board of Trustees; 15 members; self-perpetuating; no denominational affiliation necessary.

Enrollment capacity; about 1116.

Approved by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Emphasis placed on Christian character and culture in all areas of a well-rounded program.

Courses leading to the A.B., B.S. and B.D. degrees. Courses in Business Administration. Training approved by the Veterans Administration.

President: William R. Strassner; Registrar, Martha W. Wheeler.

Medical School: Leonard Medical School - established in 1880, discontinued in 1908.

Law Department: maintained from 1888-1914.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

December 18, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have no idea what Mickey Levine and Lou Warshaw are going to decide about the AVC audit of Negro veterans. When I talked to Mickey, he seemed convinced by my arguments, but I rather feel they had their hearts set on the junket. I will know more after the AVC Board meeting at the end of January.

Thanks for the historical rundown on Shaw University. Now why don't you sit down and write me a speech.

Happy Holidays!

Sincerely,

Vernon

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

North Carolina Council on Human Relations

REGARDING:

New World Foundation grants (1958 & 1959) for educational program.

$5,000 - 1958

$2,500 - 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

~~&&&&&&&&~~
NCCHR - Educational Program

January 29, 1960

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Vernon:

If you've seen Dave Freeman, you already know little you missed by not making the interagency meeting. Oh, well, as I say with increasing frequency, you can't win 'em all.

This is to take you up on your generous offer to pass on a copy of our last program report to Dyke Brown. Copy enclosed for that purpose. On second thought, two copies enclosed, in case you want to send one to Hunter too.

Since you didn't make the trek last week, I hope you will continue to plan on a swing in connection with your Shaw speech. Let me know.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2. (Program Report)

January 29, 1960

Mrs. Winifred G. Meskus
Assistant Secretary
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Winifred:

I'm more than glad to send you six more copies of our program report.

Should I send routinely six or seven copies of such reports in the future?

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm
Enc.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

January 27, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

Vernon is away until next Tuesday or Wednesday, so I am acknowledging your January 25 letter and the two copies of your program report.

If you have them to spare, could you send us six? I'd like to send them to our Directors, and we would have one for the files.

Cordially,

Winifred

Winifred G. Meskus
Assistant Secretary

MF - Please get him added to appropriate lists, incl. Friends List. HCF

February 9, 1960

added to H.S. Friends & "F" lists W.S. 2/22/60

Mr. Dyke Brown
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dyke,

I am now back in the office after a trip to the Midwest and, as promised, I am sending you a report of the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council.

As I told you at our delightful luncheon, in my opinion Harold Fleming and the Southern Regional Council are the most effective workers for better race relations in the South.

I have asked Harold to put you on their mailing list as I think you will be interested in what they are doing.

With best regards,

VERNON EAGLE

bc: Harold Fleming

To: H.C.F. Yes, please, 6 or 7 reports, routinely, will be fine.
w.g.m.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

MF — sent 2/18/60 MF.

Please send 6 copies of The Negro + the Ballot to Vernon Eagle — and note that henceforth we are to send 6 copies each of our reports, etc, to New World.

HCF

via air mail

March 7, 1960

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Vernon:

Naturally I was serious about your staying with us and have got clean sheets and refreshments laid by. I feel it's only fair to warn you, however, that we just went for 60 hours without lights or heat; so if it looks like an ice-storm, bring your long-johns.

We've made you an appointment with Ruby Hurley for 11:00 a.m. Thursday the 31st, and one with Clement at 3:00 p.m. the same day. We are working on M. L. King, though, as you may have read, his plans are sort of uncertain at this point. I also hope you can see such stalwarts as Morris Abram and Phil Hammer while you're here.

The region is really jumping at this point, and may still be when you arrive. It appears likely that Atlanta will get into the act sometime soon.

I will be returning from Washington Tuesday the 29th, probably on a dinner flight, so make a

note of my home address -- 126 The Prado, N. E. -- and plan to go on out and make yourself at home till I arrive. Jane will be forewarned.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

February 25, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I find that I must be in Washington on Friday, April 1, and accordingly I have decided to skip Richmond, Virginia on this trip. It occurs to me, at any rate, better to take Richmond from the North (to emulate Mr. Grant) rather than from the South.

I am enclosing a copy of my schedule and should be most appreciative if you would make whatever appointments you can for me in Atlanta. If possible include Martin L. King.

Trusting that you were serious about your invitation I shall plan on spending the Atlanta stay with the Flemings.

Had luncheon today with the staff of the Field Foundation and needless to say I gave you personally and your organization as strong a plug as possible. You seem to be in their good graces.

Best regards,

Sincerely

Vernon

Enclosure

FLIGHT SCHEDULE VERNON A. EAGLE EASTERN AIRLINES YU.6 5000
WILL HOLD TO 6 PM 3/20

SUNDAY 3/27 #539 Idlewild to Raleigh-Durham (stops in Wash.)
Lv. 2:45 PM Ar 5:50 PM

MONDAY 3/28 #597 Raleigh-Durham to Charlotte (dinner aboard)
Lv. 6:12 PM Ar 7:02 PM

TUESDAY 3/29 #527 Charlotte - Atlanta (non-stop)
Lv. 2:35 PM Ar.3:47 PM

THURSDAY 3/31 #302 Atlanta - Washington (dinner aboard)
Lv. 6:10 PM Ar. 8:12 (non-stop)

MONDAY 4/4 #470 Washington - LaGuardia
Lv. 5 PM Ar 6:10 PM

35.

Clement
Mays
Milton

Ruby Hurley
AUL

VE
Mar 30 + 31
R'mond Apr 1

VE here —
Mar. 30 & 31
(Apr 29th?)

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

February 18, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The report on Will Campbell arrived and is exactly what I need before facing up to the hierarchy of the National Council this afternoon.

It was good to see you at Notre Dame. On further reflection I feel that the conference was most worthwhile. It moved too fast for everything to work in at the right time and there were an awful lot of loose ends left. As usual, the bull sessions were the most productive.

I am scheduled to speak at Shaw University on March 28th. Perhaps it would be practical to stop off in Virginia on the way down unless you would suggest that weekends are impossible. On Tuesday the 29th I could come to Atlanta and would welcome any suggestions from you for Wednesday and Thursday. Friday, the 1st, I would like to be back in Washington since there is a meeting of the National Board of the AVC that weekend.

Best Regards,

VAE/ik

Vernon

Rev John Clay
Michele (N)
Walker Inc.

Hollis Price
Pres. Le Moyne
Lorine Young

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

March 16, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It would appear that your weather has been worse than our weather - an unprecedented situation; however, like the mailman, I'll be there.

Your address looks impressive. I trust a taxi will know how to find it.

Best regards,

Vernon

April 12, 1960

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

You're an amazing and wonderful character. George Mitchell used to talk about Peleus on Ossa, which had to do with one mountain piled on top of another. That's just what your contribution to SRC is, and in both my official and private capacity I thank you warmly.

Jane and the boys send their best and instruct me to tell you that our house is your house whenever you're in Atlanta.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

FROM THE DESK OF
VERNON A. EAGLE

Tuesday —

My dear Jane & Harold

Back to the old grind stone much warmed by your brother's hospitality, & I've considered sending a well gift to the children or flowers to the lady of the house or a bottle of bourbon to the old man but decided a well contribution to the cause would best express my appreciation for your kindness — love to all

Vernon

April 28, 1960

Mr. Vernon Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

You requested a report of the recent NSA Conference in Washington, so I am sending on a memorandum on the meeting that I drafted for Harold. Let me know if you need different or additional information or evaluation.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
Enc.

May 5, 1960

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

This is to say a word of hearty congratulations to you -- and to your good right arm, Win Meskus -- on the Foundation's five-year report. It's a beautiful job in both appearance and content -- and I don't think I'm unduly influenced by the generous treatment of SRC which it reports.

Nancy Harrison's foreword is a moving and impressive statement. It inspires me to try to be equally brief and telling.

As ever,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Vernon Eagle

Dear Vernon:

This is to say a word of hearty congratulations to you — and to your good right arm, Wm Nesbitt — on the Foundation's five-year report. It's a beautiful job in both appearance and content — and I don't think I'm unduly influenced by the generous treatment of SRC which it reports.

Nancy Harrison's foreword is a moving and impressive statement. It inspires me to try to be equally brief and telling.

As ever,

HCL

PA
MF (file)

Report for the Years 1954-1959

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

Vernon A. Eagle

Executive Director
The New World Foundation

475 Riverside Drive
New York 27
Riverside 9-4171

[*Report for the Years 1954-1959*]

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York 120 South LaSalle Street, Chicago 3, Illinois

. . . . . .

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Anne Blaine Harrison, *President* Richard Bentley, *Vice President and Secretary*

Walter V. Schaefer Whitney North Seymour Katharine Taylor

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS

Vernon A. Eagle, *Executive Director and Treasurer*

Winifred G. Meskus, *Assistant Treasurer and Assistant Secretary*

Foreword

One day, when I had dropped in to see my grandmother, toward the end of her life, she told me that she had just been looking into her financial affairs and that it was "perfectly appalling" how much money she had. Within the next few days she had given away a million dollars to establish a world peace organization, and within the next year she had given away nearly a million more to various other organizations. She was a generous but somewhat erratic giver – often moved more by the impulse of the moment than by any long-term plan of philanthropy. When the Centralia mine disaster occurred, taking the lives of more than a hundred miners, my grandmother sent each widow $100. When a hard-hearted landlord evicted a mother and seven children from a Chicago tenement house in mid-winter, she seriously considered taking all of them into her home.

In spite of this very personal and direct method of giving, however, my grandmother felt strongly that great personal wealth imposed great personal responsibility upon the giver to handle his money for the public good. In this sense, the present day method of giving money through foundations, with their semi-public aspect and their public spirited boards of directors, would be a sympathetic one to her.

But the marvelous thing about my grandmother's approach to money was her feeling of immediacy and urgency about helping people in need. And the two types of need which appealed to her most were the emergency kind, like the Centralia mine disaster or the evicted family, and the help for individuals to achieve worthwhile aims. Many an autumn when I would go to see her to tell her about the things I had been doing during the summer, my story would have to wait while she would tell me about the gifted young man she had found who was going to be a concert pianist, or the brilliant young woman she had found that she was helping through college.

The days of such personal giving on an emergency basis are very nearly over. Few people have enough money to give with such abandon or have the gift for such immediate communication of sympathy and help. Government social security programs have taken the place of the more colorful and personal giving to the needy of two generations ago. And this is perfectly proper. As a nation, we believe in social security for the largest possible number of people. We believe in pensions and company insurance for miners' widows. We believe in social agencies to care for evicted children. Problems of this kind are far too vast and numerous to be taken care of by private philanthropy.

Nowadays foundations are doing a good deal of the work that private philanthropists used to do. They have been set up by these same philanthropists to do a somewhat more formalized and public job than the private individual either had the time or the knowledge to do. The challenge to those of us who serve on the boards of these foundations is to preserve as far as possible the immediacy and the personal interest and the love that characterized the actions of people like my grandmother.

And what a challenge! It is as though we were challenged to stay alive. It is a challenge to the executive director to keep his eyes and ears open for quality and promise in people he meets. It is a challenge to the president to keep close touch with the projects undertaken so that the personal element is not forgotten. It is a challenge to the Board to have the courage to disagree and to make mistakes. Many of the people helped by my grandmother must have disappointed her – how could it be otherwise? It is in the willingness, through faith in human

possibilities, to risk failure that we stay alive. For if we are afraid to risk controversy, if we become too interested in social approval or too busy to care about people whose means and influence are small – then surely we shall have lost the vitality, the dedication and the greatness that distinguished the woman who made this The New World Foundation possible.

—ANNE BLAINE HARRISON

Origin and Purposes

Anita McCormick Blaine was born on July 4, 1866. Before she was eighteen she inherited great wealth from her father, Cyrus H. McCormick, inventor of the reaper. Her entire life was pervaded by a deep sense of responsibility to use her means for the benefit of others.

Her husband, Emmons Blaine, died in the early years of their marriage and shortly after the birth of their only child, Emmons Blaine, Jr. This event confirmed her seriousness of purpose to devote her life to thought and work for human welfare. Her purpose was further confirmed by the sudden death of her son just at the threshold of his career.

Mrs. Blaine ardently sought the truth, to follow it fearlessly wherever it might lead, regardless of the consequences to her own interests, and to use all that life brought her – of means, of experience, and of knowledge – for the betterment of mankind. With unfailing directness she pursued this purpose.

With a fatherless only child to be educated, Mrs. Blaine threw herself into a study of primary education, attending teachers' training courses and becoming herself an expert teacher. She sought always better methods and facilities for education not alone for her son, but for all children. To this end she donated millions of dollars and spent long hours of study, thought and consultation. She founded the Francis W. Parker School in Chicago, and the School of Education at The University of Chicago. Her knowledge and deep insight in this field were recognized in her appointment to years of service on the Board of Education of Chicago.

Mrs. Blaine was aware of the social upheavals resulting from the industrial revolution, in which her father's invention was an important factor. She was deeply interested in safety devices in factories and improved relations between employers and employees. She regarded these as part of the ethical and moral duties owed one another by all elements of industry and commerce. She believed the proper solution of these and other problems growing out of the industrial revolution was a continuing responsibility of industry and commerce to mankind in general.

Realizing the importance of physical health in schools and in factories, and having lost her only child in the influenza epidemic during World War I, Mrs. Blaine was deeply concerned with the problem of physical as well as mental health for all people. She realized that this field required much study, and that real progress could be made only through proper instruction and education of the public.

Mrs. Blaine was deeply religious. Belief in immortality in some form is a common characteristic of religions, whether orthodox or, like Mrs. Blaine's, not orthodox. After World War I, there was a great wave of

interest on both sides of the Atlantic in the possibilities of communication with the souls of those who had died. Distinguished scientists like Sir Oliver Lodge and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle were convinced believers. Through Sir Oliver and others, Mrs. Blaine met many persons working in this area. It was of great interest to her, not merely for herself, but for what it could mean to religion, to morality, and to the peace of mind of people generally. Mrs. Blaine probably at no time was convinced that such communication exists. In this, as in all fields of her interest, she sought the truth wherever it might lead, and she felt this important subject should receive continuing scientific study.

Mrs. Blaine longed to do her part to bring about better international understanding and a condition in which the peoples of the earth, recognizing their common interest, and throwing aside the barriers of race, color and creed, might join in making the world a place where all people might live in amity, and in recognition of their responsibilities toward one another. She knew this could never be achieved by force. To do what she could toward bringing peace on earth through goodwill of people toward one another was one of her consuming interests.

Perhaps above all other considerations, the governing principle of Mrs. Blaine's life was that spiritual considerations should guide the use of all material means to achieve the happiness and welfare of humanity. She believed in and sought to follow the great truth that it is only the things of the spirit that are eternal and have lasting values for the benefit of mankind.

Mrs. Blaine died on February 12, 1954. Her Will left two-thirds of her estate in trust. It provided, in her own words, that the trust was to be devoted "...to the charitable purposes of advancing thought and work along one or more of the following lines:

(a) the right education for children;

(b) the relationship to life, and the ethics, of industry and commerce;

(c) instruction and education toward a common ideal of public health;

(d) the possibilities of communication between the seen and the unseen worlds;

(e) the relationships between peoples and nations, and the avoidance of war;

(f) the growth of the spiritual, as distinguished from the material, elements of human life."

She expressed her ideal aim for the trust in the dedication as follows:

> "This trust is founded in the desire to carry on and commemorate the life purposes of
>
> Emmons Blaine, senior
> and
> Emmons Blaine, junior
>
> It is to be named 'The New World Foundation.' Its objective and the hope of its founder are that it may so command confidence that others who believe in its fundamental purposes and objectives and who desire more than all else to further them, may join in its work and may add gifts to its store of resources and may add to its commemorated names, until a throng of souls and a volume of power will draw life on earth to the fulfillment of the Divine Will."

In accordance with express provision in Mrs. Blaine's Will, the Trustees incorporated *The New World Foundation,* an Illinois corporation not-for-profit, as the instrumentality to carry on the trust. The Board of Directors has construed more particularly the six lines of thought and work as indicated below:

(a) *the right education for children*

This is construed as the search for improvement in, and the furthering of, the physical, mental, and moral development of children, including educational techniques and facilities and the training of teachers.

(b) *the relationship to life, and the ethics, of industry and commerce*

This is construed as the improvement of ethical standards in all elements of industry and commerce, capital, labor, management and consumer, with emphasis upon their common and reciprocal duties and responsibilities.

(c) *instruction and education toward a common ideal of public health*

This is construed as furthering research and teaching in the field of public health, and bringing about a general understanding of the problems and responsibilities of members of the public.

(d) *the possibilities of communication between the seen and the unseen worlds*

This is construed as meaning efforts to ascertain the true scientific facts as to whether or not there may be any possible means of communication between the living and the personalities of those no longer living.

(e) *the relationships between peoples and nations, and the avoidance of war*

This is construed as promoting mutual understanding among persons of different racial, cultural, and national backgrounds as a means toward the elimination of intergroup and international tensions and conflicts.

(f) *the growth of the spiritual, as distinguished from the material, elements of human life*

This is construed as seeking a deeper common understanding of, and respect for, spiritual truths to meet human needs, and to oppose the divisive and destructive influences of secularism and materialism.

Applications

All requests to The New World Foundation should be addressed to the Executive Director at 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York.

No particular form of application is required. An application should include a concise statement of the purpose for which a grant is sought, as specific a budget as possible, an audited report for the preceding year, when applicable, and a copy of the ruling showing federal tax exemption.

The Board of Directors has decided that unless exceptional circumstances appear, it will not entertain grants in the following general categories: for endowment; for building-fund campaigns or capital investments; or for support of general operating budgets or deficits; grants in excess of $20,000 per annum or for periods of more than five years; grants to institutions which discriminate on the grounds of race, color or creed.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE, INC.
The United States – South Africa Leader Exchange Program
345 East 46th Street, New York 17, New York

In 1958 a grant of $30,000, payable over a three-year period, was made to assist in organizing the Leader Exchange Program. The purpose of this program is to strengthen the lines of communication between professional, business and civic leaders of the United States and the Union of South Africa. This is being accomplished by enabling American leaders to learn at first hand about the problems of South Africa and its crucial role in relations between the East and the West and by enabling South African leaders to study America's way of life.

AGRICULTURAL MISSIONS, INC.
475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York

A grant of $3,750 was made in 1958 in support of a workshop for agricultural and home economics workers held at Berea College and Tuskegee Institute in 1959 for fifteen missionaries and five young people under appointment to foreign assignments; and to help in publishing the findings of the workshop in a *Handbook for Agricultural and Home Economics Workers.*

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

$10,000 was given in 1958 toward the support of seminars held in India and Ceylon for Southeast Asian students. These were arranged for three-to-four-week periods in order to give the forty or more students from different countries who attended the opportunity to learn about each other, to become acquainted with the specialists who participated in the discussions, and to visit the host country.

Another grant of $1,789 was made to meet the costs of a three-day seminar in 1959 at which twenty senior diplomats representing sixteen countries informally exchanged views on *National Interest and International Responsibility.*

AMERICAN FUND FOR FREE JURISTS, INC.
36 West 44th Street, New York 36, New York

A grant of $1,000 was made to this organization as a contribution toward the expense of the Congress held in New Delhi in January 1959 on the subject of the *Rule of Law* – an inquiry into the meaning and practice of the Rule of Law in the free world and a comparison of the degree of acceptance of the Rule of Law in the principal legal systems. Some 125 lawyers, judges and law school teachers from 50 countries attended.

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY
School of International Service, *Washington 16, D.C.*

In 1959 a grant of $18,000, payable over a two-year period, was made to assist in developing university courses in international labor relations. These courses are offered to candidates for foreign service careers, existing staff in government agencies, industrial relations officers, and members of the trade union movement.

CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
116 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago 3, Illinois

In 1957 $500 was given to help serve the hospitality needs of foreign visitors and students in Chicago.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
5801 South Ellis Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois

DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

$5,750 was granted in 1958 for a pilot study of linguistic and cultural problems of communication between doctors and patients in public mental hospitals.

THE FEDERATED THEOLOGICAL FACULTY

A grant of $12,500 was made in 1958 to help complete a study begun in 1954 of "the impact of scientific and industrial development upon religious and ethical ideas" in a typical midwest area. The results of the study bring to theological educators and church leaders a realistic picture of contemporary society as it bears on their teaching.

Another grant of $1,125 was made to underwrite the cost of a four-day seminar in 1959 for thirty-five mission board executives, educators and missionaries which grew out of a concern that the churches and mission boards face more realistically the demographic, political and industrial development of Asian, African, and Latin American countries.

THE GRADUATE LIBRARY SCHOOL

A grant of $8,000, payable over a two-year period, was made in 1958 to finance the Graduate Library School in taking over the work of the University's Center for Children's Books and assuming the publication of the Center's *Bulletin* so as to make it eventually self-sustaining.

THE LAW SCHOOL

A grant of $25,000, payable over a five-year period, was approved in 1957 to help underwrite conferences and seminars on the interrelationship between law, ethics, and business practices.

The conferences include studies of labor, corporation, competition, and monopoly problems. Related and continuing seminars are held for third-year law students and national leaders of industry and commerce.

CITIZEN INFORMATION SERVICE OF METROPOLITAN CHICAGO, *59 East Madison Street, Chicago 2, Illinois*

A grant of $5,000 was approved in 1958 to support an educational effort to encourage wider participation in civic affairs by citizens of various social, economic, and ethnic groups.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, *Hanover, New Hampshire*

A grant of $4,557 was made to underwrite a conference held in 1958 to consider policies for continuing United States work in the polar regions following the International Geophysical Year.

DUKE UNIVERSITY, *Durham, North Carolina*

In 1958 a grant of $10,000, payable over a two-year period, was approved to assist the work of Dr. John B. Rhine, Director of the Parapsychology Laboratory, in bringing a limited number of carefully selected and well-qualified scholars in this field into the Laboratory for training in scientific experimental methods and standards of evidence.

EAST HARLEM PROTESTANT PARISH
2050 Second Avenue, New York 29, New York

East Harlem Protestant Parish was founded by a group of World War II veterans who were preparing for the ministry at Union Theological Seminary. In 1948 the first store-front church was opened and these young ministers with their families settled down to live in the community. Today there are five congregations, whose activities include a legal aid center, a federal credit co-operative, a neighborhood policy association which interests itself in citizen responsibility, a medical center and narcotics rehabilitation clinic, and neighborhood youth projects.

In 1958 a grant of $5,000 was made to the Parish, and an additional grant of $15,000, payable over a three-year period, was approved in 1959.

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, World Affairs Center
345 East 46th Street, New York 17, New York

In 1957 a grant of $25,000, payable over a five-year period, was made to assist the World Affairs Center for the United Nations to bring about better communication among organizations and individuals concerned with world affairs, and to encourage a higher level of public interest in international relations.

FRANCIS W. PARKER SCHOOL
330 Webster Avenue, Chicago 14, Illinois

This school was founded by Anita McCormick Blaine in 1901 to carry out the educational principles of Colonel Francis W. Parker. In the intervening years, the school has engaged in careful admission practices and a scholarship program which have created a student body diversified as to religion, race, national origin, and economic status. The school's techniques in teaching, curriculum research, and training of teachers are well known in educational circles and have made important contributions to education generally.

In 1954 The New World Foundation made a grant of land valued at $160,000 to the school which had occupied this land for more than fifty years under permissive authority from Mrs. Blaine. It was the last parcel of land retained by Mrs. Blaine after conveying to the school at various times during her lifetime all the other adjoining real estate similarly used and occupied by the school since 1901.

The following year a grant of $100,000 was made to the school to finance a survey of the possibilities of raising funds for a new building to replace that built by Mrs. Blaine for the school in 1901, and to assist in meeting the expenses for the necessary fund raising program for this purpose.

In 1959, after the new building fund campaign was well underway, a grant of $125,000, payable over a period of five years, was made to the campaign on a matching fund basis.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, Center for International Affairs
6 Divinity Avenue, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

With the opening of the Center for International Affairs at Harvard in 1958, the Defense Studies Program was transferred to the Center. A grant of $10,000 was made to assist the orderly transfer of the program and the development of a curriculum on defense policy as a problem in public administration.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, School of Public Health
155 Shattuck Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts

In 1957 a grant of $30,000, payable over a three-year period, was made to enable Harvard School of Public Health to plan a program on a permanent basis for giving training in preventive medicine and public health to medical graduates from underdeveloped areas who plan to teach in these countries. The departments of medicine of nine other medical schools in the United States are associated with the program, as is the department of education of Harvard University.

Another grant of $10,000 was made in 1958 in support of a program for advanced study in maternal and child health by physicians, nurses, social workers and other professional personnel.

ILLINOIS COMMISSION ON CHILDREN
Room 714, Ferguson Building, Springfield, Illinois

The Illinois Commission on Children was formed by the Governor of the State of Illinois in 1949 to develop a program for the Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth. After the Conference, the Commission served as a clearing center for activities carrying out the recommendations of the Conference; and, as an independent organization with professional staff and supported by voluntary funds, it has continued its information, research, and coordinating functions.

In 1956 with support from the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund and the Woods Charitable Trust, the Commission undertook a *Study of School Age Children* who are not receiving education because of emotional, behavioral, or other problems.

In 1957 a grant of $5,000 was made to help finance a program resulting from this study.

INDEPENDENT SERVICE FOR INFORMATION ON THE VIENNA YOUTH FESTIVAL
Harvard Square, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

$5,000 was granted for the purpose of providing objective and reliable data regarding the communist controlled Seventh World Youth Festival held in Vienna in July 1959.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY, *Bloomington, Indiana*

A grant of $2,000 was made in 1957 to assist in the completion of an analysis of the first ten years of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. The book *Unesco: Purpose, Progress, Prospects,* by Walter H. C. Laves and Charles A. Thomson, resulting from this study, was published by Indiana University Press, 1957.

INSTITUTE FOR PSYCHOANALYSIS
664 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago 11, Illinois

In 1955 a grant of $50,000, payable over a five-year period, was given to support the Institute's Child Care Program for the purpose of teaching psychoanalytic principles of child care to non-medical professional persons. The Program is a four-year, post-graduate course requiring both academic study and work with children.

Although the project contributes to the development of better methods of helping the emotionally disturbed child, it is equally concerned with learning more about the processes which facilitate or interfere with normal emotional development.

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
1 East 67th Street, New York 21, New York

A grant of $1,000 was made as a contribution toward the expenses of the Third Annual Conference on the Exchange of Persons, held in Washington, D.C., in January 1959.

A further grant of $2,500 was made to start an exchange of students between the United States and Yugoslavia in the 1959-60 academic year.

INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS FOUNDATION, INC.
2000 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

International Schools Foundation was established in 1955 to deal with the problems of educating children of Americans and others working in the international field and to bring together the staff members of the schools themselves for exchange of information. With the cooperation of the American Council on Education and the Bureau of International Cultural Relations of the Department of State, the International Schools Foundation makes available information about these schools to public agencies and private corporations employing overseas personnel. It also enlists their financial support.

Two grants of $2,500 each have been made to help defray the expenses of two conferences of headmasters of Southeast Asia schools, one in the Philippines in 1958 and the other in Thailand in 1959.

LAFAYETTE COLLEGE, Residential Seminars on World Affairs,
Easton, Pennsylvania

$10,000 was made available in 1957 for residential seminars on world affairs designed especially for adult educators, newspaper editors, radio and television news analysts and commentators, authors, lecturers, business leaders, and other persons able to influence the shaping of public thought in international affairs.

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
Center for International Studies, *Cambridge 39, Massachusetts*

In 1957 the Center for International Studies started a research project to study the effect of developments abroad on the thinking and behavior of American leaders. Harold R. Isaacs is conducting the study using the depth interview technique that proved successful in his study of American images of China and India reported in *Scratches on Our Minds*. Mr. Isaacs' preliminary exploration of this very broad subject led him to concentrate on the impact of world affairs on the thinking and attitudes of Negro leaders.

In 1957 a grant of $10,000, payable over a two-year period, was made in partial support of this project.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, Department of Journalism
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Early in 1957 a small group of scholars in the behavioral sciences started the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, a quarterly for research related to war and peace. The Editorial Board of the *Journal* in cooperation with the Department of Political Science of the University of Michigan arranged a Symposium on the *Place of Theory in the Conduct and Study of International Relations*, the proceedings of which will be carried in a special issue of the *Journal*. The University of Michigan has now established a Center for Research on Conflict Resolution and the *Journal* is the official organ of the Center.

In 1958 a grant of $7,500 was approved for support of the *Journal*, and the following year a grant of $9,500 was made to underwrite the costs of the Symposium.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE PANEL OF AMERICANS
33 East 68th Street, New York 21, New York

Panel of Americans is a program in which college students, sponsored by their universities, demonstrate before public audiences their conviction that religious diversity, racial and cultural variety can be one of America's greatest strengths. Each Panel includes Roman Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, Negro and ethnic group (i.e., first or second generation American or new citizen) speakers and a faculty moderator.

In 1959 a grant of $30,000, payable over a three-year period, was made to the National Council to assist this nationwide program in intergroup education.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
226 West 47th Street, New York 36, New York

In 1958 the National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers undertook a definitive study of its training program, focusing on the continuing educational needs of settlement workers in the United States and on the feasibility of establishing a year-round training center at Hull House in Chicago, Illinois. A program is now underway to carry out the recommendations of the study that Hull House would be a suitable Center for such training programs.

A grant of $11,510 enabled the Federation to carry out the study.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION
Madison, Wisconsin

A grant of $10,000 was approved in support of a study to determine what unions, universities, and other agencies have done and are doing to interest workers in international affairs; what the needs are in this area; and, in the light of these findings, to develop an experimental educational program designed to improve existing work and stimulate new approaches.

NATIONAL PLANNING ASSOCIATION
1606 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington 9, D.C.

In 1957 the National Planning Association created the Committee on Security Through Arms Control to make reliable information on arms control publicly available; to encourage an exchange of information and ideas among individuals working in the field; and to serve as an informational source for students, writers, government officials and national organizations.

In 1958 a grant of $10,000, payable over a two-year period, was made toward support of the Committee's work.

NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS, *6 East 82nd Street, New York 28, New York*

National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students was established to increase higher educational opportunities for qualified Negro students in inter-racial colleges.

To assist in the expansion of counseling, referral and advisory services, a grant of $20,000, payable over a two-year period, was made in 1959.

NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE AT DURHAM
Durham, North Carolina

A grant of $2,000 was made toward support of conferences held in the summer of 1959 at which teachers, ministers and other community leaders in the South discussed current trends in race relations in the southern states.

NORTH CENTRAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS
Foreign Relations Project of the Commission on Research and Service
57 West Grand Avenue, Chicago 10, Illinois

In January 1959 a grant of $2,714 was made to cover the costs of a three-day residential seminar on *U. S. Policy and the Far East*, at Illinois State Normal University for sixty junior and senior Illinois high school students recommended by their social science teachers.

PHELPS-STOKES FUND, *101 Park Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.*

In 1958 $5,000 was granted to help establish a permanent conference center on human relations at Holly Knoll, Capahosic, Virginia.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH, *Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*

A grant of $1,000 was made in 1958 for a research project to investigate under laboratory conditions and scientific testing methods the facts as to the phenomenon known as "psychokinetic effect."

SHADY HILL SCHOOL
178 Coolidge Hill, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

$2,000 was given in 1958 to help finance an experimental summer session for above-average students who wanted to study without seeking extra credit or advanced placement. Children from twenty-two public and private schools in neighboring communities attended.

In 1959 a further grant of $15,000 was made, payable in descending amounts over a three-year period, so that a larger enrollment and scholarship program could be planned and the summer session put on a permanent basis.

Reports of this program have been made available to other schools to indicate the contributions they may make to their communities.

SOCIETY FOR APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY
Cornell University, *Ithaca, New York*

In 1958 a grant of $2,500 was made toward the support of the Society's quarterly publication, *Human Organization*, which brings social research to bear upon the practical problems of human relationships in communities and organizations.

SOCIETY FOR THE PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF SOCIAL ISSUES
A Division of the American Psychological Association
University of Michigan, *Ann Arbor, Michigan*

$1,000 was given in 1958 toward the completion of a study of population composition and racial changes in a suburban community of 40,000.

SOUTH CHICAGO COMMUNITY CENTER
9135 Brandon Avenue, Chicago 17, Illinois

A grant of $45,000, payable over a three-year period, was made in 1955 toward support of the Trumbull Park Nursery School. The school was started by the South Chicago Community Center in an effort to relieve the tensions caused by the advent of an integrated low-cost housing project in the South Deering Community. The children were recruited from both the outside community and the housing project. The co-operation among the parents achieved through the school proved durable enough to continue on into public schools.

A further grant of $20,000 was made in 1958, $5,000 of which was allocated to an apprentice training program administered by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officers.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

For many years the Southern Regional Council has carried forward programs to promote mutual understanding among persons of different racial, cultural, and national backgrounds. It helps to organize integrated Human Relations Councils in the southern states, works with church groups, public and private agencies, school administrators and teachers. It serves as a clearing house of information for the public and the press; and it publishes *New South*, a monthly analysis of southern problems and progress.

During a three-year period starting in 1956, grants totaling $47,000 were made to help finance the Council's consultant service program for assisting local school officials and community leaders to plan and carry out programs for orderly compliance with the United States Supreme Court decisions on school desegregation.

In addition, special grants have been made: in 1957 $5,000 enabled the Southern Regional Council to participate in the apprentice training program, which is administered by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials; in 1958 $10,000 was granted for special education programs which could not be anticipated in the regular budget; in 1958 and 1959 a total of $7,500 was allocated to further the educational projects of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations; in May 1959, after reviewing the work of the Southern Regional Council over the years, the Directors of The New World Foundation concluded that in this instance the objectives of their program could best be achieved by contributing to the general support of this organization. Accordingly, a grant of $40,000, payable over a two-year period, was approved on this basis.

UNIVERSITY RELIGIOUS CONFERENCE

900 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles 24, California

The University Religious Conference was established in 1928 near the new University of California at Los Angeles by a group of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish clergymen and laymen who were concerned with the moral and spiritual education of students and who were convinced that each could do a better job with students of their respective faiths if they joined forces.

Two of the more important by-products of University Religious Conference are Uni-Camp and Panel of Americans. Uni-Camp was started by UCLA students in a rented camp site for sixty children from *less chance* areas. Today facilities provide for six hundred and fifty youngsters. The camp is financed and operated by the students of UCLA under the guidance of University Religious Conference.

The Panel of Americans program described under the grant to the National Council for the Panel of Americans was developed at the UCLA University Religious Conference.

From this program *Project India* has developed. For the last eight summers twelve to fourteen students and two adult advisors have spent nine weeks in India working in village projects, getting to know Indian university students, speaking to service clubs and other groups. They tell the Conference story of unity without uniformity.

In 1955 a grant of $30,000, payable over a three-year period, was made to assist the development of the University Religious Conference program at Santa Barbara, Riverside, and Long Beach. And in 1958 an additional $30,000, payable over a three-year period, was granted for the study of the adaptability of the Conference program to California's junior colleges.

Financial Statement

ARTHUR YOUNG & COMPANY
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

1 NORTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 2

The Board of Directors,
The New World Foundation:

We have examined the accompanying statement of assets, liabilities and fund balances of The New World Foundation (an Illinois corporation organized not for profit) at September 30, 1959 and the related statements of principal fund and income, expenses and grants for the period from November 4, 1954, date of incorporation, to September 30, 1959. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

The accounts are maintained, generally, on a cash basis of accounting, except that the liability for grants authorized but unpaid is reflected in the accounts.

In our opinion, the statements mentioned above present fairly the assets, liabilities and fund balances of The New World Foundation at September 30, 1959 and its income, expenses and grants and the contributions received by it for the period from November 4, 1954 to September 30, 1959, stated on the basis of accounting outlined above.

Arthur Young & Company

October 21, 1959.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

Statement of Assets, Liabilities and Fund Balances

September 30, 1959

ASSETS

Cash		$ 18,231.17
Deposit with Brown Brothers Harriman & Co.		78,775.47
Investments, at cost (Note 1):		
Bonds (approximate market value $4,646,489)	$4,631,406.29	
Preferred stocks (approximate market value $193,873)	185,901.34	
Common stocks (approximate market value $4,630,756)	3,623,494.32	
	8,440,801.95	
Mortgage note, 5%, due October 8, 1962	100,000.00	8,540,801.95
Other assets		1,259.27
		$8,639,067.86

LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCES

Unpaid grants		$ 206,500.00
Other liabilities		481.80
Fund balances:		
Principal Fund (see statement)	$8,761,951.86	
Income Fund (see statement)	(329,865.80)	8,432,086.06
		$8,639,067.86

Note 1: The values at which the investments are stated represent market values at date of receipt in the case of securities received from the Trustees under the Will of Anita McCormick Blaine, deceased, or cost in the case of securities purchased by the Foundation, less amortization of bond premiums. These values are stated to be "cost" in the accompanying statements.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

Statement of Principal Fund

Period from November 4, 1954, date of incorporation, to September 30, 1959

Contributions received from Trustees under the Will of Anita McCormick Blaine, deceased	$8,714,746.84
Other contributions	250.00
Net gain on sale of securities	46,955.02
Balance at September 30, 1959	$8,761,951.86

Statement of Income, Expenses and Grants

Period from November 4, 1954, date of incorporation, to September 30, 1959

Income:		
Interest		$ 571,748.94
Dividends		299,124.67
Other		420.24
		871,293.85
Expenses	$254,464.82	
Grants authorized—net	946,694.83	1,201,159.65
Excess of grants and expenses over income for the period		$(329,865.80)

Note 2: The Internal Revenue Service on June 4, 1959 ruled that the Foundation qualifies as an exempt organization and therefore is exempt from federal income tax. The City of New York and Department of National Revenue, Canada, have also ruled that the Foundation is exempt from payment of taxes.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

May 6, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Much as I am fond of Harris Wofford and approve of what he is doing, this particular appeal does not seem to me to fit within the SRC's province. I would prefer that you did not cooperate.

As yet, John and Margarita May have not gotten in touch with me but on your recommendation, I shall roll out the red carpet.

With best regards,

Vernon

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

May 9, 1960

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Field Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for the copy of the memorandum to Harold about the NSA Conference. This is exactly what I wanted.

With kindest regards,

Vernon

June 3, 1960

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Vernon:

Here is a copy of that interesting letter of interpretation from the IRS which we were discussing at lunch last week.

I failed to discover whether you are planning to put in an appearance at the AVC convention in Atlantic City. By coincidence, I am speaking at a session of the National Conference on Social Welfare on June 9, and I agreed to stay over as a delegate from the Atlanta AVC Chapter. If you are going to be there, I will quit begrudging the time and effort the stay-over will entail.

My best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

P. S. -- In case Siceloff hasn't written you, Paul Rilling took the notes of the hard-core conference on the high seas. He's supposed to mail back a draft of the findings, which doubtless will reach you promptly.

September 9, 1960

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Welcome home from your Boer trek!

It's high time we had another seminar, and I'm hoping we can manage it when I am in New York September 19 - 21. I'll call your office Monday morning the 19th to see what the chances are.

Meanwhile, all the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

9/15/60

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

September 14, 1960

Dear Harold:

By all means, give me a call when you get in town. It's about time we did a little head knocking!

Alles van die beste,

Vernon

345 E. 46
1015
12 th

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

September 23, 1960

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Charles Jones' address is 2212 Trade Street, Charlotte, North Carolina.

I enjoyed our head-knocking the other day up in your magnificent eyrie. I hope you willbbe down here again soon to see our new quarters, which are relatively in the mole hill level.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

MF - Pls send

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE, *Executive Director*

November 17, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

Vernon thanks you for your inspiring report. Could we have five copies more, please, for our Directors. They'll appreciate it, too.

Best regards,

Winifred

Winifred G. Meskus
Assistant Secretary

Sent Nov. 21, 1960 wt.

December 14, 1960

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

The New World Foundation's contribution of $20,000 for 1960 and your kind letter transmitting it are acknowledged with the deepest appreciation. The warm words of commendation are prized no less than the tangible support of the Council's budget.

Whatever the Southern Regional Council is able to achieve must be attributed in large measure to the confidence and generosity that you and your board have shown us duing these critical years. I speak for both our lay leadership and staff in expressing our enduring gratitude.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

December 8, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Nothing gives me more pleasure than enclosing our check in the amount of $20,000 for the general support of the Southern Regional Council's Educational Program for the calendar year 1960.

These are difficult times for those working in the field of better race relations, and my Board has asked me to express its appreciation and admiration for the fine work that you and the Council have been doing.

Sincerely,

CR
12/12/60
RHA

via air mail

February 8, 1961

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

This is to put before the Foundation a request for renewal of the annual grant of $20,000 in support of the central program of the Southern Regional Council.

We are sensitive to the fact that the Foundation's major assistance in recent years represents an extraordinary degree of confidence in our efforts. We are not only profoundly grateful, but anxious not to presume upon a relationship that we value most highly. This request for renewed support is not submitted routinely, but with confidence that it will be considered on the merits of the Council and its role in the months to come.

In addition to its continuing functions, the Council in 1961 must give high priority to two major developments which will basically affect race relations: the coming of desegregation to the heart of the deep South, and the approach of the new national Administration to civil rights.

In New Orleans, Jacksonville, Atlanta, and elsewhere in the deep South, the advent of the student "sit-in" movement has created new pressures and tensions, psychological and economic. These developments are certain to continue and spread. As a result, the Council's functions of public interpretation and consultation with community leaders have taken on added and urgent importance. There is and will continue to be a great need for the services of the Council in these troubled communities, where a broad range of skills and materials must be brought to bear.

The first court-ordered school desegregation in the deep South, in New Orleans, has attracted national attention and concern, and is still far from resolved. In this situation, intimidation and mob action go far beyond the immediate issues involved; they threaten the basic values of our society. Here the Council must continue to seek support for courageous individuals in the pioneering role, while prodding the established leadership of the community to maintain order and reason.

As the new Administration begins to function in Washington, the Council is giving high priority to the role of national leadership. We have long worked closely with the Federal agencies charged with civil rights responsibilities. In the months ahead, we forssee many more requests for such advice and cooperation. It is equally important for the Council to make the best recommendations it can muster for greater effectiveness of the Executive Branch in the civil rights field. As the leading Southern organization of its kind, the Council has a unique obligation to exert a positive and helpful influence on the planning of the President in this field.

As a first step, the Council has prepared a report on "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights." This document has been transmitted to President Kennedy, appropriate members of his staff, and agency heads. We are encouraged by the reception of these recommendations thus far, in the press and in the new Administration.

Apart from this special effort, we hope that the Council will have unprecedented opportunities in 1961 to work in detail with the new Administration in whatever approaches to racial problems it may adopt.

In order to carry out these and other essential efforts, the Council must raise for general operations approximately $75,000 from uncommitted sources. A copy of the Council's operating budgets and income forecast is enclosed. The 1960 audit which has been delayed by the illness of the Secretary-Treasurer, will be forwarded shortly.

We express once again the gratitude of the Council's policy leadership and staff for the New World Foundation's generous assistance in the past. It is our hope that the periodic reports and other communications from the Council convey something of the challenge and excitement of the work which the Foundation has helped make possible.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

via air mail February 15, 1961

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Supplementing our request of February 8, I am happy to send the enclosed additional copies of the Operating Budgets and Income Forecasts, as requested.

Mailed 2/23/61 wt

The 1960 audit should be available very shortly, and at that time I shall see that six copies of it are sent to you.

We are most grateful for your prompt attention to the Council's request.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 5.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

February 10, 1961

Dear Harold,

Thank you for your letter of February 8, embodying your request to the Foundation for renewal of the annual grant of $20,000 in support of the central program of the Southern Regional Council.

We shall give this request careful consideration, and in due course, inform you of the decision of the Board of Directors.

If it is convenient, will you be kind enough to send me an additional five copies of Operating Budgets and Income Forecast which you enclosed with your application. If possible, I should also like to have six copies of the 1960 audit when it becomes available.

Respectfully,

Vernon Eagle

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TELEPHONED IN - Monday, Feb. 27, 1961
mf

Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation

Arriving New York mid-afternoon tomorrow, Tuesday, want very much to see you if possible. If you're there and have an hour late afternoon ~~tu~~ 3:30 on, please save it. Will call on arrival. Regards.

HCF

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

Right Ltr — N. W. Fd
475 Riverside Dr.
Vernon Eagle

YOU ARE THE SALT
OF THE EARTH.
MORE LATER.

HAROLD C. FLEMING

Telephoned in
5/21/61

via air mail March 22, 1961

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

You can't imagine what a shot in the arm your letters were -- for me, the rest of the staff, and the Executive Committee. Your personal contribution was a touch that only Eagle would have thought of.

The meeting was an excellent one in every respect. There were the usual regrets at the passing of the old, but real unanimity and enthusiasm in the choice of the new..Les Dunbar was appointed by acclamation and will assume the full duties of director within the next few weeks, on a date to be agreed upon as the logical one by the two of us. A public announcement will be made soon.

I will, of course, plan to be on hand for your visit. We're expecting you to stay with us. Jane and the boys -- especially Gary -- are looking forward to your visit. If you have special ideas for this stop or the others, let me know and I'll do the necessary. I've already

advised Will Campbell of your Jackson stop-over, and he is eager to schedule himself accordingly. We'll also lay some ground work in New Orleans.

What with the SRC unwinding and still unresolved questions questions of incorporation, office housing, etc., at the other end, I'm not much farther along with the Washington operation, but I hope to be shortly. I haven't forgotten that I am to send you a memo on the project; will do as soon as a few details are settled.

We'll be in touch before your junket. Meanwhile, my very best.

As ever,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

March 17, 1961

Dear Harold,

I am enclosing the official report of the action of the Board. As agreed, we will send you our check in the fall, assuming you can wait that long.

In the meantime it behooves me to enclose my own small personal contribution toward your efforts.

More power to your right arm!

Best regards,

Vernon

H
25.00 CR
3/22/61

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

P.S. The tentative schedule for my southern trip is as follows:

4/3	Ar Atlanta	Delta	885	10:40 a.m.
4/5	Lv "	"	131	8:05 p.m.
	Ar Jackson			8:39 p.m.
4/6	Lv "	"	183	8:15 p.m.
	Ar New Orleans			9:07 p.m.
4/8	Lv "	" Delta	872	5:30 p.m.

subject obviously to change and depending on your advice.

March 22, 1961

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation, Inc.
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

Your letter advising us of the Foundation's grant of $25,000 for 1961 was received just prior to a special meeting of our Executive Committee. Thus I can authentically express the profound gratitude, not only of the Council's staff, but of its policy leadership as well.

The Executive Committee has asked me to convey, both officially and for each of them personally, the warmest thanks to you and to the Trustees of the New World Foundation for your timely and invaluable vote of confidence.

Coupled with this appreciation is a deep sense of obligation to continue, and if possible increase, the quality of leadership and program achievement of the Council. The resolve to do so and assurance that it will be done were markedly evident in the

in the meeting just held; both were strengthened by the generous action of the Foundation.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

March 17, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The Board of Directors of The New World Foundation has given careful consideration to the request from the Southern Regional Council for continuing renewal of the annual grant of $20,000 for your central program, as outlined to us in your letter of February 8.

Taking into consideration the excellent work of the Council over the past years and the increasing need in the immediate future for even greater efforts, our Directors have approved a grant for this year in the amount of $25,000 for general support of the Southern Regional Council's educational program.

The Directors have instructed me to inform you of this decision and to express their good wishes to the Council.

Sincerely,

V. Eagle

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

April 13, 1961

Dear Harold,

Further to Brooke's letter yesterday, Will Campbell suggested that I stay at the Sun and Sand Motor Court in Jackson so that's where I'll be.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE, *Executive Director*

RECEIVED
APR 14 1961

April 12, 1961

RECEIVED
APR

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Mr. Eagle has asked me to send you the itinerary for his "Southern Trip."

Best regards,

Brooke

Secretary to Mr. Eagle

P.S. You might be interested to know that Virginia and Wilton are <u>finally</u> taking off this Friday night.

April 17	Lv Idlewild Delta Flt. 873	9:50 a.m.
	Ar New Orleans Sheraton-Charles Hotel	11:55 a.m.
April 18	Lv New Orleans Delta Flt. 498	6:30 p.m.
	Ar Jackson Hotel Heidelburg*	7:26 p.m.
April 20	Lv Jackson Delta Flt. 130	8:48 a.m.
	Ar Atlanta	11:18 a.m.
April 22	Lv Atlanta Delta Flt. 822	12:00 p.m.
	Ar Idlewild	1:50 p.m.

* Reservation as yet unconfirmed.

MF

May 24, 1961

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Vernon:

We have read the "Prospectus for a Southern Sit-in Leaders Seminar," and can offer a few comments which, hopefully, may be helpful to you.

The objective of bringing sit-in leaders into serious reflection on their movement is first rate. I do not imply that they have acted or are acting thoughtlessly, but only that self-analysis is as necessary as it is hard during a hectic time, and there is a strong prima facie case, therefore, for a seminar directed toward such an end. The seminar ought, I should think, not become another pep meeting. The objective would be, as we understand it, quiet study and reflection: advisers, staff, lecturers, and site should be carefully chosen with this in mind.

(Parenthetically--and gratuitously--, I might observe that one hopeful outcome of the seminar would be an awareness of at least some of the mistakes and misstatements in the "Background" section of the Prospectus.)

In selecting the 15 student leaders, an effort should be made to get beyond the handful of persons who have to date received the most attention. The southern office of the National Student Association would be particularly well able to advise here.

There are a number of excellent people who could be involved either as advisers or lecturers. Some of them are:

Carl Holman, Professor of English, Clark College, and Editor, The Atlanta Inquirer, Atlanta

Kenneth Morland, Professor of Sociology, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg

Stephen Wright, President of Fisk University, Nashville

John Hope II, Race Relations Institute, Fisk University

Kelly Miller Smith, minister, 319 Eighth Avenue North, Nashville

Rupert Picott, Executive Secretary, Virginia Teachers' Association, 316 E. Clay Street, Richmond

Theodore Gibson, rector, and president of Dade County NAACP, P. O. Box 6345, Station B, Miami 36, Fla. (Put "personal" on envelope, if you should write him, so it will be forwarded; he is often out of town.)

Edward Graham, minister, 356 N. W. 9th Street, Miami, and/president Dade County NAACP
former

Paul Rilling, Field Director, SRC

Eric Lincoln, Professor of Sociology, Clark College, Atlanta, Ga.

A chap who might be a possible director is Jim Laue. Jim is a graduate student at Harvard, working under Gordon Allport and Tom Pettigrew. He has been studying the sit-in movement at first hand and from the beginning. Able, likeable, energetic.

You are, of course, in a better position than we to reach an opinion about the budget.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:A

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

May 19, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

We have a Board meeting the end of the month, and the attached proposal was just presented to us by the United States National Student Association by Timothy L. Jenkins.

I wonder if I could impose on you to ask for your candid reactions?

Best regards,

Vernon

Prospectus

for a

Southern Sit-in Leaders Seminar

Introduction

Several student leaders acting out of their personal concern and the concerns of their various organizations over the future of the sit-in effort in the South decided to draw up the following proposal setting forth what has generally been recognized but seldom analyzed as the sit-in movements greatest need.

The proposal is aimed at setting up a four week seminar to provide the current sit-in leaders with a broader and more comprehensive base for their protest movement. Represented in the planning sessions for this seminar were student leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, and the National Student Association.

A grant of $9,130 is requested to finance the seminar.

Background

Since February first of 1960, interested and disinterested groups and individuals have been jarred into the revolutionized recognition of the wide social, economic, and political disparities existent between the southern and non-southern sectors of our country. Undeniably the crystalizing agent for this novel recognition was the sit-in movement of the Southern Negro student. But if the advent of sit-ins contributed to this generally increased awareness of the conditions of the South, they also succeeded in focalizing as never before the plight of the southern students.

The students of the South are, like students all over the country, limited or enhanced by the quality of education publically available. And since public school systems are characteristically responsive to the dominant social and psychological influences of their community, their operations in the South are of a very peculiar sort. State commissions of education as well as county, city, and town boards of education exercise strict controls over all levels of educational policies. Even in the elemental area of course and subject matter, principals and teachers are limited by the authority of superintendents and assistant superintendents who are admittedly innocent of any commitment to "academic freedom" and the rights of teaching and learning it implies. But when all of these agencies

are known to be subject to local political forces, it is understandable that they vary so widely in their attitudes and competence.

This situation is aggravated by the increased poverty of the Southern States. It was the University of North Carolina Press that observed in 1955 that some two billions of dollars would have to be expended annually for the next ten years to equalize the educational opportunities of the South with those of the North. Meanwhile the discrepancy has continued to grow for five more years without the slightest initiation of a vast catch up campaign in southern education.

Then in addition to the problems of educational autonomy and material inadequacies, the South's racial and religious dogmas have also taken their toll on the quality of southern education. Certain text books are proscribed; various speakers and lecturers are banned; even certain points of view and certain areas of study and investigation have been tabooed. At the root of each of these instances of curricula confinement is the South's preoccupation with racial differences along with outmoded ideologies.

Given this educational atmosphere of suppression, want, and manipulation there has developed in the South a serious set of failings in education or better perhaps there has failed to develop any widespread commitment to honestly examining comtemporary issues in the southern life politically, economically, and sociologically. Each of these enumerated educational short-comings of the South at large is amplified when it comes to the education of the Negro in the South. Suppression, want and manipulation are almost taken for granted in the public education provided for him for decades inspite of the '54 decision calling to equality in integrated schools.

This historically submerged education deprivation of the Negro student across the South was propelled to the surface in short order by the outbreaks of sit-ins. In the wake of the sit-in struggles and successes southern Negro students were interviewed, invited to lecture, and asked to submit articles interpreting their movement and the southern society's response. With rare exception they revealed a very limited appreciation for their own goals and methods and ideology along side the economic, social and political context of southern life. A comparative study of the editorial comments made by southern Negro students and their northern counterparts clearly demonstrates the regional disparity in the way the southern Negro student was able to defend himself.

Need

With the tendency toward disintegration already beginning in the sit-in effort, the question is then raised as to what needs to be done. The answers which we would put forward is drawn from the careful appreciation of what has been most conspicuously absent from the movement heretofore. ---Serious reflection by the students responsible for the sit-in explosion as to the overall importance of their

actions and the prospects for their continued campaign. In addition to this type of appraisal, the most capable, effective and articulate sit-in leaders should be given an intensive study program in the political, economic, and sociological realities of contemporary America as they are particularly relevant to the South. Something to which their academic preparation has never exposed them.

Proposal

During August 1 to August 26, 1961, the combined committee of the Youth Division of the NAACP; the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee; the National Student Association in cooperation with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Young Women's Christian Association propose to hold a four week seminar for fifteen outstanding student sit-in leaders. The site of the seminar should be in a southern city which offers good library facilities e.g. Nashville, Atlanta, Austin.

The Workshop will meet for two three-hour sessions daily with lectures, discussion sessions, case studies as the techniques utilized in exploring the questions of segregation and direct action. Selected reading will be assigned both prior to arrival and during the Seminar. Outstanding educators as well as noted civil rights activist, and human relations staff personnel will be invited to participate in the Seminar and contribute to its program. At the close of the Seminar, each participant will be expected to prepare and submit for publication a substantive examination of some aspect of the student struggle against southern segregation.

Seminar Goals

1. A thorough exploration of segregationist principles and practices.

2. An overall assessment of the psychological social, economic, and political factors which condition community and campus attitudes.
3. Identification and coordination of campus and community resources in the civil rights struggle.
4. Development of long term goals and plans of campus interpersonal and intergroup relations as well as for student community contacts.
5. Development of the immediate objectives and programs as a follow-up to the discussion goals.

Preparation and Administration

An Advisory Committee to the Seminar will be appointed. It will include personnel such as Dr. Benjamin Mays, President of Morehouse College; Dr. Louis Jones, Professor of Sociology at Tuskegee Institute; and representatives from the Youth Division of the NAACP; the National Student Association; the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and the Young Women's Christian Association.

A meeting will be held in the late spring to advise the Seminar executive committee on participant selections, reading materials, and resource persons and overall curriculum planning.

A Seminar Director will be appointed in early May 1961 and will work with representatives of the NAACP, SNCC and NSA in the preparation of the Seminar. The Director will receive a salary during the months of June, July, August, and September, and will be a person competent in the area of race relations. His assistant will be hired during July and August. Participants will be drawn into the Seminar largely be invitation with a limited number selected from applications.

BUDGET

for a

Southern Sit-in Leaders Seminar

Salary		
Director	$ 780.00	
Assistant Director	350.00	
		$1,130.00
Travel		
Staff and Experts	1,250.00	
Participants	1,750.00	3,000.00
Room and Board	4,250.00	
Resource Books and Materials	500.00	
Post Seminar Publication	250.00	
		5,000.00
TOTAL		$9,130.00

May 25, 1961

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

I hate to put you to further trouble, but I am afraid I will have to ask your secretary to cancel reservations you have made for me to Washington on June 9. I have an appointment with Max Hahn at 10:00 that morning and I'm afraid an 11:25 flight would be cutting things too close. Eastern's flight 565 leaves from Idlewild for Richmond at 1:40 pm and I believe I had better take it. I am sorry to miss riding down with you, and with you and Harold from Washington, but I will see you at Capahesic and also in your office on June 8 at 10:00 am.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

May 24, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I just spoke to Harold about the Capahosic Conference on June 9-11. We've decided to drive down from Washington on Friday, and I have made a reservation for you on the plane I plan to take:

American Airlines Flight No. 455
Leave LaGuardia 11:25 a.m.
Arrive Washington 12:33 p.m.

You can pick up your ticket here on Thursday, June 8.

Best regards,

Vernon

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE, *Executive Director*

file

May 29, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Mr. Eagle has asked me to let you know that we cancelled the reservation made for you to Washington on June 9.

Sincerely,

Brooke Harris

(Miss) Brooke Harris
Secretary to Mr. Eagle

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

TAV
MF file

LWB - for your files

June 13, 1961

Mr. Timothy L. Jenkins
Vice President
National Affairs
United States National
Student Association
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

We have given careful consideration to your request for financial support to help cover the costs of a Southern Student Leadership Seminar as outlined in your request of May 24.

It is the feeling of the Board of Directors of The New World Foundation that such a seminar, properly conducted, could serve a most useful purpose at this time. It is their feeling that the seminar should not become another pep meeting but that its objectives should be quiet study and reflection and that advisers, staff, lecturers, and site should be carefully chosen with this in mind. We understand that you are also in agreement.

I am pleased to inform you that the Board of Directors has approved a grant in an amount up to $10,000 to help defray the expenses of the seminar.

Because of our long and close relationship with the Southern Regional Council

we would like further to request that you accept Mr. Paul Rilling as a member of the advisory committee, acting as our personal representative. As Mr. Rilling's qualifications are well known to you, I am sure you will welcome his cooperation.

We wish you the very best in this important endeavor.

Respectfully,

VE

cc: Mr. Richard A. Rettig
President
United States National
Student Association

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
3457 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

June 1961

Fields (a) & (e)

Timothy L. Jenkins
Vice President, National Affairs

Amount Requested: $9,730

Purpose: To cover the cost of a Southern Student Leadership Seminar

Several student leaders acting out of their personal concern and the concerns of their various organizations for the adequate background preparation of the new student leadership in the South have proposed a four-week seminar to provide the current sit-in leaders with a broader and more comprehensive base in viewing the problems of racial segregation and discrimination. It was felt that such a study program is essential if this new leadership is not to think its struggle as a mere quest for the immediate goals of the sit-ins to the exclusion of the larger issues.

Participation would be limited to sit-in leaders in the belief that they, better than any other category of southern student leadership, demonstrate a sober commitment to the advancement of civil rights, and that they potentially represent the strongest hope of improved southern leadership. Represented in the planning sessions for the seminar were student leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and the United States National Student Association, the latter acting as coordinator.

Background:

As dramatized in the events following the sit-in and other

civil rights action programs of recent years, Negro leadership throughout the South is in a state of considerable ferment. To an unprecedented degree leadership of action programs has been assumed by a new group of young adults and college students instead of being left to the traditional category of senior citizens.

The students of the South, like students all over the country, are limited or enhanced by the quality of education publically available. In the South, as elsewhere, public school systems are characteristically responsive to the dominant social and psychological influences of their community. State commissions of education as well as county, city, and town boards of education exercise strict controls over all levels of educational policies. All of these agencies are known to be subject to local political forces.

This situation is aggravated by the relative poverty of the Southern States. The University of North Carolina Press observed in 1955 that some two billions of dollars would have to be expended annually for ten years to equalize the educational opportunities of the South with those of the North. This was not done and the discrepancy has continued to grow.

Along with the problems of educational and material inadequacies, the South's racial and religious dogmas have also taken their toll on the quality of southern education. Certain text books are proscribed; various speakers and lecturers are banned; even points of view and certain areas of study and investigation have been tabooed. At the root of each of these

instances of forced curricula confinement is the South's preoccupation with racial differences.

Given this education atmosphere, want, and manipulation there has developed in the South a serious set of failings in education. It is more accurate to say that there has failed to develop any widespread commitment to an honest examination of contemporary issues in the southern life -- politically, economically, and sociologically.

Each of these educational short-comings of the South at large is amplified when it comes to the education of the Negro. For decades suppression, want, and manipulation have been almost taken for granted in the public education provided for him. The results have been what one might expect.

In the wake of the sit-in struggles and successes, southern Negro students were interviewed, invited to lecture, and asked to submit articles interpreting their movement and the southern society's response. With rare exception they revealed a very limited appreciation of their own goals and methods and ideology in the context of the economic, social and political life of the South. A comparative study of the editorial comments made by southern Negro students and their northern counterparts clearly demonstrates the regional disparity in the way the southern student is able to defend his cause. This is largely the result of little opportunity for the southern Negro to become familiar with the whole phenomenon of race in the economic, political, and sociological fabric of the United States.

Proposal:

The United States National Student Association proposes that during August 1961, a combined committee of the Youth Division of the NAACP, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, the National Student Association in cooperation with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the YWCA hold a four-week seminar for fifteen of the most effective and articulate students prominent in sit-in movements. The site of the seminar would be in a southern city which offers good library facilities, e.g. Nashville, Atlanta, Austin -- Nashville having the special advantage of Fisk University's Race Relations Institute.

The Workshop portion of the seminar would consist of two three-hour sessions daily, and through lectures, discussion sessions, and case studies the broad legal, economic and social problems of race realtions would be explored. Selected reading would be assigned both prior to arrival and during the seminar, and outstanding educators as well as noted civil rights experts and human relations staff personnel would be invited to serve as resource people. At the close of the seminar, each participant would be expected to prepare and submit for publication a substantive examination of some aspect of the student struggle against southern racial segregation.

Seminar goals would include:

1. A thorough exploration of segregationist principles and practices.
2. An overall assessment of the psychological

social, economic, and political factors which condition community and campus attitudes.

3. Identification and coordination of campus and community civil rights resources.

4. The development of an informed group of spokesmen for the new South.

An Advisory Committee for the seminar would be appointed, including such persons as Dr. Benjamin Mays, President of Morehouse College; Dr. Louis Jones, Professor of Sociology at Tuskegee Institute; Paul Rilling of Southern Regional Council; and representatives from the Youth Division of the NAACP; the National Student Association; the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee; and the Young Women's Christian Association.

Copies of a proposed agenda and budget for the seminar are attached as well as a selected bibliography and an assigned reading list.

Evaluation:

This proposed Leadership Seminar seems to me to be an excellent idea aimed at a very real and immediate need. During my trips through the South, the most recent one in April, I made a point of observing the new young Negro leaders and have gotten to know a number of them quite well. They have given excellent leadership to the student sit-in movement.

It is important now to consider what needs to be done to translate the campus leadership into community leadership for the years to come. These students have been so beleaguered with the

details of the conduct of their action campaigns they have lacked the time and background to comprehend the broader implications of their efforts. They now need an opportunity to reflect on the historical and contemporary meaning of their involvement in the overall efforts toward the solution of the civil rights problems in the South.

I am convinced that they could benefit greatly from a seminar as outlined. Harold Fleming, Leslie Dunbar, John Hope, II, of Southern Regional Council; Albert Dent, President of Dillard University; Stephen Wright, President of Fisk University; Thurgood Marshall, Director-Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc; Frank Loescher, Program Director and General Secretary, United States - South Africa Leader Exchange Program; and other qualified individuals with whom I have consulted are in agreement.

Recommendation:

That a grant of up to $10,000 be made for the Southern Student Leadership Seminar to be held in August 1961.

July 3, 1961

Mr. Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Vernon:

Enclosed is the Coles proposal. I would be willing to bet that we won't be sorry on this fellow.

As I told you over the phone, in this one case SRC will not, if the grant is made, take its usual 10% of a project grant for overhead.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm
Enclosure

A PROPOSAL

to the

New World Foundation

Since 1954, one of the decisive chapters of American history has unfolded around the schoolhouses of the South. Unfortunately, the interplay of passion and politics and law has absorbed not only the attention but the concern of the public. There has been little comprehension of, indeed little sensitivity to, the needs and experience of the children involved in this epic controversy.

As a step in the re-directing of interest and thought toward the children, and their educational and emotional problems, we are proposing a study of the reactions of Negro and white children to the experience of desegregation. The objective would be to come to know these youth, and to learn in diagnostic depth what they undergo and how they react. This would not be a sociological study, but a study of personal involvement, change, and growth.

Dr. M. Robert Coles is available for this undertaking. Dr. Coles is a well trained psychiatrist, thoroughly interested in the problem and deeply concerned with the injurious impact on personality which threatens in the desegregation process. His vitae is attached. Dr. Coles' wife, now a teacher at Shady Hill School, will assist him in the project.

Project

Dr. Coles would live in Atlanta for approximately a year, beginning in August, 1961. Starting then -- before the initial desegregation of schools -- he would interview individually and in groups the 10 or so Negro children who have been assigned to formerly all-white schools. He would continue these interviews throughout the year. He would also select a panel of white children from the bi-racial classes and talk with them on the same continuing basis.

Atlanta will furnish an instance of one kind of situation; viz. pioneering children in the first year of desegregation. Dr. Coles will select at least one other type of situation, and conduct there similar interviews: this will be a place (e. g. Raleigh or Durham)

where desegregation is past its initial year. The intention would be to approach the child in a specific crisis from the point of view of the physician and psychiatrist rather than the sociologist. It would be a study in individual feelings and thoughts and personality adjustment.

Publication

Dr. Coles will endeavor to publish his findings through a university or trade press.

Funds

A preliminary estimate of expenses is as follows:

Living costs and salary for Dr. and Mrs. Coles while in Atlanta	$6,000
Travel	1,000
Clerical and related costs	500
Total	$7,500

On a project of this kind, where individuals and not groups are the object of study and the final writing of the report needs time for reflection and exact presentation, it is not desirable to indicate precisely either a deadline date or a fixed budget. The amount requested is, therefore, a preliminary figure. If granted, we would hope that the New World Foundation would be willing during the course of the project to review the financial needs. It would be our plan to release money from the grant to Dr. Coles on request, supported by progress reports, and to keep you fully informed at all times on the status of the work.

Foundations

July 21, 1961

Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

The Texas Council of Churches set up its Race Relations Progress Study with, as Harold Kilpatrick said in his letter to you of July 11, a grant of $2,000; but not, I believe, from Taconic: rather, from Currier, in that outlay of his to ministers and religious bodies who had done "well." Will Campbell has been a friend of the Study from the beginning, and I went out last summer for a couple of days to advise on methods, etc. We helped them this year with $1,200. We felt disposed to do this because, with our staff changeovers, our own research commitments were not up to pace, and because we were promised a bundle of the final reports for distribution. We also thought that if what they are doing comes off well, we could use it as an example to stimulate, or try to, similar work in other states.

We earmarked our contribution for one item in the budget estimates they sent to us: salary of director, Joe Elmore. I got to know Joe last summer through 2½ days of constant association, and have kept in touch with him all year. I think he is a rare fellow. A Texan, he teaches philosophy and religion at Earlham College, is student counsellor, and his administrative gifts have now landed him the distasteful spot of assistant to the President. Joe worked on the Study all last summer, and is at work again. He did an organizing job last year I wouldn't have believed possible, and if the Study comes off it will be because of his herd riding.

I have been in now and then touch all year. A couple of the commissions seem to have done unusually well so far; e. g., the one on churches. A couple others haven't yet done much, though

Joe may well straighten them out. Many of the commission members are top rate, as a result of Joe's recruitment.

In sum, this is something we would like to see succeed. They mean not only to publish what will in effect be an inventory of race relations in one state, but to use it as a catalyst and blue print for church action. I have the feeling that they will work just as well, maybe better, if kept a little hungry, but I know they do need money and have no oil wells.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

July 17, 1961

Dear Les,

May I have your comments about this?

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Chairman, Steering Committee
DR. DOUGLAS JACKSON

Director
THE REV. JOE EARL ELMORE

Executive Secretary
MR. HAROLD KILPATRICK

Race Relations Progress Study

Texas Council of Churches

504 West Twenty-Fourth Street Austin 5, Texas GReenwood 8-1335

COMMISSION CHAIRMEN

Churches:
DR. HAROLD LUNGER

Colleges and Universities:
DR. JESSE R. WILSON

Employment:
THE REV. BOB BREIHAN

Entertainment, Recreation and Sports:
DR. W. ASTOR KIRK

Hotels, Motels, and Restaurants:
MR. TOM REAVLEY

Housing:
MR. WILLIAM PARKER

Public Facilities:
THE REV. PAUL SIMS

Schools:
DR. CHARLES N. BURROWS

July 11, 1961

Mr. Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Eagle:

The Texas Council of Churches has been at work on a Race Relations Progress Study for over a year. Mr. Will Campbell of the National Council of Churches staff has suggested that the New World Foundation might be interested in providing for the completion of our study by a grant. This letter is to inquire of your interest and to describe the study.

The aim of the study is to gather data on the state of race relations in Texas in eight areas and to publish that data in pamphlets which can be distributed widely for information, discussion, and action. Over forty volunteers throughout the state from various occupations have been at work to secure the data. Reports will be made at a statewide conference to be held at Southern Methodist University in February, 1962, which will recommend action to be taken as a follow-up of the study. We are enclosing copies of material used in the study, including some of the questionnaires used to gather data.

Last year the Taconic Foundation gave the Council an undesignated grant of $2,000. in recognition of past work in race relations. The Board decided that a study of race relations in our state would be a wise use of these funds.

It soon became apparent that the job which needed to be done was such that the grant would not cover expenses. We decided to expand the scope and depth of the study in faith that adequate financing could be secured.

The Southern Regional Council has been interested in what we are doing and supported us with a $1,200. grant to continue work this summer. The study has proceeded satisfactorily and results look promising but resources are needed to complete the study and publish the findings. We believe that $5,000. would be adequate to do the quality of job we wish, as the attached breakdown shows.

We will appreciate your consideration and will be happy to answer any questions or to provide further material. It is my understanding that Mr. Campbell will see you soon and speak with you personally about the study. I am confident this venture can make a significant contribution to improved race relations not only in Texas but throughout the nation.

Sincerely yours,

Harold Kilpatrick

Harold Kilpatrick
Executive Secretary

HK:wv

RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

Costs of Completion of the Study

The Remaining Work of the Commissions----------$1,000.

1. Meetings of the Commissions..$ 400.
2. Field Trips by Trained Researchers to study specified areas in depth..... 400.
3. Questionnaires and Surveys.... 200

Publication of the Reports----------$3,500.
Eight pamphlets of 12-24 pages each - 5,000 copies each

Costs of the Statewide Study Conference----------$ 500.

Total----------$5,000.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

file

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

July 25, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

Mr. Eagle is out of town this week so I am acknowledging your letter of July 21. He will be glad to have your comments about the Texas Race Relations Progress Study.

Thanks,

Winifred G. Meskus

Winifred G. Meskus
Assistant Secretary

file

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

August 1, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

This is to let you know formally that the Directors of The New World Foundation have approved a grant of up to $7,500 to enable the Southern Regional Council to conduct a study, under the direction of Dr. M. Robert Coles, of the emotional experiences of children directly involved in the desegregation of schools in the South.

Please let me know when you will want the check sent to you.

Sincerely,

Vernon

September 1, 1961

Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Several matters:

Dr. Robert Coles has been in Atlanta for ten days or so, hard at work and apparently successful in establishing good contacts with his students. He would like to draw funds as needed, and this is agreeable with us. If also satisfactory with you, could you forward a check for the entire grant now and we shall keep it on account for him? I have asked Bob to submit reports occasionally, and we shall also keep you informed.

You will recall, (I hope) that I discussed with you in your office last June the use of a small amount of contingency funds for a quiet effort in bringing the regional agency heads together at Quaker House in Atlanta for off-the-record discussions. The first such occasion was held last week and I think it was a real success. There was candid but calm explanation and criticism around the table and, I believe, this represented the first time that some of the agencies represented have ever had their problems evaluated in this manner. Another session was planned for early fall. We have given Quaker House $200.00 from the contingency fund to help defray the expenses of luncheons, etc. Incidentally, none of the other agencies know that we had any role in initiating or supporting this activity.

To: Mr. Vernon Eagle
August 31, 1961

Sometime next week I will be sending you a draft of the organizational sketch for the Voter Project; Dave Freeman may already have alerted you. As I told Dave, I don't ask that you critique this in any official capacity, and I am not trying to thrust off the responsibility for planning. I would like your advice as a friend, and as one who has a very sharp eye for the sticky policy and financial questions. This is a tough one.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:MBB

September 12, 1961

Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Here is a copy of the letter finally gone out on the Voting Project.

Your help, and that of David Freeman, was tremendously valuable. Many thanks.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

P. S. The enclosed column of Ralph McGill's is sent to you because I thought it would interest you. The "factual report on law enforcement" was our publication, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, by George McMillian.

September 14, 1961

Mr. Vernon Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Vernon:

We acknowledge with thanks The New World Foundation's check in the amount of $7,500.00 for research in student adjustment by Dr. Robert Coles.

We believe Dr. Cole's work will represent a signal contribution to our understanding of the problems of school desegregation.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. 1

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

Acknowledged Rec'd 9/6

September 5, 1961

Dear Les:

Just back from vacation to find your letter on top of the accumulation.

Enclosed is the Foundation's check in the amount of $7,500 for the Coles' project. We will look to you for reports as they may appear.

CR 9/6/61 RHA

It sounds as though you got good mileage from the Quaker House money. I approve.

I look forward to the Voter Project papers, and I don't envy you!

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Executive Secretary: MR. HAROLD KILPATRICK

TEXAS COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

1400 GUADALUPE STREET • AUSTIN 1, TEXAS

September 13, 1961

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle, executive director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Eagle:

Thank you for your letter of September 11 conveying expression of interest but inability to give financial support to the completion of our Race Relations Progress Study. We certainly appreciate your serious consideration of this program.

Your leaving the door open for the possibility of helping to publish reports is noted with interest. This item will be the larger part of contemplated remaining expenditures for the program.

If the various study reports come up to expectations and consequently are worthy of publication and if funds are not on hand by that time for such publication, we may submit some of the report manuscripts to you for your further consideration.

Yours sincerely,

Harold Kilpatrick

Harold Kilpatrick
Executive Secretary

HK:wv

cc: The Rev. Joe E. Elmore, director
TCC Race Relations Progress Study

Texas Council of Churches -

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

PRV
MMB - file

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

September 11, 1961

Mr. ~~Harold Kilpatrick~~
Executive Secretary
Race Relations Progress Study
Texas Council of Churches
504 West 24th Street
Austin 5, Texas

Dear Mr. Kilpatrick:

I have now had an opportunity to examine the material which you sent to me with respect to the Texas Council of Churches' Race Relations Progress Study.

It would appear that this study under the direction of Professor Joe Elmore should serve a very useful purpose. However, for a number of reasons, it would be difficult for The New World Foundation to consider financial support toward completion of the study. It might be possible for us to consider some help toward printing and distribution of the results of the study should this seem warranted at the time. I am sure you realize that this is in no way any commitment on our part but merely an expression of interest.

Sincerely,

bcc: Mr. Leslie Dunbar

September 5, 1961

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Dave and Vernon:

Enclosed is a draft of our letter to the agencies regarding the Voting Project.

We are calling together a sub-committee of our Executive Committee to consider this draft either this Friday or next Monday. After the sub-committee goes over it and blesses it, it will be ready to get full committee approval. It seems to me desirable to proceed in this way so that when we finally put something before the other agencies it will be a definite commitment on our part.

I shall be delighted and grateful to get any comments, advice, or new ideas you may have. If it would be at all possible to hear from you, either by mail or by phone, later this week before our meeting, I shall be doubly grateful.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

September 18, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie Dunbar:

As you no doubt know, last March I wrote your predecessor, Harold Fleming, that the Board of Directors of The New World Foundation had approved a grant of $25,000 for general support of the Southern Regional Council's educational program for the calendar year 1961.

CR
9/19/61
RHA

We are pleased to enclose the foundation's check for that amount, and to express again this organization's good wishes to the Council.

Sincerely,

V A Eagle

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

PR (Tacoma also received the & will send down for our comment)

Air Mail

October 2, 1961

FD

Dear Les:

May I have your esteemed recommendation?

Best regards,

Vernon.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

2011 Grand Avenue • Nashville 12, Tennessee • CYpress 1-7544

Katherine Jones
Executive Director

September 27, 1961

New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Gentlemen:

The Tennessee Council on Human Relations wishes to ask the Foundation for a grant, to make possible an urgently needed extension of our program. The enclosed brochure describes our purposes, structure, and principal activities, and lists our current officers and staff. Attached is a summary of our membership growth, our current budget, and our source of funds for the last fiscal year.

With the rise of the student protest movement, spearheaded in the South by Negroes, the urgency for understanding across campus barriers has become even more compelling. The old methods of accommodation for both white and Negro students are no longer relevant. Channels of communication and association, formerly utilized, have fallen into disuse, and, in some instances, are discouraged by college administrations. There is an uneasiness among college students, both white and Negro, as the old images are outmoded, and the new ones not clearly defined. Since the Council's inception there has been a special emphasis on student participation.

In light of this, we recognize the urgent need to expand our services in the college and university communities, most of which are clustered in or around our major cities as follows:

Memphis

Memphis State University
Southwestern University
LeMoyne College
Owen College
University of Tennessee
Medical School and
Extension Service

Knoxville

University of Tennessee
Knoxville College
Maryville College
(20 miles from
Knoxville)

Nashville

Vanderbilt University
George Peabody College
Scarritt College

Jackson

Lane College
Lambuth College
Union University

Nashville

Fisk University
Meharry Medical College
Belmont College
Tennessee A & I State University
American Baptist Seminary
University of Tennessee
School of Social Work and
Extension Service

Chattanooga

University of Chattanooga

In each of these centers the Tennessee Council on Human Relations has members, in addition to others known to be in sympathy with our purposes. We have found college and university faculties the likeliest groups from which to gain support and membership. They have had wider opportunities for thoughtful study of human relations, and recognize the necessity to modify old concepts: they have diverse geographical, social and academic background; they are relatively free from pressures to conform, and are often in creative communication with one another. In many cases, however, they lack direct encounter in local community matters, and in some cases, they desire to overcome this insulation for themselves and their students. Within the total of sixty officers and board members of our Council, there are fourteen who are college professors and administrators.

We propose adding a full time staff member to our Council to work exclusively with college leadership--undergraduate, graduate and faculty--in bringing together students in different colleges in the same or nearby communities. We do not evision the creation of a new campus organization, but the utilization of existent groups which might be stimulated to broaden their outlook by wider associations. Groups serving in this capacity might include the following:

(1) Baptist Student Union, Canterbury House, Westminster House, Hillel Foundation, Newman Club, The Wesley Foundation
(2) Political Science Club
(3) Student Association for the United Nations
(4) Student Christian Associations
(5) International Relations Clubs
(6) History Majors
(7) National Student Association Chapters

This project has already been considered by a faculty group in Nashville, representing several of the colleges, and has their enthusiastic endorsement. Upon their recommendation, our staff member has attempted to assess the willingness of the already existing organizations to do the necessary recruiting across campus lines for the formation of such groups. In each instance, the organizations approached have offered their cooperation but could not supply the staff time required. Our Memphis membership, including students, was also enthusiastic about the program.

In each "college cluster", our staff member would need to determine the most feasible channels and work out the procedures. Resident adult members of the Tennessee Council would assist in program planning in the local college community. Considerable time would be involved necessarily in locating comparable groups in Negro and white colleges who might be stimulated toward this broadened interest. This project is designed to bring students together across racial lines, but on a basis of mutuality of interest and respect for individual achievement and ambition. We believe that it is imperative that college students have successful experiences along these lines before

they take their places in the business and professional world.

Tennessee Council on Human Relations Contributions

The Council would offer office space, clerical service, administrative supervision, and all other resources of our continuing program. Students have always had a vital part in the Council's program, and with the continuing support of college faculty, we anticipate increased interest in student activities.

Council faculty members across the state would form a supporting committee. As this inter-campus interest became standard procedure, it is hoped that faculty advisors would accept and promote it just as they do on-campus clubs. Hopefully, we would not need a special staff at the end of three years, but could include this as a continuing program responsibility carried by local members as part of their contribution.

Staffing

A recent college graduate or other young adult with group leadership experience, preferably male, free to spend time in travel to colleges over the state. Candidate should be able to meet students, faculty and college administrators comfortably and effectively. Perception and commitment to ideals of full and free opportunity for all people is more important than specific courses completed.

Request

Grant of $9000 per year for a three year program as outlined.

We will be most grateful for your consideration of this request. If additional information is desired, we will be happy to supply it.

Cordially,

James D. Glasse

James D. Glasse
President

JDG:nlo
Enclosures

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Chartered by the State of Tennessee, July 22, 1955

Originally the Tennessee Council was an integral part of the Southern Regional Council, as were the state councils in eleven other southern states. Large scale program and financial assistance to state councils was made by the Southern Regional Council with the goal of having the state councils become autonomous and effective interracial organizations. Three years ago, the state councils became independent cooperating agencies. The Tennessee Council secured the services of an Executive Director on November 1, 1958. Previously there had been no paid staff except intermittent coverage by a part-time office secretary.

Membership Growth	Financial Support	S.R.C.	TENNESSEE
1958 - 120 Members	1958	$ 3750.00	$ 810.00
1959 - 300 Members	1959	6375.00	1317.65
1960 - 460 Members	1960	7300.00	5146.00
1961 - 654 Members to date	1961	4725.00	4105.00 to date

BUDGET for 1961

EXPENSES

Salaries	
Executive Director	$ 6,000
Office Secretary	2,100
Travel	
Executive	500
Board Members	500
Office	
Rent	500
Equipment	100
Supplies and Maintenance	200
Telephone and Telegraph	400
Postage	400
Books and Subscriptions	150
Miscellaneous	
Annual Membership Meeting	200
Contingent	150
New South subscriptions	2,300
Total	$ 13,500

INCOME

Membership Dues	$ 4,500
Contributions	4,500
Southern Regional Council	3,500
Balance from 1960	1,000
Total	$ 13,500

Funder

October 4, 1961

Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

We acknowledge with thanks the check of The New World Foundation in the amount of $25,000.00 for general support during the calendar year 1961.

We do not need to tell you that your continued confidence in our work is a constant and highly valued reassurance.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

October 4, 1961

Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

I enjoyed so much the evening at your house and the chance to meet Ann and your fine children. It was certainly the high point of my most recent invasion of the North country.

I believe I probably told you as much as I would need to write regarding my opinion of the Quaker House in Atlanta, its director, and the value of its program to this city. As I told you, I know of no other agency which is more imaginative and which succeeds better in doing that which it sets itself to do. You will certainly want to keep in mind that the reach of Quaker House is, so far, confined to the Atlanta area; except for this I have no other reservations in urging that you consider their request sympathetically. The enclosures may have already come your way as they did mine, but in case they have not, you may find them interesting.

To answer your specific question, so far as I know no proselyting goes on. Quaker House in Atlanta seems to be the only such outlet the Quakers now have in the South. I may be wrong about that because there has been a Quaker House in Charlotte, supported by the North Carolina Meeting; my understanding, however, is that the Meeting has now abandoned support and that the House has either closed or will close.

The Service Committee has regional offices in High Point and in Austin; the latter is slated for transfer to Houston. They have projects now in Houston and Baton Rouge and plan one (merit employment) in Atlanta as soon as a newly appointed man can be put to work.

To: Mr. Vernon Eagle
October 4, 1961

This Atlanta project was on their agenda for a long time and the holdup, first, was money, and then finding a man. I am told that the only undertaking which has now reached the planning stage and which is held up only for lack of funds is the expansion of activities in Louisiana, with some spillover into Mississippi What they would like to do is to perform on a state-wide basis the program which Wade Mackie has carried on in Baton Rouge for several years now. Mackie has been a sort of one man human relations council in that city, and in everyone's judgment has been a strong force for good. I am told also that the Committee would like to have the funds to make possible an enlargement of the special program which has been carried on for the past year or so with the Negro children in Prince Edward County.

I could get a copy of the Committee plan for the Louisiana-Mississippi project if I requested it. Would you like for me to do so? I was told that the desired budget ran somewhere in the vicinity of $15,000.00.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

Foundation

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

September 11, 1961

Dear Les:

John Yungblut of Quaker House wrote to me asking whether or not The New World Foundation could be of financial assistance to them. He enclosed a copy of a report of their operations for the last ten months which seemed to me to be quite impressive.

From the report I gather they have been working rather closely with SRC. I wonder if you could give me the benefit of your advice as to the quality and effectiveness of their program.

Am I correct in assuming that their activities are non-proselytising in nature? (I always find it difficult to think of the Quakers as a religious organization.) What kind of relative priority would you give their request when compared with other efforts made in Atlanta?

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

September 11, 1961

Mr. John Yungblut
Quaker House
1384 Fairview Road, N.E.
Atlanta 6, Georgia

Dear Mr. Yungblut:

Thank you for your letter of September 2 with the enclosed progress report on the recent activities of Quaker House in Atlanta. You are indeed to be congratulated for the excellent work you have been doing under difficult circumstances. We should also like to express our appreciation for the assistance you have given Dr. Robert Coles.

Except in unusual situations The New World Foundation does not make grants toward the ordinary operating budgets of any organizations nor does the Foundation make grants to religious institutions.

However, exceptions can be made, particularly when, as in your instance, the work you are doing fits directly in the present program of The New World Foundation. We shall accordingly give your request for support serious consideration.

Meantime, it would be helpful if you could provide us with a more specific outline of your program for the coming year, together with a more detailed budget. Am I correct in assuming that Quaker House has received tax exempt status?

It will not be necessary for you to come to New York, but should I be in Atlanta in the near future, I shall be sure to get in touch with you.

Sincerely,

bcc: Mr. Leslie Dunbar

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

October 6, 1961

Dear Les:

There are a sufficient number of of question marks in my mind about the request from Quaker House to persuade me that I ought to postpone judgment until Katharine Taylor has an opportunity to visit them on her projected trip to Atlanta, probably sometime in November. Meantime, thank you for your comments.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

cc: Miss Katharine Taylor

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

October 20, 1961

To: Vernon Eagle

As you may know, the Tennesee Council submitted this same request to Field and Taconic, and I am replying to each of their requests for comments as I have to you. Perhaps I should have said all this in my letter to you, but in this place I want to add - what you will undoubtedly deduce anyway - that my feeling that the idea is good does not mean that it reflects the most urgent program need of the State Councils. (Certainly also, although I shouldn't presume to mention this, it can be one of the "good ideas" without being a good idea for you.)

We wish the State Councils would not send these things up without prior discussion - at least - with us!

Best wishes.

October 20, 1961

Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

When I was in New York I promised I would send, when completed, a copy of a staff memorandum we are doing on the present status of the State Councils on Human Relations, which would also include some of our hopes for the future. It looks now as though the memorandum will not be completed for a week or so. There is, of course, no reason to regret this except that I would have liked for you to have had it as background for consideration of the request you received from the Tennessee Council.

In order not to hold up that one unduly, I think I had better send off some comments about it now. We think the proposal of a campus project has great merit. Indeed, as you probably know, the Field Foundation has supported for several years a southern project of the National Student's Association directed toward goals similar to those sought by the Tennessee Council.

To enlist the good will, the energies, and the thoughts of college students is always a highly desirable end. At the present time, when Negro students are sparking a tremendous wave of reform throughout the South, there is added worth in efforts to involve the concern of more students, and to bring Negro and white students into fruitful dialogue with each other.

The Tennessee Council, after a shaky start, has in the past two years developed strongly and is today under able leadership and has great promise. We believe, there-

TO: Vernon Eagle
October 20, 1961

fore, that you could count on adequate supervision and planning of the project.

Although I have not seen a detailed budget, the amount requested - $9000.00 - would seem to me reasonable in terms of the work to be done.

In short, I believe the request of the Tennessee Council merits sympathetic consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

PRV
PAV
MBB-file

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

October 31, 1961

Dear Les,

I have just returned from my jaunt to the West which included our Board meeting in Chicago, and have your letter of October 20 with reference to the request from the Tennessee Council.

Although we shall certainly give their request "sympathetic consideration," we will not be able to act on it until the next Board meeting. As yet I have not made up my mind, but I am inclined to pass it by on priority and hope that my colleagues will pick up the tab.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

November 1, 1961

Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive,
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Here it is - an extra copy of the July-August New South which you may want to send to Judge Shaeffer.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

ML
MBB-file

November 6, 1961

Dear Les,

I have read the July-August "New South", as well as the more recent issue, with keen interest. You are doing a superb job.

More power to your right arm!

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

November 22, 1961

Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Some time ago I told you that we were preparing a staff analysis of the present status of the state Councils on Human Relations. It is done and I am enclosing a copy. I would prefer that you regard it as more or less confidential and for your information only, though if you ever see a reason for sharing it with members of your board or other persons please do so; I have the utmost trust in your discretion.

We are not sending this with either an express or an implied request for the New World Foundation to come to the aid of the Councils. We certainly would not turn our back on such, but I am conscious of how conspicuous already we are in your program. I would like, therefore, for you to accept this simply as information about work with which we are closely identified. If there is anything in it which you would like to discuss at any time please let me know.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. 1 — "The State Councils on Human Relations; A brief Summary of Present Status . . ."

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

TRV
MBB-file

November 28, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie,

You are as good as your word and I shall read the staff analysis of the present status of the state Councils on Human Relations with keen interest.

With respect to your second paragraph, I read you loud and clear.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Vernon

file
New World Fd
1964

December 4, 1964

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

On behalf of the Council, I acknowledge with deep appreciation your letter of November 11, 1964 informing us of the Foundation's grant in support of the Rural Advancement Project.

I think I need not tell you how much this means, not only to us, but to the National Sharecroppers Fund and to the state Councils on Human Relations. We fully expect to be able to report to you from time to time indications of heartening achievement.

We would be pleased to receive the 1965 funds as early in the year as it is convenient for you.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
cc: Fay Bennett

Rec'd 11/13/64

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

PAV
LEV
VJV
LD

November 11, 1964

Dear Leslie,

At its recent meeting the Board of Directors of The New World Foundation gave careful consideration to your request for financial assistance toward $178,820 a year for three years, in support of The Rural Advancement Project.

The Board decided that there is no question about the need for the program and that the combined efforts of the State Councils on Human Relations, the National Sharecroppers Fund, and particularly the Southern Regional Council under your direction are the best possible vehicles for the project.

They have asked me to inform you that they approved a grant of $20,000 for the year 1965, renewable for two additional years if the first year's operation is successful and the need still exists. It is our understanding that these funds will be expended within the program under your administrative discretion.

I trust you will let me know when the funds are needed.

Kindest regards,

Vernon Eagle

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-107

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Allen Lesser, Director
Federally Assisted Programs Staff

DATE: May 3, 1965

FROM : Harry L. Wright, Consultant
Federally Assisted Programs Staff

SUBJECT: Report of a Field Trip to Frogmore, South Carolina --Statewide Conference on School Desegregation-- April 23-25, 1965

In a continuing effort to carry out the responsibility assigned to the Federally Assisted Programs Staff to assist communities in their efforts to effect voluntary compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, I accepted an invitation to participate in the South Carolina Conference on School Desegregation in order to explain Title VI and HEW Regulation pursuant to the Act. The following is an account of this activity:

I. Planning, Sponsorship, and Setting

The conference had been well planned by private agencies in South Carolina, all of which were involved, in one way or another, in working out the problems of school desegregation. Present at the planning session prior to the conference were representatives of Penn Community Services, Incorporated (the host of the conference), the American Friends Service Committee, the N.A.A.C.P., the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Voter Education Project, the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, and the Palmetto Education Association.

The stated purpose of the sponsoring groups was to bring together Negro representatives from each of South Carolina's 108 school districts to discuss ways of achieving substantial school desegregation for the 1965-66 school year.

The conference was held at the Penn Community Center in Frogmore, S. C. --the site of the old Penn School. It is claimed that the history of the Penn School covers one of the most interesting experiments ever taken in Americanization. It is an unusual coincidence of history that the first efforts of early freedmen to achieve the full benefits of American citizenship through education and the present efforts of their descendents in this same direction a hundred years later were launched from this identical spot.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

This island, part of an archipelago along the Atlantic, was one of the main targets of the French, Spanish, and English for over a century and a half. When English possession of these islands was secured, one of the most fabulous plantations systems of the Old South was created. This era of luxury and power had reached its crest by the beginning of the Civil War.

In 1861, a fleet of United States warships steamed into Port Royal Harbor, but the planters had fled to the mainland, taking with them as much personal property as they could --including their most valuable slaves. The landing forces found only empty homes and deserted plantations, except for the masses of bewildered slaves, without business or purpose beyond survival.

Neither the Army nor the Government had forseen this situation, and both, it appears, were somewhat at a loss as to the best way of handling the disposition of these people. The history of the Penn School tells the story of the valuable and useful role it played in filling this vacuum in the survival and development of the community during that period.

Penn became the first schoolhouse in the South constructed solely for the use of freedmen. Pupils and teachers erected the school near an old brick church, and one of the founders, Miss Laura Towne, presented it with a fine brass bell, which bore the inscription, "Proclaim Liberty."

This bell has since become the voice of the community, and at the convening of this meeting on April 23, 1965, after more than a hundred years of steady use, it still rang out its familiar call urging this later generation of freedmen to 'gather and proclaim liberty.'

The conference wass called to order on Friday evening in the main auditorium of the Community Center. The revolutionary spirit was high and so was the tension, since many of the participants stated that they had come to this Civil Rights meeting under the threat of losing their jobs.

A school district-by-school district rollcall showed that approximately 90% of the districts were present and accounted for. These were the "grassroot" workers --local small businessmen, such as the town-tailor and the clothes-cleaning operator; pastors of small rural churches; rural school teachers; one courageous principal of a school; a number of parents of children already attending court-ordered desegregated schools; local Negro labor leaders; and some just plain interested townspeople. There were approximately 250 people present, representing the widest possible spectrum of able community leaders of South Carolina.

These were the determined, responsible people who were totally committed to the absolute end of school segregation --and they showed it. The opening hymn, "Jacob's Ladder," sounded defiantly loud and strong on the phrase, "We are soldiers of the cross." Yet a hopeful atmosphere permeated the entire conference for the duration of the sessions. Perhaps it had its genesis in the singing of the second spiritual "The Great Camp Meeting," which says: "Walk together children; don't you get weary."

II. "Keynote" Activities

Well within the high spirit of this meeting, Miss Jean Shagaloff, National Director of the Education Program for the N.A.A.C.P., delivered the keynote speech, in which she vividly compared the educational discrepancies between Negro schools and white schools in South Carolina, explained the irreparable harm that segregation causes both Negro and white pupils, and urged Negro parents to militantly push for integregation of schools, using the very effective tool of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

After Miss Shagaloff's most inspirational speech, which covered the broad and general aspects of the problem, the conference moved toward a specific look at the impact of Title VI on school desegregation by showing the film The Letter and the Spirit, in which Vice President Humphrey cuts through red tape and vagueness and states in good, clear, emphatic language what Title VI really means. He explains to all Americans that "we are going to walk that extra mile in trying to get voluntary compliance with Title VI, but if we don't, we will be forced to withhold Federal funds."

There was wild applause of appreciation at the end of the film, and a lot of loud "Amens." Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 had been pointed out to the conferees as their symbolic sword to do battle against segregated schools, and they awaited the next day's session to learn the details of its use.

III. The Impact of Title VI

The second session began the next morning, Saturday, April 24th. For all purposes this was "Title VI Day." The auditorium was packed; there was an emotional carry-over from the keynote address of Miss Shagaloff and the film speech of Vice President Humphrey. The audience warmed up by singing the battle hymn of the Civil Rights Movement--"We Shall Overcome."

Mr. Courtney Siceloff, the Executive Director of Penn Community Services (and a man who epitomizes the truly liberal white Southerner), took over his duties as chairman of the Title VI Panel, which consisted of Mr. Samuel Simmons, Director of Field Services, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, and me. We were each asked to make a general statement on our program. I was asked to speak first.

Carefully and specifically, I outlined the purpose of Title VI and details of the Regulation, and I made sure that my outline of these details were in "ordinary everyday words." I stressed the importance that good faith efforts of compliance be carried out in an atmosphere of goodwill, and suggested that the conferees always keep in mind that in eliminating the dual school system, they always keep as their main goal the improvement of education and the opportunities for quality education for all of our children. I assured them that their interest in this connection is also the vital interest of the Federal Government; that it is the determination of our office to administer Title VI fairly and firmly in accordance with our responsibility under the Act, and that this spirit had been pointedly demonstrated when President Johnson, in a recent address to Congress and the world, pledged that "We shall overcome."

In his opening statement Mr. Simmons explained the role of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission in relation to the total civil rights picture. He called the conferees' attention to the work of the South Carolina Rights Advisory Committee and pledged the wholehearted cooperation of his office and this committee to help them accomplish the purpose of the Act.

After Mr. Simmons's speech, the chairman opened the meeting for questions from the floor, and the conference exploded with questions covering virtually every problem the conferees were confronting or anticipating in their local communities in connection with the implementation of Title VI. Mr. Simmons and I continuously and straightforwardly answered their questions from 9:30 in the morning until 12:30 in the afternoon, without having the time to even take a drink of water. These are the kinds of provocative questions we faced:

1. Are the deadline dates set by the local school board for requests by pupils and parents for transfer under the freedom of choice plan binding --if the school board's voluntary desegregation plan has been published, before review and acceptance by the U.S. Commissioner of Education?

(Several conferees indicated that their local school board was busy trying to enforce transfer deadlines, and making halfhearted, inadequate public notice of voluntary desegregation plans by placing these on the page of legal notices in the back of the local newspaper.)

2. Are local school boards expected to discuss voluntary desegregation plans with community groups, particularly with Negro community organizations at the request of such groups, before such plans are submitted to the U.S. Office of Education?

(Before I answered this question, the chairman asked the conferees to indicate by a show of hands how many school boards had not discussed the voluntary desegregation plans with responsible Negro leaders and organizations in their communities; fully ninety-nine percent of them indicated that the school boards had not discussed any aspect of the proposed plan with them prior to the time the plans were submitted to Washington. In a number of instances they reported that the school boards had absolutely refused to discuss the desegregation plan, even when strongly urged to do so by Negro community leaders. (The Board at Spartanburg, South Carolina, District # 3, was one of such school boards reported to have refused.)

3. Are most of the voluntary desegregation plans coming into the U.S. Office of Education based on the "Freedom of Choice"?

(When conferees were given an affirmative answer to this question, many commented that they knew why this type of plan was finding favor. They felt that the freedom of choice plans offered the best method of putting pressure primarily on Negro teachers to "persuade" Negro pupils not to choose to apply for a transfer. Generally, they stated local school boards were using the freedom of choice plans to shift school officials' own legal responsibility back to the parent and pupils for implementing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. They felt that this was helping to defeat the true purpose of the Act.)

4. Under the guise of complying with Title VI, can school boards fire Negro teachers in order to avoid the problem of integrating staff and still be acting "In good faith" under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964?

(Their comments were that this was the "guillotine" hanging over the necks of Negro teachers, and that these teachers, in acts of self-perservation, would not press their students to apply for transfers.)

5. Should we make a complaint to the U.S. Office of Education before the plan is accepted by the U.S. Commissioner of Education?

6. In order to avoid threats and economic reprisals to an individual, can we request our organizations to make complaints for parents and pupils?

7. Will the U.S. Office of Education diligently deal with complaints of real substance?

(Although this question had been answered in my opening statement, it recurred again during the question period.)

IV. Summary Sessions

At the close of this session, we were quickly surrounded by conferees and members of the local white press who congratulated us heartily for our efforts as representatives of a Federal Government which they felt was really committed to the firm administration of Title VI.

In the following sessions of the conference, expert panel members, including the very able Stanley Kruger of our Title IV staff, discussed such matters as: Community Organization for School Desegregation, Recruitment of Students, Tutorial Programs, and the Emotional and Psychological Factors in School Desegregation.

In the closing session of the conference, Miss Jean Fairfax of the American Friends Committee, in her usual inspirational and astute manner, summarized the work of the conference. In order to fully benefit from the efforts and spirit of the meeting, the conferees promptly formed a continuing organization --the South Carolina State Coordinating Committee on School Desegregation-- to assist local community organizations in their follow-up efforts to implement Title VI.

When the meeting came to an end, the primary objective had been successfully accomplished, and the conferees, symbolically, were pledged to carry out the instructions once again of the Old Penn School Bell --to "Proclaim Liberty."

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA 47405

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
BALLANTINE HALL

AREA CODE 812
TEL. NO. 337-

December 1, 1965

State of Georgia
Office of Information
State House
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am with the Department of Sociology of Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana and currently engaged in research on the sociological aspects of cooperative movements and communities. Since my research on this problem so far has focused primarily on communities and movements outside the United States, I should like in the near future to study similar communities that exist in the various states of the union.

I would therefore appreciate any information which you might be able to provide on cooperative communities and movements in your state.

Primarily, I would be interested in the following kinds of information:

a) the name of the community or movement;

b) its location and address;

c) a few words describing the nature of the cooperative, and

d) its "ideological" character, that is, whether it is of a religious or secular character, etc.

With such information I could select a few cooperatives for intensive study and write them for permission.

Thanking you for your attention to this matter, I am

Sincerely yours,

Irving M. Zeitlin

Irving M. Zeitlin
Assistant Professor

IMZ/mvr

12-17-65

December 15, 1965

Mr. Irving M. Zeitlin
Assistant Professor
Indiana University
Ballantine Hall
Bloomington, Indiana 47405

Dear Mr. Zeitlin:

We were interested in receiving your letter and would like to submit the Koinonia Farms community for your consideration. Koinonia Farms along Dawson Road in Sumter County, situated in Southwest Georgia, is a biracial community which had its beginning some fifteen years ago. We are sorry, but that is about the extent of our information, and we would suggest any further inquiry go directly to the community leadership.

Knowledge of other cooperative movements in Georgia is limited to the above, although this does not mean that others do not exist. In order to determine whether they do exist we are furnishing a copy of your letter to the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30301, who might be able to provide insights to other communities which normally do not receive extensive publicity. The Southern Regional Council is a highly selective organization devoted to high ideals in biracial activities and relationships.

Any further way in which we may assist you, feel free to call upon our cooperation.

Sincerely,

DDB

David D. Baird

cc: Mr. Al Ulmer

DDB/sh

Request to

New World Foundation

From

Penn Community Services, Incorporated
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Penn Community Services, Inc., requests a grant of $7,000 from the New World Foundation to conduct a program of school desegregation in South Carolina

The grant would be used primarily to provide for the services of a consultant but would also pay travel expenses for participants to two state-wide conferences. The consultant, working out of Columbia, the geographical center of the state, would spend most of his time in organizing and servicing local groups over the state in order to achieve substantial desegregation. He would also coordinate the activities of the agencies with interest in the field, in order to avoid duplication of efforts.

In the spring of 1966, the Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights plans to hold a state-wide conference on school desegregation, where representatives of the Office of Education will explain the guidelines for the next school year. The consultant would begin work one month prior to the conference in order to insure representation from all over the state. Representatives from the communities would

come together again in Columbia some six weeks later to discuss problems they have encountered and ways in which they might be solved. Travel, consisting only of gasoline for the trip, would be provided in order to have as full representation of the state as possible.

In the light of the school desegregation in South Carolina this year--the first under Title VI provisions of the Civil Rights Law--it is apparent that the communities having the largest number of Negroes attending the formerly white schools had an active group encouraging the transfers. Such a group was even more important than a good plan fairly administered, because of the need to advise Negro parents of the value of a desegregated education.

Last year a grant from the New World Foundation enabled Penn Community Services, along with nine other organizations, to sponsor a state-wide school desegregation conference on the Penn campus. About 90 percent of the counties were represented.

Last year, the first year of public school desegregation in South Carolina, there were 290 Negroes in formerly white schools. This year there are 3,500. While this number is only 1.5 percent of the Negro enrollment, this state ranks above four other southern states, both in terms of percentage and in the total number of Negroes involved--and several of these states began school desegregation before South Carolina.

There are a number of factors why school desegregation is not more widespread in the state; two of these may be eliminated next fall. There should have been a person to follow up the

conference last spring to capitalize on the interest shown there. The grant requested makes provision for this work.

Another factor is that only one-half of the school districts had their school plans accepted by the Office of Health, Education, and Welfare by the time school began this year; few children, already attending classes, care to transfer to another school. Presumably, next year these procedures will have been worked out well in advance.

There are several favorable factors working for substantial school desegregation in the state for next year:

(1) According to our information, all but one school district is desegregating all twelve grades;

(2) The South Carolina Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights is concentrating on a study of school desegregation in the state, culminating in a state-wide conference on the subject next spring.

(3) Ten agencies gave priority to school desegregation last year and worked cooperatively. These agencies have given assurance of their continued cooperation.

(4) Intimidation and coercion have not yet characterized resistance to desegregation. The greatest need appears to be the arousing in Negroes of an awareness of the advantages of an integrated education and informing them how best this can be achieved.

A grant from the New World Foundation would offer the possibility of South Carolina's achieving substantial, and perhaps full desegregation of the public schools. Such an achievement could, in turn contribute fundamentally to the solution of other

major problems facing South Carolina and all of the deep south.

Respectfully submitted

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

December 15, 1965

Courtney Siceloff
Director

Attachments:
Penn brochure
Budget of Proposed Project
Memorandum of Harry Wright
Penn Budget, 1965-66

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

December 29, 1965

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Siceloff:

I have only now received your letter of December 15th and the enclosed proposal for a school desegregation program in South Carolina.

Your outline appears to be a reasonable one, but, needless to say, the success of any such program will depend almost entirely on the ability of the consultant. Do you have a specific individual in mind with adequate qualifications?

With this in mind I spoke to Paul Anthony at the Southern Regional Council who informed me that they had modest funds available to supply consultants for programs such as yours. I am sending him a copy of your proposal with the suggestion that perhaps you two could work out some joint arrangement.

I must remind you that our foundation has a firm policy for not allowing overhead for administration. In addition, I wonder if you could look into the possibility of having at least part of the community representatives to the state-wide meetings

meet their own travel expenses.

As to the question of timing raised in your last paragraph, my next Board meeting is scheduled for February 10th.

Sincerely,

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S. C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

December 15, 1965

Mr. Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon Eagle:

Last year, as you know, the New World Foundation made a $1500 grant which enabled us to sponsor a school desegregation conference. After the conference, we planned a follow-up approach in the communities, but this didn't function, as the agencies gave priority to their own programs.

This year we plan to spend less on a conference and more on follow-up. For one thing, the South Carolina Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights will take much of the responsibility of the conference. The cost of follow-up is modest, but basic if there is to be substantial desegregation.

Tomorrow, the Advisory Committee meets and will plan for the conference for either February or March. I would have liked to discuss the enclosed proposal with you before submitting it, but I am not sure when I will next be in New York (perhaps I am still in a state of shock from our encounter in the White House and unable to get courage enough to face you).

I would welcome any questions and of course be willing to come to New York to discuss this project. At the risk of being presumptious, I would appreciate your judgment as to the likely reaction of your Foundation to the proposal, as well as the approximate date that a decision would be reached. This information would be helpful in working with the other organizations cooperatively in the program.

With best regards,

Courtney Siceloff

Courtney Siceloff
CS/fm
Enclosures

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

December 29, 1965

Dear Paul,

Perhaps you can work something out with Siceloff and the Penn Community Services, Inc. Please let me know.

Happy New Year!

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Well Hartzler

January 4, 1966

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation ← file
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Vernon:

On the request from Penn Community Serivces, I have talked with Siceloff by phone and will see him on Sunday. There is hope that the Norman Fund will provide the $1,800 for the two state-wide meetings. We can provide at least half the cost for the consultant, subject to getting a good person. We will raise with AFSC the idea of their providing the other half. Courtney is prepared to trim overhead costs. These measures will assure that at least the best of the proposed program will be conducted. And, if Penn returns to the New World Foundation it will be for a substantially smaller amount than the original request.

The request from the South Carolina Student Council for $650 for a student recruitment program has been reduced to $400. That amount will be taken from the Special Contingency Fund for Student Human Relations Councils and is sufficient, I think, for a good program.

Already I am concerned about my rash promise to have the Directors Annual Report to you by the end of the month. However, we will try and the request will be forthcoming shortly.

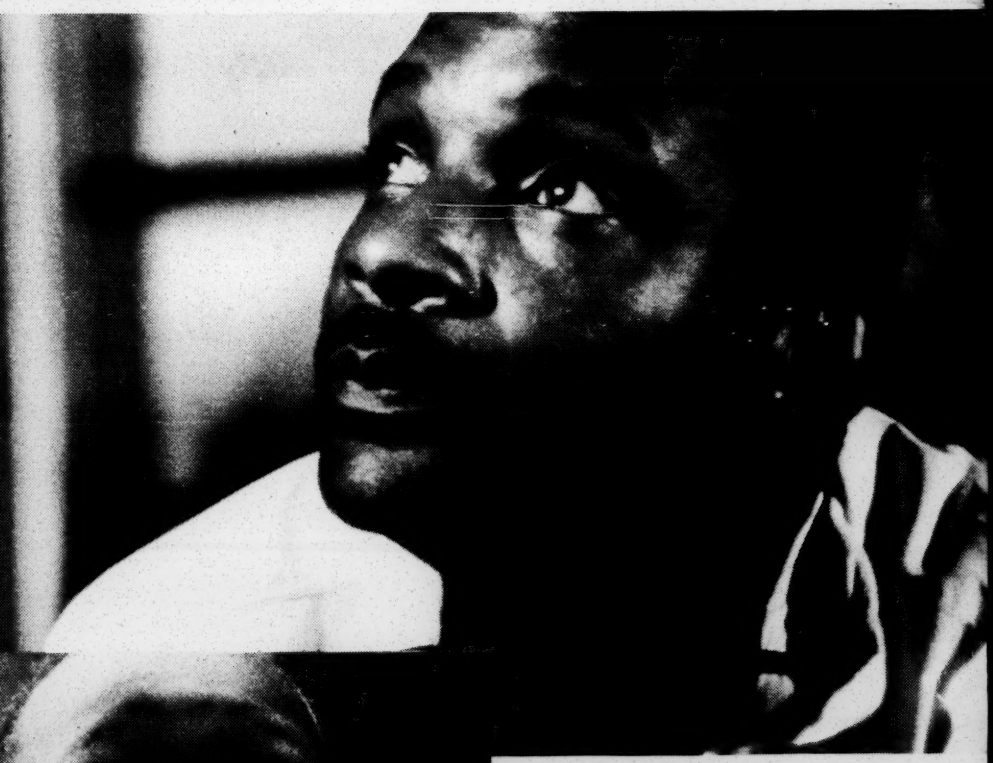
Sincerely,

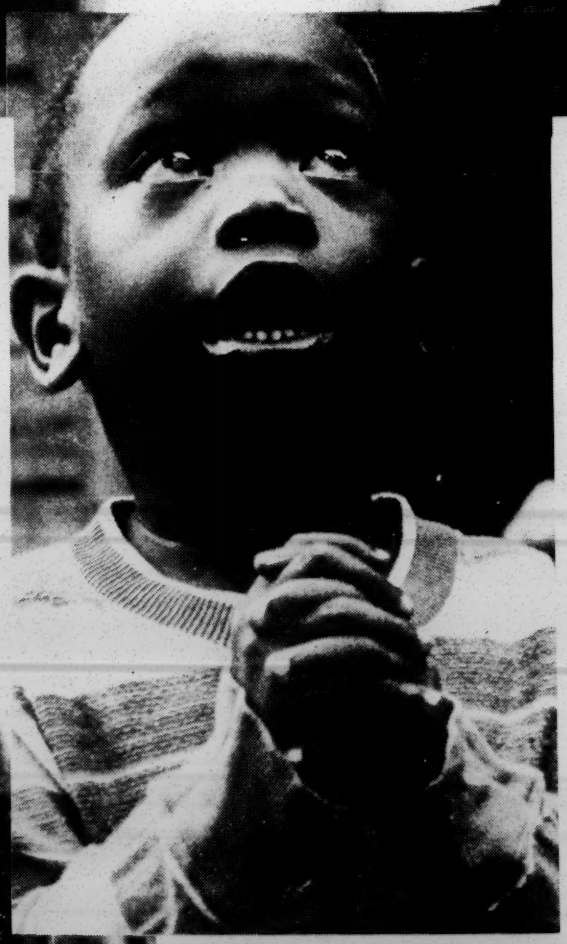
Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

"...Something to the Spirit..."

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA





January 6, 1966

AIR MAIL

Mr. Vernon Eagle, Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Vernon Eagle:

I appreciate very much your prompt response to my letter of December 15 concerning the school desegregation program. I have talked twice with Paul Anthony and will be seeing him again on Sunday.

Mrs. Deborah Cole of the Aaron Norman Fund has undoubtedly been in touch with you about the same proposal. I had originally submitted the proposal to the Aaron Norman Fund, but it arrived too late to be considered at their meeting in December. Feeling that any consideration the Fund might give to it would be too late for work in the spring, I sent the proposal to you. Mrs. Cole, in her call to me, indicated that the Fund would be meeting again shortly.

Mrs. Cole indicated she had discussed the proposal with Jean Fairfax, who had suggested strengthening the program by having a person begin work in February and continuing full-time through September. This would be highly desirable, particularly in view of the fact that a date for the statewide conference by the Commission on Civil Rights has now been set for March 17. By eliminating the amount charged as overhead to Penn, the total budget would amount to $7,200, copy of which is enclosed. I would hope that with the apparent interest of Mrs. Cole, the Fund will be making a substantial grant toward the total cost, although it was said that they could not undertake the entire amount.

As to the consultant, we have not picked such a person, but have discussed the matter with Mr. Richard Miles, director of the Voter Education Project for South Carolina, and likewise raised the question of the housing of this person in his office. The person we are thinking of is a Negro resident of South Carolina, hopefully Columbia, who has had experience in community work, but probably not a professional. A college degree would not even be a necessary qualification, but we would hope to find a person who has demonstrated his interest and ability to get a movement started. I do not believe such a person will be difficult to find, because the South is developing a number of these persons continuously.

I will be seeing Dick miles in the next couple of days to discuss further the possibility of housing the worker in his office. This would provide excellent supervision and direction, as well as a place where mail and 'phone calls could be received while the consultant is out in the field.

As plans are further formulated, I will be in touch with you. In the meantime, if any questions come up at your end, I hope that you will let me know.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff

cs/es

cc: Paul Anthony

BUDGET FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

PROGRAM IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Consultant:

Salary -- Eight months (February through September) @ $300	-	$ 2,400
Travel of Consultant	-	1,000
Per Diem of Consultant while traveling	-	1,000
Telephone, Office, and Supplies	-	500
Secretarial assistance, contribution toward office rent	-	500
Travel of community representatives to two state-wide meetings	-	1,800
TOTAL		$ 7,200

BUDGET FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

PROGRAM IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Consultant:

Salary -- Three Months Full Time (March-May)	@ $300 -	900	
Four Months Half-time (June-September)	@ 150 -	600	$1,500
Travel of Consultant	-		1,000
Per Diem of Consultant while traveling	-		1,000
Telephone Office and Supplies	-		500
Secretarial assistance, contribution toward office rent			500
Travel of community representatives to two state-wide meetings			1,800
Overhead to Penn for administering project			700
			$7,000

Re file
New World Fd.
1966

January 13, 1966

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Vernon:

Enclosed is our proposal to the Foundation. The length reflects work we are doing anyway to put into writing our arguments for general support. And, while we still hope to have a director's program report by the end of the month, it is not certain.

If the two year support and the amount requested are not satisfactory to you, please alter the terms as you see fit.

I hope the amount of information we are sending you is indicative of our interest in keeping you and the foundation informed and not a burden of too many words.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

Bc Hcf

Jacquie Foundation

A PROPOSAL TO THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION IN REQUEST

OF SUPPORT TO THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

40 3 (Jacquie)

We request the consideration of the New World Foundation for a grant of $30,000 per year for two years in support of the general operations of the Southern Regional Council. We cannot, however, request further assistance without expressing our gratitude for the Foundation's past support. We would like, too, to give some indication of what that support has allowed us to achieve.

In the late 1950's and thereafter the Southern Regional Council was in a precarious position. The Council's programs and aims were unpopular with many of the people and most of the leadership of the region. There was little stable financial assistance and few foundations would consider support. Yet, the opportunities for the Council were perhaps never greater. The agency had acquired some fifteen years of experience and an excellent, though small, staff. Clearly defined programs in field work, research and information had been developed. A full-time research director, who was later to become executive director, had been secured and the Council was to enter perhaps the most productive period of research and information in its history. We were in an unprecedented position to influence public opinion and policy. And, perhaps most importantly, at least on a confidential and "off-the-record" basis, public officials and other leaders were beginning to turn to the Councilefor information and guidance.

8 Mr. & Mrs. Cussner

During this period, in 1959, the New World Foundation made a its first grant to the Council. Since that time the Foundation's support constituted from ten to fifteen per-cent of the Council's general operations. We think, therefore, it is no exaggeration to observe that whatever the Council has been able to accomplish during this period has been made possible by the Foundation's support.

Since 1958 me

During this period Council ~~activity~~ has grown substantially. Our staff has more than doubled with a proportionate increase in program. In several of these years our special projects expenditures have approximated a half million dollars a year. During the years of school-closing crises we were able to work with, support, and in some instances create parents' groups in support of public education in Little Rock, New Orleans, Atlanta, Mobile, in a number of smaller cities, and most recently the state-wide Mississippians for Public Education. The state Councils on Human Relations -- a genuinely interracial, community-by-community movement which has gone through lean years -- have more than doubled their membership and have more than tripled the amount of financial support available to them from local sources.

We have found rapidly increasing opportunities for cooperation with and assistance to appropriate agencies of the federal government and a growing, if not rapid, rate of opportunity for similar cooperation with state and local governments. And we have attempted, where the situation warranted, to offer fair but firm criticism of the mistakes and failures of public agencies.

Our information and research materials have increased considerably in number, and in effectiveness, reflecting a growing receptivity to such information. Attached is a description of our publications during the current year, and a brief commentary on our information and research plans for the next several years.

The Council has achieved a high degree of cooperation in publications and programs with other agencies and organizations. These agencies include the YWCA, the NAACP, the Anti-Defamation League, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Women's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church. SRC continues its role as secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference, an informal gathering for the purposes of information sharing of more than forty agencies and groups concerned with race relations in the South.

In 1962, the Council began one of its most ambitious special projects, the Voter Education Project. Under this project the Council has expended almost one million dollars in voter-registration and education efforts, most of these administered in cooperation with other national, regional and local groups. Over 600,000 new voters were added to the rolls. From this effort we hope to organize the most comprehensive information available on the subject of Negro voter registration and political participation in the South. A team of research-writers is now at work on this effort which will be published in book form by contract with Harcourt, Brace in the spring.

We are now organizing and seeking funds for a new program in voter education which will continue our interest in voter registration and substantially increase our interest in civic education and leadership training.

We have received a substantial grant ($324,000 per year for three years) from the Ford Foundation which will enable us, under the special project format, to enter on a substantial basis a number of new program areas. These range from urban planning to prison reform and criminal rehabilitation. We will be able to conduct studies in school desegregation, technological unemployment, and the effectiveness of federal anti-discrimination and anti-poverty programs. Heavy use will be made of consultants to local leadership and appropriate public and private groups. In this instance, the Council is able to move not only closer to the dreams of its founders, but closer to the emerging needs and opportunities of the region by being a repository of unique skills and resources needed by the region.

(Perhaps it is valid here to insert the thought that support to general operations of the Council offers in many ways the greatest return from the funds invested. Such support not only allows the Southern Regional Council to exist, it provides that base which develops and administers the more elaborate projects which the organization is able to direct periodically. Therefore, the relative modest expenditures which allow us to develop and administer programs occasionally leads to program expenditures well in excess of our total general operating budget.)

We must hasten to add, as we always must in accounts of this nature, that the Southern Regional Council has no illusions of its power or ability to change the region. At best we can look for opportunities that are promising, needs that are pressing, new developments that require interpretation, or situations which hang in delicate balance. We can only hope that such resources as we can bring to bear will make a difference.

These skills and this realistic appraisal of the limitations may be the reason the Council is unique, as we think it is. The Council is a strange agency, neither completely academic nor research-oriented in nature, nor action-oriented in the usual sense of that term. It is an agency, born out of the particular Southern mind, which is designed in the best judgement of those who direct it to meet the particular Southern need. This, in the sense of building a society as well as in the sense of correcting old evils, leads to the merging of special skills, interests, and resources. We find ourselves, therefore, attempting to analyze responsible questions raised about the exuberant student movement of the deep South, or to confer quietly with a Southern governor, to advise on request about appointments to federal governmental posts, to engage scholars for highly academic research, or to rush out a special report to clarify issues.

These, in all too brief an accounting to do justice to the grants, are some of the ways in which the New World Foundation has contributed to the Council during the past years. It is, in part too, some report on present program.

In requesting consideration of further support, we should like to place before the Foundation three areas of concern: program, staffing, and financing. All are closely related and difficult to separate.

PROGRAM: To continue the ongoing program and to attempt to improve the quality of it, the Council must have the greatest degree of stability possible in its general operations. Our program of field work, particularly that of keeping closely enough in touch with the people and problems of the region to know what is happening, is essential to every interest of the

Council; our program of disseminating information must not only perform its past functions but grow in the area of informing people of the new opportunities and programs available; and our research efforts must become more sophisticated as our approachable problems become more complex. Whatever the temptations, demands, or resources of special projects, they must be seen as important appendages to the central body of the organization which makes its own stable, ongoing contribution.

In developing future program it is important to realize that in Southern race relations if the present time does not signal the end of an era then certainly it is the time of a long pause in the period of direct action. There will be more demonstrations, but generally efforts are turning inward to voter registration, community organization, self-help programs, the sharing in publicly funded activities.

We should recognize, too, that we are nearing that point when the institutions of government, particularly the courts and the legislature, have produced most of the legal framework that is necessary. Perhaps the last problem lending itself to simple identification will be that concerned with jury reform. The remaining ones will be infinitely complex.

Finally, we are approaching that point where race is an important, sometimes overwhelming, factor but not an exclusive one. Increasingly programs will have to be developed to include and assist all of the people.

3a cont.

STAFF AND PROGRAM RESOURCES: As is quite obvious, staff is program and the quality of the Council's staff will determine the quality of the Council's programs. We have been able to attract highly qualified and dedicated people and be believe we can continue to do so. This is true despite the ever growing competition from other sources, especially the federal government. But we cannot do so unless we can offer some measure of security. Here again, stability is required not just for comfortable planning, but as an essential to maximum productivity.

(An attachment to this proposal gives a list of staff and a brief description of each individual.)

The Council has long used consultants to extend its staff resources in the areas of field work, research, and writing. The talent in the South, particularly that which is college and university related, is large and available. For instance, Dr. Paul Gaston of the University of Virginia has just completed an analysis of the effectiveness of the Summer Teaching Program sponsored by Yale University.

In this regard too, we enjoy good relations with a number of colleges and universities in the region. Increasingly there is an opportunity to develop joint programs. We shall pursue these arrangements.

Finally, to meet our own needs but also those of all the agencies, we hope to work closely with college and university administrators in finding ways to encourage more young people from undergraduate and graduate schools to enter this field. This is seen both as a process of encouraging commitment and of developing curriculum.

FINANCES: We estimate that approximately $130,000 must be raised during the year to meet the Council's general operating budget of $297,400 for 1966. A determined effort will be made to seek a part of these funds from within the region. We have as a goal raising $20,000 from Southern sources during 1966. We have no idea of how realistic this goal is but we are aware that we must begin such efforts however formidable the task.

We are in a position of having no choice but to return still to those sources where we can be certain the merits of our operation will be looked on objectively.

The Council remains, of course, in the position of having to raise its operating funds on a year-by-year basis. While this creates certain ever-present fund-raising problems, we do not consider this unfortunate. Quite the contrary, we think it a healthy situation to have to submit our work and plans over and over again to careful scrutiny as to its effectiveness and pertinence.

We respectfully request the consideration of the Foundation of a grant in support of the general operations of the Southern Regional Council in the amount of $30,000 per year for two years, beginning in 1966.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Atlanta, Georgia

-- Staff --

ADMINISTRATIVE

Executive Director

Paul Anthony, A.B., University of Miami, formerly SRC Assistant to the Director and Director of Field Activities

Secretary to the Director - Mrs. H. D. Johnson

Secretary-Treasurer

Mrs. Ruth House Alexander, Morris Brown College of Business

Ex. Assist Edwin Evans, BA Univ. of Miami, former Dir. Fla. Council

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer - Janet Smith, B.S., Berry College, M.A., Emory University

Mail Room Supervisor - Mrs. Bernice C. Cook

~~Clerks - Albert P. Brinson, John Reiman~~ Willie Woods

Receptionist - Mrs. W. T. Knox

RESEARCH

Director

Samuel L. Adams, A.B., West Virginia State College; A.B., Wayne State University; M.A., University of Minnesota; formerly staff writer, St. Petersburg Times; nominee for 1964 Pulitzer Award in Journalism

Staff Economist

Lloyd J. Elliott, Ph.D., University of Texas (Economics); formerly associate professor at William and Mary College

Research Assistants

Mrs. Ed A. Albright, formerly editor of Southeast News, of Congregational Christian Churches

Mrs. Numan V. Bartley, B.A. and M.A., North Texas State University

Mrs. H. H. Morrison, attended University of Chattanooga; formerly secretary, Tennessee Valley Authority

Mrs. Doris E. Kimball Reed, attended Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Georgia

INFORMATION Mrs. Esther J. Lampkin

Director

W. Patrick Watters, Jrl, A.B., Emory University; M.A., University of Iowa; formerly city editor and columnist, Atlanta Journal

Mgr - Editor, New South — Bob Anderson
Edit-Asst — M. Manderson
Writer — Margaret Long, novelist, formerly staffer and columnist Atlanta, Richmond, Louisville, Macon, and Columbus newspapers and Associated Press

Secretary - Mrs. Tommy Shortt

FIELD ACTIVITIES

Director

Edwin Stanfield, A.B. and M.A., Union Theological Seminary; formerly Executive Director, Alabama Council on Human Relations

Administrative Secretary - ~~Marge Manderson~~ Pat Franklin

Director of Women's Work

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, A.B., Wesleyan College, A.M., Garrett Seminary; Member, President Truman's Commission on Civil Rights

Secretary - Mrs. Johnnie C. Howard

SPECIAL PROJECTS

Voter Education Project

Director

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., B.A., DePauw University, L.L.B., Howard University; formerly Georgia Field Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, member, Arkansas Bar

Administrative Secretary - Mrs. Luther B. Morgan
Sec'ty - Helen O'Neal

Research Associate

Mrs. Jack Patterson, A.B., Vassar College

Field Consultant - vacant

Administrative Aide - Thaddeus Olive, M.B.A., Atlanta University

Labor Education Project

Director

Emory F. Via, A.B., Emory University, M.A. and Ph.D., University of Chicago

Associate Director - vacant

Secretary - ~~Mrs.~~ Miss Joan Browning

Urban Planning

Director

Moreland G. Smith, B. Arch., Auburn University, L'Ecole de Beaux Arts, Fontainbleu, France (Diplome), Massachusetts Institute of Technology (M. Arch.)

Secretary - Mrs. Jerry Gimarc, M.A., Northwestern University

Governmental Programs (Research and Consultation)

Director - vacant

Secretary - vacant

Rehabilitation of Criminals and Penal Administration

Director - vacant

Secretary - vacant

Community Organization

Director

Al Ulmer, B.S., M.S., Florida State University; Peace Corps, Nigeria

NOTE: Consultants are being secured in the above project areas and in the areas of: Housing, Education, Welfare, and Technological Unemployment.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Atlanta, Georgia

Major Publications -- 1965

FEDERAL ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS: PRESENT AND PENDING.-- This 12-page digest of federal war on poverty programs informs the concerned individual on what he can do to stimulate group action to receive anti-poverty aid.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS. -- An 11-page Special Report documenting the exclusion of Negroes from employment by federal courts in the South and showing the courts to be out of line with the fair employment practices of federal agencies and the philosophy of the civil rights statute.

ENCOUNTER WITH THE FUTURE. -- A study of the Negro Movement, its gains and losses, its radicalism and developing racism. A report on directions developing in youth movements, with special emphasis on the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the 34-page booklet provided a look at leaders in the movement, the philosophies, problems and possible pitfalls.

SOUTHERN JUSTICE: AN INDICTMENT. -- A documentation of the dual justice that abuses all Negroes from birth to death. The 31-page report explains the problem of the double standard of justice and goes far deeper than the illegal killing of civil rights workers, a practice recently brought into sharp focus with the acquittal of an individual charged with the wanton racial slayings in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and elsewhere in the South.

SEPTEMBER 1965: SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: OLD PROBLEMS UNDER A NEW LAW. -- A Survey of school desegregation in the South and the federal policies and problems that helped to limit desegregation to tokenism in most school districts. This 23-page report tells inadequacies of freedom of choice plans and cites widespread intimidation of individual Negro pupils and parents. It was published at a time when no one, including the federal government, knew the actual rate of school desegregation in the South.

THE MIGRANT FARMER: A PSYCHIATRIC STUDY, by M. Robert Coles, M.D.-- This report was written by a Harvard University psychiatrist who lived in the homes of Negro and white migrant farm families. His conclusions differ from the claims of some operators and owners of large farms who said domestic migrants are unwilling to do certain kinds of hard labor. The report tells of the isolation of migrant life of the sudden growing up from childhood to adulthood among the young migrants.

Major Publications - 2.
1965

BLACK BELT SCHOOLS: BEYOND DESEGREGATION. -- A study of education problems in rural communities of the South written by four Emory University educators. Going beyond the need for consolidation of small inadequate schools, the 40-page report, among other things, suggests: public nursery-kindergartens for children of ages 3 through 5; the use of boarding units for children in the middle grades, the employment of senior high school students as nursery school aides, and an intercounty, and college or university cooperative program for joint teacher-training, plus a coordinated plan of consolidation.

NEW SOUTH. -- Monthly publication with various in-depth articles on human relations in the South and related problems. The two-color, pamphlet-sized periodical averages about 20 pages. (In 1966, both the format and frequency of publishing New South will be changed. It will be published quarterly and the number of pages will be increased.)

Southern Regional Council Publications Program

The publications program of the Southern Regional Council during the next few years will be guided by awareness that the South is in a process of social, political and psychological change. This will be a time of change in government, in private institutions, in individual people, and in the combination of these three that produces public policy.

Major problems impinge on this time of change: the yet unfinished struggle for racial justice; the completion of transition from rural to urban society; the impact of technological, economic and scientific developments on a population whose characteristics are themselves changing; the lag behind most of the rest of America in development of natural and human resources.

This time of change provides an opportunity for contributing to the development of wise and sane policy. These next few years are crucial because during them the general shape of the future of the South will be set and begin to become rigid. To read our publications of the past is to know the agony of a people struggling to change unwise, harmful public policy. Now is an opportunity to exert influence on what constructively is to be done -- rather than seek desperately to undo past mistakes.

In broad terms, our publications will be involved with efforts to strengthen the institutions and the organization of southern society, and to affect larger and freer participation in them.

Race relations remain a common denominator of southern problems. The need is great now to interpret attitudes of one race to the other, to show how often the self-interest of both races are the same, and to assist and evaluate enforcement of federal civil rights legislation. The South has not yet attained the basic equality of opportunity necessary to the full solution of its other problems. But, paradoxically, it has progressed enough to make clear that conditions arising out of these other problems must be alleviated before the other one of race can be fully solved.

So, to an extent greater than in the past -- though this has always been part of our publications program -- we will be concerned with social and economic problems, and with government.

We will be especially concerned with education in all its ramifications, including adult education; public welfare, criminology, and employment. We will study new developments like community organization among the poor, and new approaches to credit unions, agricultural cooperatives, labor unions, and voter education.

We will continue to assist, evaluate and criticise responsibly the programs of the federal government, an ever enlarging responsibility. We will try to meet needs of state governments seeking new forms

of organization and data. We anticipate many such needs because a variety of factors, including reapportionment, has brought these state governments more closely into contact with the reality of the South and its people. We will try to meet the increased needs for understanding better the way local government functions -- the complex and yet crucial role, for example, of city planning and urban renewal in the relative health of urban areas, or the processes by which people in a slum might gain the government services which are their due. We will investigate the many vexing problems revolving around where people live -- their homes -- and try to provide reliable information, good advice and -- in the case of integration --simply a calm and reassuring voice.

We hope also to do more than has been done in the past toward sharing special resources of the South with the rest of the nation and the world. Southern culture -- from indigenous music to a felicity and ingenuity of folk expression -- should be preserved and nurtured.

In many of these areas, an aim will be to catalogue research and information that is available in the various states and cities, and, as needed, to collect and put such data together in regional perspective.

A major role in the publications program will be played by the magazine New South. It is being expanded and changed from monthly to quarterly appearance. It will reflect old and new program interests, will draw on a wider range of southern scholars and writers, and will continue a tradition of allowing Southerners to speak their minds and hearts about the southern experience.

Reliance in the publications program will continue strong on resources that are distinctive to the Southern Regional Council: its membership, a cross-section of constructive citizens and leaders and the Human Relations Councils in every state and many of the cities and towns of the South. New programs will involve increased use of specialized researchers and consultants in many of the areas of concern, and this is an opportunity to publish material from a wider variety of southern thought and talent.

A strength of past publications has been flexibility, the ability to respond to the unexpected and the suddenly emerged difficulty or crisis. This will remain a conscious obligation.

The purpose of the publications, as in the past, will be to provide accurate, reliable, complete information where it is often not otherwise available in such form; to inform Southerners of resources, techniques and thought in the various areas of concern, new and old, in which they seek improvement; to put into perspective of careful thought as much of the data and the truth of southern reality and experience as we can encompass.

An through the coming next few years, there will be the awareness that the decision-making process can succeed or fail by virtue of the quality of the data upon which it relies.

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February 3, 1966

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Vernon:

Enclosed are the copies of the Program Report for 1965. The last section of the report describes the new projects financed by the Ford Foundation.

If this information is not in sufficient detail for your purposes, let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures

See
New World Foundation,
1966

February 22, 1966

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Mr. Eagle:

We are deeply grateful for the continued support of the New World Foundation and for the comments in your letter.

The support of the Foundation has been of tremendous importance to the Council's existence and growth. We shall make every effort to see that these funds are spent well.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

February 14, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

At its recent meeting the Board of Directors of The New World Foundation gave careful consideration to your request for a grant of $60,000 payable over a two-year period, in support of the general operations of the Southern Regional Council beginning in 1966.

The Directors feel that, since the first grant made in 1956 toward support of the work of the Council, this has been one of the Foundation's most effective contributions toward better race relations in the South, and they approved your request.

They asked me to inform you of their decision, and I trust the manner of payment in the past will be satisfactory.

Sincerely,

Vernon A. Eagle

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

February 14, 1966

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Siceloff:

At its recent meeting the Board of Directors of The New World Foundation gave careful consideration to your request for a grant of $2,500 toward the costs of conducting a program designed to bring about orderly school desegregation in South Carolina.

The Directors feel that your proposed program is important and, if successful, could contribute fundamentally to the solution of other major problems facing South Carolina and all of the Deep South, and they approved your request.

I trust that you will keep me informed about the program and will let us know when the funds are required.

Sincerely,

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

Paul, I'll count on you to side head on this one
regards Vernon

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

February 24, 1966

file

NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

RE: VERNON EAGLE"S TRIP SOUTH

letter of February 14, 1966

from Paul Anthony

to

Dr. H. Franklin Williams
Dean of University College
University of Miami
Coral Gables,Florida

letter filed in BOARD - General Correspondence 1966

March 15, 1966

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

Ethic

This is to request the consideration of the ~~New World~~ Southern Foundation in support of a program to increase the rate of school desegregation in the South.

As you know, the Commission on Civil Rights proposes to hold conferences on school desegregation in Louisiana, South Carolina, Virginia, Mississippi, North Carolina, Maryland, Arkansas, Georgia, and Alabama. The first conference is scheduled on March 26th and the last on May 28th. The full resources for an adequate program ~~(partially provided by the New World Foundation)~~ are available for the South Carolina program and the Commission feels resources can be secured for the conference in Maryland. This is to request an ~~amount of up to~~ $8,000 from the New World Foundation to enable the Southern Regional Council to provide resources for the conferences in the other seven states.

2 SE 7

The Commission proposes to have these conferences "to acquaint citizens in the various States with the provisions of Federal civil rights laws and policies relating to school desegregation and to provide information on methods and techniques involved in the desegregation of schools." The Commission anticipates an attendance of 500-900 persons at each meeting and they

will assume all of the administrative responsibilities connected with planning and implementing the meetings.

The U. S. Office of Education has assigned one coordinator to work with the Commission on this project on a full-time basis. In addition to having the personnel from each Advisory Committee present at each meeting the Commission will have three or more staff persons present. The U. S. Office of Education will assign five or six specialists to participate in the various work sessions. The Commission hopes that the Justice Department and the Office of Economic Opportunity will each have one resource person available at each meeting.

We believe these meetings are important and that the results will be significant. There is, however, assistance needed which the Commission cannot provide. Funds are needed to provide the travel expenses of a limited number of resource persons such as lawyers experienced in the school desegregation situation. Minimal travel funds are also needed for interested citizens from throughout the states who could not otherwise attend. (We propose to pay .06 per mile for persons who attend and bring with them several other persons from their communities who are interested in school desegregation.)

For each conference we would hope to have a minimum $200 available to cover the travel expenses of resource persons and $800 for travel expenses of participants. (Most of the private agencies will be able to provide the costs of their staffs to these meetings.) We believe the entire program can be adequately financed for $10,000. For this purpose we are hopeful of a grant of $2,000 from the Southern Education Foundation. If the New World Foundation makes the requested grant of $8,000, ~~any unexpended funds would be returned~~. The Southern Regional Council would take no overhead costs from these funds and will provide staff assistance and modest financial help to these conferences.

8,000
N-W-F
5 & F
2,000

For the above purposes we respectfully request the consideration of the New World Foundation.

Sincerely,

the full program would be around

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

MEMORANDUM

March 10, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Emory Via

Is Hollis Edens of Babcock Foundation the same Hollis Edens of Duke University and Emory University?

John Griffin and others would know him if that helps.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Mr. Vernon A Eagle
New World Foundation

letter 3/15/66
from P.A

REGARDING

Request for $8,000 for
Conferences on school desegregation

DATE 3/15/66.

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

green cc on PA's desk

file copy

DRAFT

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

This is to request the consideration of the New World Foundation in support of a program to increase the rate of school desegregation in the South.

As you know, the Commission on Civil Rights proposes to hold conferences on school desegregation in Louisiana, South Carolina, Virginia, Mississippi, North Carolina, Maryland, Arkansas, Georgia, and Alabama. The first conference is scheduled on March 26th and the last on May 21st. The full resources for an adequate program (partially provided by the New World Foundation) are available for the South Carolina program and the Commission feels resources can be secured for the conference in Maryland. This is to request an amount of up to $8,000 from the New World Foundation to enable the Southern Regional Council to provide resources for the conferences in the other seven states.

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of the administrative responsibilities connected with planning and implimenting the meetings.

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We believe these meetings are important and that the results will be significant. There is, however, assistance needed which the Commission cannot provide. Funds are needed to provide the travel expenses of a limited number of resource persons such as lawyers experienced in the school desegregation situation. Minimal travel funds are also needed for interested citizens from throughout the states who could not otherwise attend. (We propose to pay .06 per mile for persons who attend and bring with them several other persons from their communities interested in school desegregation.)

For each conference we would hope to have approximately $200 available to cover the travel expenses of resource persons and $800 for travel expenses of participants. (Most

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For the above purposes we respectfully request the consideration of the New World Foundation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See New World Fd., 1966

March 22, 1966

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Enclosed is our letter of acknowledgement for the grant. It certainly was fast action, and we do appreciate both the grant and the speed of it.

I honestly think this will allow for important and perhaps essential programming, and we shall give it considerable time. But I never realized quite how hard it is to spend a lot of money with maximum results.

South Carolina looks good.

Best,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

March 22, 1966

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation, Inc.
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

Thank you for the information on the action taken by the Foundation's Board of Directors in approving the grant of $8,000 in support of our program in cooperation with the Commission on Civil Rights and the U. S. Office of Education.

On the completion of this program in May we shall prepare for you a program and financial report.

Please know we are deeply grateful for the support.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

March 17, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Received in Money Book 3/28/66

The Board of Directors of The New World Foundation has given careful consideration to the request contained in your letter of March 15th, for a grant in an amount up to $8,000 toward the costs of a program to increase the rate of school desegregation in the South.

It gives me a great deal of pleasure to inform you that the Directors have approved your request and to enclose our check in the amount of $8,000.

We feel that this is an excellent program and hope that the results will be significant. We are pleased to be able to cooperate with the Southern Regional Council, the Commission on Civil Rights, and the U.S. Office of Education in this important undertaking.

Sincerely,

Vernon Eagle

cc: Mrs. Virginia Frank
3320 N Street
Georgetown
Washington, D. C.

8,000.
JR.
3-21-66

April 1, 1966

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Thanks for the Annual Report -- it makes excellent reading.

Perhaps the compliment came from John Griffin whose Southern Education Foundation has assets comparable to New World. In a conversation yesterday with John he expressed complete amazement that, "So small a foundation could do so much." He expressed absolute disbelief that it could all be done with so little administrative cost. I assured him it was, and didn't even reflect the investments in antiques.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

April 7, 1966

Dear Paul,

Appropos of our telephone conversation I am enclosing a copy of a letter from William Soskin of NIMH.

Taking into consideration your interest in this general area, I should very much like to have your reactions.

Many thanks.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH
BETHESDA, MD. 20014
AREA CODE 301 TEL: 656-4000

April 5, 1966

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

At the Yonkers meeting, Courtland Cox told me of an interesting project he and his Lowndes County group are trying to carry out. Knowing your foundation's interest in civil rights activities, I wonder if you might be induced to help.

As a means of stimulating voter registration in Lowndes County, Cox and others want to produce a local documentary film that might serve both to educate and motivate more Negroes to become active participants in the November elections. In Lowndes County, as you know, the Democratic Party of Alabama is a "white supremacy" party. Accordingly, Cox and his co-workers, in order to develop fuller Negro participation, are trying to organize a slate of Negro candidates under the aegis of Lowndes County Freedom Organization. To achieve their end, they felt the need for some effective educational and motivational tools, and in addition to speeches and "handouts" they would like to use a local film.

My own interest in this project has several roots, but an important one is apolitical. That is, I am interested in exploring new kinds of techniques for motivating under-educated groups to take a more active role in group self-help endeavors.

One possible clue came to me during several tours of Appalachian hollows. In talking with local residents I became aware that many of these people, having spent their lifetime in a particular hollow, had developed a perceptual set such that they no longer "saw" some of the things that were most conspicuous to a visitor. If this habituation to a fixed view of their environment could be shaken, I have felt it would be easier for many to find meaningful starting points for one or another type of self-help project.

For my hunch, I have found one instance of corroboration in the accidental discovery of a film made by some of the Negro youths of Richmond, on San Francisco Bay. This home-made film by a group of 15- to 18-year-old neighborhool youth has been an effective crystallizer of community self-concern, according to my friend, Dr. John Adair, anthropologist, who has begun to work in the community.

To help young Mr. Cox clarify his own intentions in this project, and to give him some access to professional and technical expertise, I arranged for him to meet Mr. Sol Worth of the Annenberg School of Communication at the University of Pennsylvania. Mr. Worth's special talents in film-making in recent years have been expressed precisely in the teaching of various groups and individuals to make their own documentaries, i.e., to show "how it is" through the eyes of one of their own group rather than as seen or interpreted by a professional documentation specialist. Mr. Worth and Dr. Adair will be carrying out just such a project on the Navajo reservation next summer under a grant from the National Science Foundation, but because of his great interest in Cox's project, Worth has agreed to act as consultant and to send one or more of his students to work with Cox and others in Lowndes County in the making of a film there. Worth has also agreed, I understand, to loan some equipment and to make other services available.

What is needed, according to Mr. Worth's estimates, is about $2,500 to pay for film, film processing and editing, and salary for the Annenberg student to be assigned to the project. I believe both Mr. Worth and Mr. Cox would be most eager to discuss further details of the project with you should the need arise. Cox tells me that it is very likely that he will be in the New York-Boston area the week of April 22-27, if you would like to discuss the project with him.

As a Federal employee, I can have no official interest in this project. On the other hand, as a psychologist, I am interested in seeing whether this technique has value as a motivational tool with such a population as the Negro residents of Lowndes County. Obviously, even Federal agencies would be interested in the outcome, though all of them would have to refrain from supporting this project, given its political context.

One aspect of the undertaking that I call your attention to, which neither Mr. Worth nor Mr. Cox might think about, is that there ought to be built into the project some kind of evaluation process -- in order to permit measurement of the effectiveness of the film as a

motivational and/or educational device. Conceivably, a psychologist might be found who would undertake to make such an assessment, though the cost might go up, possibly another $1,000. (You understand that this is an offhand estimate; I am simply estimating four or five weeks of work for some reasonably competent social psychologist.)

As the "intermediary" here, I see my task as essentially finished, once I have found support for the project. The details of working out a budget, etc. are the responsibility of Mr. Cox and Mr. Worth. If you should decide that the project is in your area of interest and if you and they feel that the evaluation component is an element to be included, I could probably suggest some psychologist who might undertake the evaluation phase of the project.

Sincerely yours,

William F Soskin
Research Psychologist
Office of Planning
National Institute of Mental Health

File
New World Fd. 1968

April 19, 1966

Miss Brooke Harris
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Brooke:

We are happy to comply with your request of April 7, though a part of it has me puzzled. Does this mean that you did not receive our Audit for 1965? I hope that part of your question concerning the use of the $30,000 for general support in 1965 is covered in the report of the Director, our request for renewal of support, and in the Audit; copies of the report and the Audit are enclosed. If these are not satisfactory, or if you need more detailed information, please let me know and we will get it off to you immediately.

Perhaps it would be best, in reporting on the Rural Advancement Project, to report not only on 1965 but the year-to-date, since in effect that program is still being developed. For that purpose, enclosed is an accounting of receipts and disbursements for the Project during 1965 and 1966, thoughtMarch. Enclosed also is a brief narrative report on the Project.

Again, if this is not satisfactory, let us know and we will respond promptly.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures: Attached w/ 1965 Annual Report & Audit for 1965

RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT

A Report of Program During 1965 and 1966 Through March 31

The first program under the Rural Advancement Project was developed with the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. This Council was chosen since it was with this agency that the experience had been gained on which a south-wide program was envisioned. Also, the South Carolina Council had available a skilled person who could continue in work of this nature if funds were made available. A grant of $12,000 was made for this purpose to the South Carolina Council to cover all of their expenses during 1965 and a similar amount is being paid them during 1966.

The first director of this project was Mr. L. S. James. Mr. James is now on leave doing very much the same work, but under the auspices of the federal government, and his work is now being directed by Mr. Eugene Hagans.

The second program was sponsored in the fall of 1965 with the Georgia Council on Human Relations, and that program is continuing during 1966. The work in Georgia is being headed by Mr. Herbert Thomas.

A grant from the Ford Foundation late in 1965 enabled us to expand to the states of Alabama and Florida. In neither instance, however, were these programs begun until early 1966. Adequate staff was not secured until that time.

In each instance the state council is being given a sum of $12,000 to cover all costs and is responsible for staff supervision. The National Sharecroppers Fund provides technical assistance and the Southern Regional Council administers the funds and provides program assistance.

A $900.00 overhead payment for each staffed program is provided to the National Sharecroppers Fund; SRC takes no overhead from these grants.

(In addition to the overhead amount we have secured from the Aaron E. Norman Fund a grant of $10,000 to assist the NSF Southern office.)

From the SRC office the primary responsibility for this program is handled by Ed Stanfield, Director of Field Activities. The director of our Community Organization Project, Al Ulmer, is also involved in these programs particularly in assisting the project staffs in developing local organizations for the purpose of forming cooperatives, securing anti-poverty grants, dealing with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, and similar interests.

In all of these programs the first emphasis has been on seeing that Negroes in rural and small-town areas share in whatever federal programs, particularly those related to agriculture and the anti-poverty program, that are developed in the local communities. Frequently, this has included assisting local groups in requesting such programs, preparing the formal requests, and beginning the operation of them when funds have been secured. In a number of other instances this has involved helping persons with complaints to find the proper complaint channels.

The closest degree of cooperation with state and federal offices located within the state has been achieved in South Carolina. Here, frequently, the project director has been asked to go into rural and small-town areas and interpret appropriate programs to persons in these communities, to recruit individuals for training programs, and on a few occasions, to serve as liaison between state and federal offices and white and Negro communities.

The work in Georgia has been centered primarily in South Georgia where the Negro has had the least opportunity for participating in the programs of interest. During the summer and fall this has been complicated by the considerable resistance on the part of the white communities to Negro efforts in school desegregation and voter registration. Although the project does not concern itself directly with the civil rights matters, it has frequently been difficult to avoid these interests in southwest Georgia. And, a number of efforts at community organizations have centered around the interest in school desegregation.

In Florida there are several programs sponsored by other agencies concerned with rural problems. These include programs sponsored by the federal government and the American Friends Service Committee; a particular concern is with the migrant worker. The project director in Florida has attempted to coordinate all of these programs so that maximum benefit can be achieved from them and has begun to concentrate on North Florida, the area least affected by the other programs.

In Alabama the project director is finding oppertunities for less cooperation with appropriate state and local officials than in any of the other states. There is in Alabama, however, a larger degree of activity on the part of local people concerned with organizing themselves into cooperatives, providing their own marketing outlets, and providing means of earning a livelihood. These range from an effort at a land-farming marketing co-op in Black Belt Alabama, to a co-op formed near Selma for the purposes of marketing quilts made by women of the area. In these instances, the project has concerned itself with programs ranging from getting appropriate federal assistance to the agricultural efforts to finding more stable markets for the goods being produced. Here, particularly, the project is being developed in cooperation with Al Ulmer of the SRC staff.

This emphasis on local organization and self-help efforts is gradually emerging as the major interest of all the projects. For instance, in South Carolina cooperatives and credit unions are now being organized in Bamberg, Lee, Dorchester, and Clarendon Counties. In another area of that state, the announcement of a meeting to consider local organization has led to regular meetings being attended by approximately 600 persons. Because of local interest we expect a great deal more of this typeservice from the project.

There are now indications of considerable new interest in the rural areas of the region, and of how these areas can be rebuilt. We feel this interest is essential and hope the Rural Advancement Project is encouraging that interest and developing skills which will be valuable to future private and public programs.

RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT

Receipts 1965

New World Foundation		$ 20,000.00
Ford Foundation		24,000.00
Compton Trust		3,000.00
Hochschild Foundation		1,000.00
Individuals		2,050.00
Total Receipts:		$ 50,050.00

Disbursements

National Sharecroppers Fund	$ 900.00	
Georgia Council	3,000.00	
South Carolina Council	12,000.00	$ 15,900.00
Balance, December 31, 1965:		$ 34,150.00

Receipts 1966

Balance, January 1, 1966	$ 34,150.00
Aaron E. Norman Fund	10,000.00
Total Receipts:	$ 44,150.00

Disbursements

Alabama Council	$ 3,000.00	
Florida Council	3,200.00	
Georgia Council	3,000.00	
South Carolina	3,000.00	
National Sharecroppers Fund	4,350.00	$ 16,550.00
Balance, April 1, 1966:		$ 27,600.00

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

MT

File - New World Fd. 1966
(attach PA's letter to Brooke Harris)

April 7, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We are in need of some information regarding grants made to the Southern Regional Council for programs in 1965. Would you kindly send us financial statements showing how our grants of $30,000 for general support in 1965 and $20,000 for the Rural Advancement Project have been expended? These grants were paid on September 22, 1965 and January 14, 1965, respectively.

In addition, may we have a narrative report on the Rural Advancement Project?

Sincerely,

Brooke

(Miss) Brooke G. Harris
Assistant Secretary

Notice N.Y. Schedule May 9, 1966

May 2, 1966

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

file

Dear Vernon:

On May 11 I will be in New York to attend a meeting of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty and will likely remain in New York on the 12th. On arrival I will call you to see if you are available and if we have any need to get together.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

REGARDING

Contingency Fund #1

See ltr. 5/2/66 to Mrs. Florence Robin, ACLU, Atlanta regarding our check for $375 for their proposed research into police practices.

DATE

5/2/66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

ACLU, Atlanta, Georgia

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

New World Foundation Contingency Fund #2

REGARDING

YWCA letter from Rosetta E. Gardner, Atlanta, Ga. 5-25-66

DATE

5-25-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

YWCA

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

File Contingency Fund #2

May 27, 1966

Dear Paul,

The proposal from the Tennessee Council seems to me to be a sound idea, too, and I approve your request that the $500 payment be made from the Special Student Fund.

It was good to see you.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

New World Foundation

Contingency Fund #2 (Youth Groups)

REGARDING

19th Student Congress at Univ. of Illinois

ltr from USNSA James A. Johnson

DATE

6-9-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

United States National Student Association

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

File

June 29, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Mr. Eagle won't return from his trip until July 11th. While I can't answer for him about the request enclosed with your letter, I'm sure he would agree about using "other pockets" whenever possible.

With respect to Henry E. Garrett's philosophy, enclosed is a recent article from NEWSWEEK.

Sincerely,

Brooke

Secretary to Mr. Eagle

Sent 7/1/66 mj

P.S. Your letter reminded me to ask for seven additional copies of the recent NEW SOUTH, please. No hurry.

Wallace Driver

Garrett: All the trappings

Lesson in Bias

To the young teacher in elementary school, the pamphlet entitled "How Classroom Desegregation Will Work" looks like much of the other Addressographed mail she gets each morning. Its author, a Ph.D., is the former chairman of Columbia University's psychology department; the name of the publisher, The Patrick Henry Press, rings true enough and the pages contain the trappings of scholarship, including footnotes, tables and a list of sources and readings.

The conclusions of "Classroom Desegregation," however, ring false to scholars and scholarship alike. Written by retired Prof. Henry E. Garrett, 72, it purports to prove that Negroes are biologically inferior to Caucasians and that "race mixing" in schools leads to lower academic standards. This, argues Garrett, encourages "frustration," "absenteeism," higher costs, delinquency, intermarriage and—by a final seven-league leap—possible defeat for the U.S. "in a future conflict," presumably at the hands of a pure Caucasian race. More than 500,000 copies of "Classroom Desegregation" have been sent to the nation's teachers.

Garrett denies that he is a racist or a hatemonger. "Those black Africans are fine muscular animals when they're not diseased . . ." he maintains, ". . . and I think they're fine when they're not frustrated. But when they're frustrated, they revert to primitive savages." To prove his points, Garrett's tables claim Negro IQ's average 80 as opposed to a white average of 100. When confronted with the stand of orthodox psychology that intelligence is the result more of environment than heredity, Garrett dismisses it as the view of "the noisy majority."

Garrett's ideas of course are not new. "What he said was perfectly acceptable —in the 1920s," said Edwin Davis of the National Education Association. "After all, I can get statistics that mathematically prove two equals one."

Secrecy: The Patrick Henry Press is edited by John J. Synon, a former United Press bureau man and executive secretary to former California Gov. Goodwin Knight. Begun five years ago in Richmond, Va., to dispense anti-Communist literature, the press has since shifted its target to integration. Financing is secret, as are mailing lists and the names of supporters and founders.

To uninformed young instructors, Garrett's presentation may look convincing. Several teachers wrote Synon to say: "This book should be sent to every congressman, senator and Lyndon Johnson." Of the 20,000 teachers who sent reply cards to the press, Synon declares, half supported the views of the pamphlet.

Garrett has written another tract, soon to be distributed by the press, "Breeding Down," in which he asserts that miscegenation will destroy the white race. Synon says he will add to the 10,000 copies of "Breeding" already printed—"when we see how popular it is."

File — New World Foundation 1966

July 25, 1966

Miss Brooke G. Harris
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Brooke:

Remarkably, we had just completed the information requested on receipt of your letter of July 18.

Enclosed is a narrative report of the school desegregation conferences, an accounting by state of the funds expended and our check for $3,686.13 representing the unexpended balance.

This was a good program and we are grateful to the New World Foundation for having made it possible.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures

file

REPORT TO THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION ON SOUTHERN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CONFERENCES, 1966

Conferences on school desegregation were held, as proposed, in eight southern states and the border state of Maryland under the sponsorship of each state's Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. Following each of these, except the one in Maryland, a brief after-meeting was held to discuss the problems of achieving desegregation and to give practical guidance to Negro community leaders on the processes necessary. Such a meeting was also held in Tallahassee, for North Florida, although there was no Civil Rights Commission conference there. These meetings were sponsored jointly by the Southern Regional Council, the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, the human relations councils of the several states and civil rights groups active in each.

Schedule and Attendance

The Louisiana conference was on March 26 at the Bentley Hotel, Alexandria. Approximately 1,000 people attended the conference and about 400 were at the after-meeting.

In South Carolina, April 2, at Dreher High School, Columbia, there were 800 at the conference, 250 at the second meeting.

The Virginia conference on April 9 was at John Marshall High School in Richmond and was attended by about 600. 200 remained for the after-meeting.

An estimated 1,200 people turned out for the Mississippi conference at the Heidelberg Hotel in Jackson on April 16. At least 450 stayed for the community organization meeting.

The North Carolina conference was at the University's Greensboro campus on April 30. Some 600 people attended, with

about 150 at the second session.

On May 7 the Arkansas Conference was held at Philander Smith College, Little Rock. About 550 attended, with 200 staying for the after-meeting.

The Georgia Conference was held in Atlanta, at the Biltmore Hotel, on May 14. Approximately 700 were at the main meeting and about 250 at the second meeting.

The Alabama Conference was on June 11 at the Dinkler-Tutwiler Hotel in Birmingham. About 1,200 attended, with some 500 staying for the second meeting.

On April 23, while the U. S. Civil Rights Commission staff was engaged in the Maryland Conference, a small meeting was held for Negro parents and leaders in Tallahassee. About 70 people attended. The American Friends Service Committee, assisted by a staff member of the Florida Council on Human Relations, planned that extra conference, and the Southern Regional Council paid some travel expenses for participants.

The Programs

The conferences followed very similar patterns. Copies of the schedules for two of them are attached. It can be seen that the same basic program was used for both, and it was used for the others also. Speakers and other leaders varied, of course.

The organization meetings were also much alike. Ordinarily the entire group stayed together for a briefing, usually by Miss Jean Fairfax of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund or a member of the American Friedds Service Committee staff (which has been working intensively on school desegregation for a number of years). This briefing included the key points of the new guidelines, techniques of organization to secure transfers to formerly all-white schools, dodges to watch for, etc. There was also time for specific case-problems and questions and answers.

By April 30, when the North Carolina Conference was held, the transfer period was supposed to have been over. There was an extension. Nevertheless, the after-meetings of the last four conferences dealt more with what happened - instances of guidelines violations, difficulties, and the like - than with organization and planning. There was wide-spread frustration and an often-expressed feeling that "freedom of choice" plans would never do away with the dual school systems.

The Response

Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina had the largest attendances and, as it seemed, the greatest interest. This was no doubt due to the fact that these are the states in which there has been least progress toward school desegregation and most frustration. (The attendance in Georgia was a little smaller than in the other Deep South states. Georgia and Alabama had had good conferences on school desegregation a couple of months before -- and Georgia did not have the widely-publicized, total opposition of the state administration to the guidelines that Alabama had.)

In Louisiana, where only six parishes had "voluntary" desegregation plans and five times as many were under court order, the interest was remarkable. There was little organization in Louisiana, the civil rights groups not having concentrated on that state, and the people seemed to feel the need keenly.

The Mississippi and Alabama Conferences had the added attraction of an address by Commissioner Howe himself. The challenging circumstances and considerable civil rights leadership also contributed to the greater interest shown.

However, the response in Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia was not at all disappointing.

Costs

A statement showing expenditures for transportation state by state is attached.

Virtually all of the money expended from the New World Foundation grant was for transportation expenses of participants. Since most of the experts used were either from government agencies or the staffs of private organizations, only one or two consultants had to be utilized. Thus there was less expense for this purpose than we anticipated.

In addition, there was general agreement among representatives of the sponsoring agencies that we should not try to pay the entire cost of operating a car to the conference, but only the cost of gasoline and oil. At the first conference, Louisiana, we paid drivers at the rate of six cents per mile. We noted that many who collected were school principals, teachers and others who were not in the low-income group. Subsequently we reimbursed drivers at the rate of three cents per mile, which we calculated to be enough to buy gasoline and oil for the trip. (Except that in Virginia werwere already committed, by a letter of invitation to the after-meeting, to six-cents per mile.)

Evaluation

We feel that the conferences and after-meetings were very valuable and that the provision for participation by the poor greatly increased the value.

At all of the conferences a large number of counties were represented. (See attached partial listings of participants in the community organization meetings.) As a result information about the regulations, the rights of minority-group pupils, the specific steps required of school boards (including copies of required letters and forms), and the techniques of organization for school desegregation was widely disseminated. The staff of the Civil Rights Commission provided literally tons of government publications -- and they were taken eagerly by participants. Sponsors of the second sessions provided kits of material on organization to secure transfers and to monitor procedures of the local school board.

A second value of the conference was that they gave people opportunity to see, perhaps to meet, employees of government and private agencies who could be called upon for assistance. We feel that it was encouraging to community leaders to see what and who was available to help.

We also think that it was valuable for government officials to be confronted with people from remote counties and with their fears and difficulties concerning school desegregation.

The conferences provided a platform for reaffirmation by government officials of the validity of the guidelines and the determination of the administration to achieve desegregation. Commissioner Howe's speeches in Mississippi and Alabama, for example, were widely publicized. This kind of thing was valuable at a time when governors and senators and school officials from these states were publicly decrying the guidelines as illegal and calling for resistance to them.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Atlanta, Georgia

SCHEDULE OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

March 21, 1966 to July 20, 1966

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CONFERENCES

Receipts

New World Foundation, Inc.		$8,000.00

Disbursements

Alabama	$ 812.30	
Arkansas	303.00	
Florida	495.00	
Georgia	961.27	
Louisiana	778.00	
Mississippi	276.00	
North Carolina	414.00	
Virginia	274.30	
Total disbursements		4,313.87
Balance, July 20, 1966		$3,686.13

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

Rec'd 7/19/66

July 18, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

May we have some information on the series of conferences which were held this spring, to increase the rate of school desegregation in nine Southern states? Specifically, we should like to have a narrative report describing the conferences and their results thus far, and also a financial statement showing how our grant of $8,000 was used.

I should also point out that if there are any unexpended funds remaining, they should be returned to the Foundation.

Sincerely,

Brooke

(Miss) Brooke G. Harris
Assistant Secretary

MJ

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

File
attach to PA's letter of the 8th

August 10, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am writing to acknowledge your letter of August 8th, since Mr. Eagle is away on vacation. The letter will be brought to his attention when he returns.

Sincerely,

Philippa Ellis

(Mrs.) Philippa Ellis

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

Rec'd 8/12/66

file

MJ - please do

August 11, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Sent 8/16/66 If an extra copy is available, would you kindly send us a second copy of the Memorandum dated August 5th and the six-month program reports?

Sincerely,

Philippa Ellis

(Mrs.) Philippa Ellis

New World Fd.
1966

August 31, 1966

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

This will acknowledge receipt of the Foundation's check for $317.88 to cover the additional expenses in connection with the School Desegregation Conferences.

There are no further outstanding obligations that we know of, and we understand the refunded portion of the grant will revert to your general funds.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

(4)

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

August 26, 1966

Dear Paul,

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $317.88 to cover the additional expenses in connection with the School Desegregation Conferences.

As you may know, our fiscal year ends September 30th, and we expect to revert to general funds the refunded portion of the grant which now amounts to $3,368.25. Is there a possibility of any other outstanding obligations from the Conferences?

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Ck.
$317.88

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

Paul - Did you see this?

September 9, 1966

Dear Paul,

Mr. Whitworth Stokes, Jr.'s proposal doesn't seem to me to qualify for our support, though I admire what he and his colleagues are trying to do.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Post in money book.
File - New World Fd
1966

September 13, 1966

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Vernon:

This will acknowledge receipt of, and express our deepest appreciationffor, the Foundation's contribution of $30,000 toward support of the general operations of the Council.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

Post the Money Book

File New World Fd. 1966

September 13, 1966

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Vernon:

It is relatively easy to write a sincere letter of acknowledgement to the New World Foundation, but it is considerably harder to express our genuine appreciation for your personal contribution. Please consider this an attempt to do so.

Thanks, also, to you and Brooke for your quick response to our cash dilemma. As I explained to Brooke, we have adequate funds but whatever the interest crisis will do to the economy of the country, the six per cent earnings we are receiving on some of our investments is certainly helping our internal income situation.

I am scheduled to be in New York for a meeting at the Twentieth Century Fund on October 6, and plan to be available on October 5 and 7, and would like to see you on either of these days at your

convenience. If, however, you feel the need for a conversation earlier, I'll be happy to arrange it since the summer has left considerable unfinished SRC business in your city.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

September 7, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

In accordance with my letter dated February 14, 1966, I am pleased to enclose the Foundation's check in the amount of $30,000, which represents the first installment of our grant in support of the general operations of the Southern Regional Council.

We wish you every continued success.

Best regards,

Vernon

30,000.00 ck
9-8-66 rh

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

September 7, 1966

Dear Paul,

Brooke has relayed your message about the grant funds, and I hasten to send my personal contribution to help you meet your expenses!

I hope you will be making a trip to New York before long so I can hear a first-hand report on the late summer in the South.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

$30.00 ck
9-8-66 rh

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

file

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

September 16, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Mr. Eagle would like to send copies of your August 5, 1966 Memorandum to Members of the Council, to the members of our Board.

Can we have six additional copies, please.

Sending today MY

Sincerely,

Brooke

Secretary to Mr. Eagle

P.A
N.Y. trip

September 19, 1966

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

file

Dear Vernon:

Look forward to having lunch with you on October 5th. I shall be at your office at 12:30 P.M.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

(3)

September 16, 1966

Dear Paul,

How about having lunch here on October 5th at 12:30? If this does not suit, will you let me know.

Otherwise, I look forward to seeing you then.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

~~185~~
MS-file

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

file

October 25, 1966

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Pauley:

At its meeting yesterday the Board of Directors of The New World Foundation gave careful consideration to your request for a grant toward the costs of the Council's Know Your Rights project.

The Directors feel that this is a well thought out and much needed program, especially since it can be adapted for use in other urban communities, both North and South. Accordingly, they have approved your request. They have asked me to inform you of their decision, and I am pleased to enclose our check in the amount of $4,190.

One of the members on my Board, Anthony Lewis, who is the Chief London Correspondent for The New York Times, said that he found the pamphlet an excellent one and from experience knows that this is not easy to accomplish.

As in the past, we will require a financial accounting of how the funds are expended, as well as reports on the progress of the program.

We wish you every success.

Sincerely,

VE

bcc: Mr. Paul Anthony

File
New World Fd —
Cx. ref
Rural Advancement Proj.
1966
re: Possible renewal of Support
(See Report on RAP Proj. attached
to Vernon Eagle's ltr of
Oct. 26, 1966)

October 26, 1966

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation, Inc.
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

In your letter of November 11, 1964 informing us of a grant of $20,000 in support of the Rural Advancement Project, indication was given that the grant was renewable for two additional years if the first year's operation was successful and need still existed.

This is to request the Foundation's consideration of a renewal of this grant in the amount of $20,000 with the possibility that the program and need could again be evaluated a year hence.

Enclosed is a summary report of the project to date. In our opinion the program has definitely been successful and has added much needed resources in the four states covered.

We have been able to secure other financial support. The Compton Trust granted $3,000 toward support of the project and has renewed that support

for a second year. The Eliot Pratt Foundation made a grant of $2,000 in 1965, but presumably will not renew support. The Hochschild Foundation granted $1,000 for the first year of the Project, and has under consideration renewal for a second year. The Ford Foundation has made a three-year grant of $24,000 per year in support of the Project.

Each of the four state Councils on Human Relations participating in the Project is granted $12,000 per year to cover the cost of a full-time person for this work. A modest overhead grant of $2,700 is provided the National Sharecroppers Fund to help defray the expenses of their participation in the program. Thus, the total cost for a second year of operation of the program in four states will be approximately $50,700. SRC will take no overhead from the grants made and will, if the New World Foundation grant is renewed, absorb any deficit to assure the continuation of the full program in four states for a second year.

If further information is needed, we will of course be happy to supply it.

We are grateful for the Foundation's consideration of this request.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

REPORT ON THE RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECTS

- : -

GENERAL

The programs of the Rural Advancement Projects are as varied as the needs of rural people in the four states now participating and the personalities and talents of the four directors. Some programs are common to all, such as the emphasis in late summer and early fall on ASCS elections and efforts to educate rural folk about available government assistance. This is due in no small measure to the good technical assistance provided by the National Sharecroppers Fund, which has convened the four directors along with NSF field men for three meetings in Atlanta. But the adaptability of the program can be seen in the emphasis on credit unions in Alabama while community organizations was pushed in Georgia.

Each of the RAP directors, simply by his presence and knowledgeability, has become the focus of considerable help to the areas served. They found themselves drawing on the resources of SRC's Voter Education and Community Organization Projects, as well as those of the Southern Rural Training Project and many agencies of the federal government. Their being on the staffs of the state Councils on Human Relations focused the attention of the other staff members as well as laymen on rural needs.

We think that the following reports will indicate a usefulness far beyond the specific instances cited.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. L. S. James has been director of the South Carolina Rural Advancement Project, the pilot project, from its beginning. He took a six-months leave of absence this year in order to work with the Southern Rural Training Project. During this time the Rural Advancement Project had Mr. Eugene Hagans as Acting Director.

As with all of the RAP men, much of Mr. James' time, especially during the summer, was devoted to Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections. According to the 1960 census there were thirty counties in South Carolina which had between 30% and 75% of the total number of farm operators who were non-white. Yet in 1965 there were no Negroes on any county committee and only fourteen on community committees. And those fourteen were in only six counties. Since the ASCS committee apparatus determines crop allotments for all farmers this matter is of great importance. The effort in South Carolina included a statewide meeting in Columbia on August 6 which was attended by representatives of 20 counties, numerous local and county meetings, and constant education through conversation on all field trips.

Mr. James' other activities included the following which are typical:

A Negro woman, a Home Demonstration Agent, was being assigned to work with Negroes only and knew of many cases of discrimination against Negroes in her county. She was helped to direct a formal complaint to appropriate authorities and to secure investigation. She reports much better treatment as a result.

A modern cooperative supermarket has opened in Denmark, South Carolina. It is operated by the Bamberg County Economic Development Corporation, which Mr. James helped organize two years ago.

Mr. James is a member of the Board and Executive Committee, and chairman of the Personnel Committee for "Project T-Ðquare" (Training for Tomorrow), an O.E.O. program which will set up 12 major centers for training unemployed people and providing basic education for persons who completed less than five school grades.

Realizing that farm operations cannot provide the total answer for rural workers, Mr. James seeks other avenues. After patient negotiation over a period of two years he has succeeded in getting two Negroes employed as bus drivers by the Columbia City Bus

Transportation Company. These pioneers are doing well.

FLORIDA

Staffing of the four RAP projects was completed with the employment of The Reverend LaVert Taylor in Florida, starting March 1.

Mr. Taylor works out of Tallahassee. He has been concentrating on community organization, educational groundwork for co-ops and credit unions, familiarizing himself and other Negro farmers with USDA officials and programs, and the ASCS elections. He has deliberately confined his efforts mostly to three north Florida counties: Leon, Jefferson and Jackson.

In the matter of community organization, Mr. Taylor has avoided formation of new organizations. He found that the people felt "exploited" by national agencies -- including civil rights groups -- which seemed primarily concerned with establishing local affiliates of their particular institutions. Instead he has sought to make existing groups more effective. In Jackson County he was instrumental in reorganizing the Farmers Home Organization, reactivating six community development groups, organizing a voter registration program through the local NAACP, and working through a strong Voters League on ASCS elections. He also helped to secure acquisition of land -- at fair compensation -- for an international paper company plant at Sneads which will mean 500 jobs for the area. In Leon County he secured cooperation of three community groups to sponsor a Conference on School Desegregation.

A conference on co-ops and credit unions was held in Jackson County with the aid of Mr. Al Ulmer of SRC's Community Organization Project, Mr. Lewis Black of the Alabama RAP Project, and the regional office of the National Sharecroppers Fund.

Mr. Taylor has found the County Agents in both Jackson and Jefferson to be altogether uncooperative. There is no Negro agent in either county and no 4-H Club program available to Negro youngsters. The situation has been reported to the Department of Agriculture with no results to date. On the other hand, the local offices of the Farmers Home Administration have been very helpful.

Efforts on the ASCS elections resulted in election of a Negro as Vice Chairman of one community committee and two others as members of the same committee in Jackson County. No Negroes were elected this year in Jefferson County.

GEORGIA

Mr. Hubert D. Thomas, RAP Director in Georgia has concentrated on the counties of southwest Georgia.

He began with three area workshops on rural problems. They were held in Albany, Bainbridge, and Thomasville and were attended by people from twelve counties. Mr. Wasserman of the NSF regional office and the late Oliver Holmes of the Georgia Council on Human Relations assisted with these workshops.

Thomas' next major effort had to do with the Quitman office of the FHA. Not a single loan had been made to a Negro farmer in that area. Mr. Thomas' efforts, in cooperation with the NAACP, resulted in an investigation and to date three Negro farmers have secured housing and operational loans. Also, the FHA supervisor was transferred and replaced with a man with a different attitude.

A major project has been the formation of a multi-county council on human relations in southwest Georgia. The Council has had well-attended meetings in the seats of the various counties. The human relations council has been instrumental in forming Community Action Programs in Worth, Colquitt, Thomas, Grady, Miller and Mitchell Counties.

With the assistance of Al Ulmer of SRC Mr. Thomas helped ten heads-of-households from southwest Georgia to apply for self-help housing loans. They have entered into an agreement to pool their labor to build a house for each family, using financial and technical assistance provided through the O.E.O Others in the area are interested in this program:

The Georgia RAP Director assisted the Civil Rights Commission to set up an open meeting on discrimination in the Extension Service, Farmers Home Administration, and Agricultural Stablization Service. This meeting, at which complaints and the testimony of officials were heard, was held in Macon in May.

ALABAMA

Mr. Lewis Black is the RAP Director in Alabama. He was employed beginning February 1. A school teacher in Greensboro, he had been for many years a successful leader of Negroes in that area. He retains his home in Greensboro and works from there.

He has given considerable attention to establishing and improving credit unions. Applications for credit union charters have been made in Wilcox and Sumter Counties. A charter has been approved for one in Marengo County. Mr. Black is working with groups in Greene, Clarke, Monroe, Tuscaloosa, and Lee Counties toward establishment of credit unions.

A cooperative supermarket has been established in Hale County and a promising marketing co-op has been started in Perry.

Both the RAP Director and the Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations have worked for months to secure a surplus food distribution program in Hale and Perry Counties. The county officials refuse to pay the cost of storing and distributing the badly needed commodities from county funds and thus far have blocked efforts to organize a Community Action Agency, so that funds could be secured from the Office

of Economic Opportunity. Mr. Black has had word that the Agriculture Department will send the commodities to a private organization for distribution -- provided they have $12,000 in the bank to pay the distribution and storage costs!

Mr. Black helped to prepare a proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity for a leadership training program which was operated through Miles College this summer.

He assisted organizations in five counties to prepare proposals to SRC's Voter Education Project. Two of them were funded.

Like the other RAP Directors, Mr. Black's efforts in July, August, and September were concentrated on the ASCS elections.

Dear Mr. Eagle:

In your letter of November 11, 1964 informing us of a grant of $20,000 in support of the Rural Advancement Project, indication was given that the grant was renewable for two additional years if the first year's operation was successful and need still exists.

This is to request the Foundation's consideration of a renewal of this grant in the amount of $20,000 with the possibility that the program and need could again be evaluated a year hence.

Enclosed is a summary report of the project to date. In our opinion the program has definitely been successful and has added much needed resources in the four states covered.

We have been able to secure other financial support. The Compton Trust granted $3,000 towaredsupport of the project and has renewed that support for a second year. The Hochschild Foundation granted $2,000 for the first year of the project and has under consideration renewal for a second year. The Ford Foundation has made a three year grant of $24,000 per year in support of the project.

Each of the four state councils on human relations participating in the project is granted $12,000 per year to cover the cost of a full time person for this work. A modest overhead grant of $2,700 is provided the National Sharecroppers Fund

to help defray the expenses of their participation in the program. Thus, the total cost for a second year of operation of the program in four states will be approximately $50,700. SRC will take no overhead from the grants made and will, if the New World Foundation grant is renewed, absorb any deficit to assure the continuation of the full program in four states for a second year.

If further information is needed, we will of course be happy to supply it.

We are grateful for the Foundation's consideration of this request. sinc.pa

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

REGARDING

S. C. School Desegregation Project

DATE

11-3-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES

File
New World Fd., 1966
Cor: ref. Rural Advancement Proj
Advancement Grant to RAP
re: $20,000. (See Eagle ltr. Dec. 7, 1966)

November 4, 1966

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Vernon:

Action on our request for support of the Rural Advancement Project after November 25 is quite satisfactory with us and we very much appreciate your willingness to do so.

While I assume you are not interested, our Annual Meeting is held November 16-18 here in Atlanta and we would be very pleased to have you or another representative of the Foundation present for any or all of the meeting.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

(2)

November 2, 1966

Dear Paul,

This is just an informal note to let you know that we will renew our grant for support of the Rural Advancement Project.

It suits our purposes to make payment of the grant after November 25th. If this is not satisfactory, let me know.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

File New World Fd. 1966

November 28, 1966

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Vernon:

The copy of the letter enclosed from Miss Gloria Lamons might well have been directed to you. This is the young lady whom we supplied $75.00 from the Contingency Fund to enable her to attend the A.F.S.C. High School Meeting in Washington and New York.

I haven't seen a better document to illustrate what $75.00 can do.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

Post in Money book
file — New World Fd.
cx. ref.
Rural Advancement Proj

December 7, 1966

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Vernon:

This will acknowledge with grateful appreciation the Foundation's contribution of $20,000 in support of the Rural Advancement Project. We will, of course, be happy to provide the requested reports.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

November 23, 1966

Dear Paul,

In accordance with my letter to you dated November 2nd, we feel that the first year's operation of the Rural Advancement Project was successful and warrants the Foundation's support for another year. I am pleased to enclose our check in the amount of $20,000.

As in the past, we shall appreciate receiving reports on the project as well as an accounting of how the funds were expended.

Best regards,

Vernon

$20,000.00
11/28/66
C.J.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
BUDGET - 1965-1966

GENERAL OPERATIONS

Income Forecast:

Returns on Investments	$13,000.00	
Contributions(Individual Donors	7,000.00	
Foundation Grants	16,780.00	
Rent	3,000.00	
Miscellaneous	1,075.00	
		$40,855.00

Expenses:

Salaries and Staff Benefits	$27,085.00	
Travel	2,000.00	
Office Expenses	3,170.00	
Audit	800.00	
Maintenance, Insurance, Capital Funds	4,775.00	
Consultant and Visitor Accommodations	350.00	
Trustee Expenses	1,200.00	
Printing and Publications	1,375.00	
Miscellaneous	100.00	
		$40,855.00

SPECIAL PROJECTS

Income Forecast:

Foundation Grants	$31,250.90	
Income on Invested Funds(Restricted)	2,300.00	
Conference and Institutes	11,000.00	
		$44,550.00

Expenses:

Community Development Project	$30,000.00	
Program Director	3,000.00	
Conference and Institutes	11,000.00	
Miscellaneous and Program Expense	550.00	
		$44,550.00

SUMMARY

Budget for Special Operations	$40,855.00
Budget for Special Projects	44,550.00
TOTAL BUDGET	$85,405.00

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

File New World Fd. 1967

January 13, 1967

Mrs. H. D. Johnson
Secretary to Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

With respect to the additional copies of the New South which have been sent to us for distribution to our Board members, I wonder if it might not be just as simple for their names to be added to your mailing list.

If my memory is correct, I believe some of the names on the attached list may already be on your list. You will also note that Dr. Wright is a member of our Board, and, as a member of your Executive Committee, he must be on your list.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Brooke G. Harris

Secretary to Mr. Eagle

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

Board of Directors

Richard Bentley, Esquire
Tenney, Bentley, Guthrie, Askow & Howell
69 West Washington Street
Chicago, Illinois 60602

Mrs. Gilbert A. Harrison # Since 3/64 (Lind)
3556 Macomb Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20016

Mr. J. Anthony Lewis
Chief, London Bureau
The New York Times
Printing House Square
London, E.C. 4, England

Whitney North Seymour, Esquire
Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett
120 Broadway
New York, New York 10005

Miss Katharine Taylor # Since ~~1964~~ 3/64 (Lind)
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Stephen J. Wright
President
United Negro College Fund
55 East 52nd Street
New York, New York 10022

O - please add to Comp N.S.

Complimentary: New Society ~~Since 1964~~
(Revised 1/17/67)

January 31, 1967

file

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Vernon:

I will be in New York on February 7th and 8th and would enjoy an opportunity for a brief visit with you. I will call your office on the morning of the 7th to see if this is possible.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
New World Fd.
1967

March 13, 1967

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York10027

Dear Vernon:

Ed Stanfield will be in New York for a meeting beginning Friday evening, March 17th. Since his way is being paid, I have urged him to go up a day earlier in the hope that he can meet a few of the people and visit some of the offices. He is arriving mid-day on Thursday, the 15th, and will call your office after lunch to determine if you are available for a brief visit either Thursday afternoon or Friday.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File - New World Fd. - gen - 1967
Cr. ref. - Contingency funds #1 + #2
Re: #1 = Letter of transmittal to S.C. Student Council - Grant of $350.00 in 1966
(note copy of ltr sent to N. Wood as of 3/22/67 at its request)
#2 - See ltr to ~~Mrs~~ Brooke Harris dtd. 3/22/67 clarifying discrepancy in 1965 credit

March 22, 1967

Miss Brooke G. Harris
Assistant Secretary
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Brooke:

Enclosed is our letter of transmittal. In September of 1965 we sent you an accounting of the regular contingency fund through September 1. A copy of this is enclosed. We made one additional grant during the remainder of the year; $150.00 granted to the Pearl City Civic League, Boca Raton, Florida. This grant, made on December 23, was to assist that group in covering the cost of making an application to the Office of Economic Opportunity.

If you need additional information, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

March 15, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for sending the annual program and financial reports. We do have one question about the latter: Although we do know about the grant of $350, from the Special Fund for Student Human Relations Projects, for a Work-Study Weekend of the South Carolina Student Council, we have never received a copy of your letter to them. May we have one?

We also have a question about the 1965 financial report, which shows a total of $3,288 granted from the regular Contingency Fund. We cannot account for all of this. Would you kindly send us a list of the grants which were made?

Sincerely,

Brooke

(Miss) Brooke G. Harris
Assistant Secretary

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

See Greenwood Fd., 1967

March 24, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This is just an acknowledgment of your March 22nd letter to Mr. Eagle. He is away on a trip and won't return to the office until April 3rd.

Sincerely,

Brooke

Secretary to Mr. Eagle

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027.

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

E.S. please notify Will

→ MS / file

April 6, 1967

Dear Paul,

It would seem to me that the request from the North Carolina Council on Human Relations represents too routine and too local a project to warrant support from the Student Contingency Fund. Funds of that nature should be raised locally.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

File
New World Fd - Contingency Fund #2 ("Youth Groups")

March 22, 1967

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Vernon:

While Brooke is making us do proper accounting, I will take this opportunity to save postage and forward the enclosed.

What is your thinking on making the requested grant of $500.00 from the Student Contingency Fund?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures (copy of Wise allsed ltr dtd 3/14/67 + Proposal from Youth Educational Services, Inc.)

See Dec Issues 70. 1967

DRAFT

DRAFT

April 20, 1967

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Vernon:

This is to request the support of the Foundation for the Voter Education Project of the Council.

The Council began a second Voter Education Project in December 1965 when Vernon Jordan was appointed Project Director. Early in 1966 a small staff was employed and the Project began operation. During 1966 the Project funded_____ programs in Voter Registration, Civic Education and Leadership Training.

Enclosed are copies of the program report for 1966 with indications of our plans for the current year.

For the first year of operation the Project had a budget of $350,000. Of this budgeted amount _____ was raised and 230,582 expended. (In the first year of the Project committed funds were slow in arriving and a reserve was deliberately held for use in early 1967 so the Project could continue uninterrupted.

Again during 1967 we have established a budget of $350,000. Earlier we had anticipated little

DRAFT

difficulty in securing most, if not all, of these funds. However, last year the Taconic Foundation contributed $150,000 to the Project and we had anticipated a similar amount this year. The tragic death of Mr. and Mrs. Currier now makes it impossible for the Foundation to consider support for the Project during 1967.

To date we have funds on hand or committed as follows: Balance, January 1 _____; Ford Foundation $24,000; Field Foundation, initial grant $100,000, supplementary grant $50,000. In addition, one other foundation has indicated serious interest in the Project and will likely contribute $10,000. There remains, therefore, approximately _____ to be raised if the Project is to operate at the desired level.

We believe the budget of $350,000 represents a realistic sum needed for this important work in Voter Registration, Civic Education and Leadership Training. during the year. More we could not use effectively. Less will hamper what we believe to be a much needed program.

We, therefore, respectfully request the consideration of the Foundation for any support it may be able to give.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

DRAFT

See New World 1967 re: VEP.

April 21, 1967

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Vernon:

This is to request the support of the Foundation for the Voter Education Project.

The Council began a second Voter Education Project in December 1965 when Vernon Jordan was appointed Project Director. Early in 1966 a small staff was employed and the Project began operation. During 1966 the Project funded 106 programs in voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training.

Enclosed are copies of the program report for 1966 with indications of our plans for the current year.

For the first year of operation the Project had a budget of $350,000. Of this budgeted

amount, $325,000 was raised and approximately $245,000 expended. (In the first year of the Project committed funds were slow in arriving and a reserve was deliberately held for use in early 1967 so that the Project could continue uninterrupted.)

Again during 1967 we have established a budget of $350,000. Earlier we had anticipated little difficulty in securing most, if not all, of these funds. However, last year the Taconic Foundation contributed $150,000 to the Project and we had anticipated a similar amount this year. The tragic deaths of Mr. and Mrs. Currier now makes it impossible for the Foundation to consider support for the Project during 1967.

To date, we have funds on hand or committed as follows: Balance, January 1, $80,223.29; Ford Foundation, $24,000; Field Foundation, initial grant $100,000, supplementary grant $50,000; and Rockefeller Brothers Fund, $50,000. In addition, one other foundation has indicated serious interest in the Project, and will likely contribute $10,000. There remains, therefore, approximately $45,000 to be raised if the Project is to operate at the desired level.

We believe the budget of $350,000 represents a realistic sum needed to carry out effectively this important work in voter registration, civic education, and leadership training during the year. Less will hamper what we believe to be a much needed program.

We, therefore, respectfully request the consideration of the Foundation for any support it may be able to give.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

File 1967

May 4, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We shall give careful consideration to your request for financial support of the Council's Voter Education Project, and in due course I shall let you know the decision of the Board of Directors.

Sincerely,

V. Eagle

File — New World Fd. 1967

June 2, 1967

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Enclosed is our letter of acknowledgement for the VEP grant, and I do thank you. This would have been done earlier except for a two week vacation and as the news in the next paragraph, coupled with your action, will indicate perhaps I should stay away more often.

As I believe I told you, we have tried for some years to interest the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation of North Carolina in supporting us. Our latest effort was an open-ended request for support of the VEP. While we do not yet have an official announcement, I have been told that last week, meeting in New York, that board voted VEP $50,000. Astonishing! Their action and yours, the supplementary grant from Field, and an anticipated grant of $10,000 from New York, pretty well covers this need, and I am more than a little relieved.

Finally, do you recall agreeing to recommend to us the appropriate mutual fund or another investment for our small reserve fund? At the last meeting of our Executive Committee I reported on the performance over the past 10 years of the Fund with the Trust Company of Georgia. Your comments on this and your willingness to provide guidance on a different investment were also reported. The Committee voted unanimously to remove the funds from the Trust Company and to place them where you suggests. It did so with a special vote of appreciation for your willingness to assist us in this way.

The funds can be withdrawn from the Trust Company after June 30th, and we will have approximately $100,000 for investment.

Looking forward to seeing you at Capahosic.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

June 2, 1967

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

This will acknowledge with grateful appreciation the Fonndation's grant of $25,000 in support of the SRC-VEO. We will provide the Foundation with program and financial reports at the end of the year as well as any interim reports you may wish.

We would appreciate having these funds at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

5/22/67

May 19, 1967

Dear Paul,

My formal reply is enclosed.

Certain columnists to the contrary, I can assure you these funds are not tainted!

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

5/22/67

May 19, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

At its recent meeting the Board of Directors of The New World Foundation gave careful consideration to your request for support toward the Voter Education Project.

The Directors feel that the Project is an important one and should be continued, at least for another two years. Accordingly, they have approved a grant of $25,000 for the year 1967 and will give consideration to renewing the grant next year, if funds from other sources are not available.

They have asked me to inform you of their decision, and I trust you will let us know when the funds for this year should be transmitted.

Sincerely,

Vernon A. Eagle

File
New World Fd.

July 25, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Mailroom

FROM: KM

Please send eight copies of the report "HUNGRY CHILDREN" to New World Foundation, label is attached:

Miss Brooke Harris
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

km

Jean
New World
1967

August 25, 1967

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation, Inc.
575 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Enclosed is a summary report of the Rural Advancement Project, to date.

This is also to request of the Foundation consideration of a third and final grant of $20,000 in support of this project for the four-state area: South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida.

We feel the project has been well worth the investment and time put into it, and that special resources have been provided the project at a time when they were very much needed in these rural areas. Among the benefits it is not insignificant, I believe, that the work of these staff people has been involved in or was directly responsible for securing and using some hundreds of thousands of dollars of federal funds which might not otherwise have been made available.

After a year of support we are hopeful that the project will continue, at least in the several states where it has been most successful. If this is the case, however, we feel the sponsoring Councils should take the responsibility for funding the projects through new sources of support.

If additional information is needed we will, of course, be happy to supply it. Please know we are grateful for your consideration of this request.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

SUMMARY REPORT ON THE RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

August 8, 1967

The programs of the Rural Advancement Project directors in the four states which participate in the R.A.P. are briefly summarized below.

ALABAMA

Mr. Lewis Black of Greensboro, Alabama continues as director of the Rural Advancement Project in that state. Mr. Black came to the job with considerable experience in organizing and administering credit unions. His availablity as director of the Project, together with his administrative experience, has made him invaluable in formation of the Southwest Alabama Farmers' Cooperative Association (SWAFCA).

Mr. Black has been called upon to assist in organizing credit unions not only in Alabama, but throughout the region. He reports that the Greenala Citizens' Federal Credit Union, the Perry County Credit Union, and the Demopolis Credit Union are all making slow, but steady progress. He also helped to form a credit union in East

Alabama which includes not only rural Negroes but a large number of white people, mostly members of the East Alabama Council on Human Relations, which constitutes the required "common bond" of the union's members. Efforts continue to form unions in Clarke County, Wilcox County, Monroe County, Tuscaloosa County, and Green County. In addition, he has served as a consultant on credit unions at training sessions in Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida.

During most of 1967 to date Mr. Black's principal concern has been SWAFCA. He has helped to see the organization through great difficulties: two trips to Washington and countless hours of negotiation in the successful attempt to get OEO funding for approximately $400,000; the search for markets for the co-op's vegetables; wresting services from the U.S.D.A. and its extension service; the "black listing" of co-op farmers by banks and other institutions to which the Alabama "power structure" has power to apply pressure. Amazingly, SWAFCA is still in operation, despite continuing problems. Mr. Black, who is by no means given to rosy evaluation, writes, "I feel that with the wonderful

progress that it has made, and with the progress that could be made, this co-op possibly will be one of the greatest things that has been ever formed among Negroes in the South."

FLORIDA

After the resignation of Mr. LaVert Taylor as director of the Florida Project at the end of 1966, Mr. Gye L. Long, a school principal, was employed in the position. It was necessary to work out a part-time arrangement with him until completion of his contract with the Jackson County School Board. He began on a full-time basis June 1, 1967. It is anticipated that, because of these staffing difficulties, the Florida R.A.P. will continue beyond the three-year period originally projected.

Mr. Long, like his predecessor, is stationed in north Florida and working mainly in that area. Surprisingly, although a large number of agencies serve migrant workers in South Florida, Mr. Long is the only non-governmental staff person working on rural problems north of Orlando.

Mr. Long is well qualified by training and experience for his job. He holds a B.S. degree in natural science from South Carolina State College and a master's degree in school administration from Florida A. & M. He has seventeen years of experience as a teacher and school principal.

In his first months on the job he has become well acquainted with community leaders, officials and Department of Agriculture agents throughout a seven-county area. His primary proximate goal is increased participation by Negroes in the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections. Other program concerns are youth development and organization of cooperatives.

GEORGIA

Mr. Hubert D. Thomas, Director of the Georgia R.A.P., has been doing an outstanding job. Among his major accomplisyments are: an $89,000 grant from the OEO for a Title III-B basic education program in Baker County; employment of the first Negro policeman in Bainbridge, Georgia; and organization of a bi-racial

human relations council serving a ten-county area of southwest Georgia.

Most recently, Mr. Thomas has helped to prepare a proposal for a $290,000 Title III-B program in a seven-county area of west central Georgia, has helped the Community Action Agency in Baker County to prepare a program of legal services; and conducted a workshop in the recent revision of the Fair Labor Standards Act, sponsored by the Southwest Georgia Council on Human Relations, which was attended by 83 persons from six counties. He continues to work, despite many obstanles, for a self-help housing project in Thomas County.

Continually, he checks into complaints about discrimination in public assistance programs, difficulty that Negroes have in securing U.S.D.A. services and loans, and school desegregation problems. On the latter he reports that, while there is little evident progress, one can sense a growing recognition on the part of white citizens of the necessity of working with Negroes to bring about changes and secure help from which everyone would benefit.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. L. S. James, Director of the South Carolina Project, has organized his work by setting up ten leadership development groups, each drawing attendance from three counties and meeting at regular intervals. These groups serve to channel information to and from rural citizens.

Mr. James puts great emphasis on feeding information to farmers -- about government programs, cooperatives, credit unions, etc. On the other hand, he finds himself called upon frequently to provide information to government agencies on conditions in the state. Among others he has testified to the Citizens' Advisory Committee of the Secretary of Agriculture and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

A major concern at this time is participation by Negroes in A.S.C.S. elections.

See New World Fd. 1967

August 25, 1967

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation, Inc.
575 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Vernon:

Attached is a very brief request for renewal of general operations support . I trust it is adequate. If not, let me know.

Hope August on the Cape was pleasant.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

A PROPOSAL

to the

NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

from the

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

August 25, 1967

This is to request the consideration of the Foundation of a renewal of support for the general operations of the Southern Regional Council.

For the past several years the Council has budgeted approximately $300,000 per year for its "general operations." These expenditures support not only the administrative functions of the organization, but the heart of its program as well. They include basic information and research costs, a substantial portion of staff travel, and the department of field activities which has the responsibility for our liaison with the state Councils on Human Relations and most of our other program interests.

We anticipate a comparable budget for each for the next several years. While it is always difficult

to resist the temptation to expand, we feel we should do so since our present level of operation probably represents that point of maximum efficiency and return on expenditures for our type of agency.

Realism also dictates this policy, since we have been unable to raise the total amount budgeted for general operations for the past several years. It continues to be extremely difficult to satisfactorily interpret to interested foundations the value of our general operations support, as opposed to project support. The New World Foundation is well aware of our problem in this regard, and it is unnecessary to go into it further here. Suffice it to say, while we have a number of projects which we feel are valuable, productive, and needed, we also strongly feel that no support received by the Council is as valuable or as well used as that for our general operations.

For these reasons we respectfully request the consideration of the New World Foundation for a continuation of this support at the level of $30,000 per year for two years.

- o -

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

1967

September 14, 1967

Dear Paul,

Our Board meeting has been postponed until mid-November. Inasmuch as you will have to be preparing your Annual Report to your own Board before that, I think it would be most helpful if you could prepare for me a resume of that report, so that I can use it in connection with your request for renewal of general operations support.

Although I have no qualms about the current activities of SRC, you must realize that the Foundation has been contributing, for us, rather substantial sums over a rather long period of time. This makes it necessary for me to present your case to the Board in the strongest possible fashion.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

P.S. I have approved renewal of the Rural Advancement Project grant, and we will transmit the funds shortly.

file: New World Fd. 1967

cr. ref. Southern Rural Research Proj.

re: evaluation of Project for Vernon Eagle. See PA Ltr to Eagle dtd Sept. 19, 1967

September 19, 1967

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation, Inc.
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Al Ulmer and Ed Stanfield have worked some with the Southern Rural Research Project. Also I have talked with Don Jelinek on several occasions about the work they are doing. We have even done rather substantial mimeographing and collating jobs for them on a questionnaire they've been working with. Potentially, I think they may be collecting some very valuable and specific information about the characteristics and experiences of the rural poor.

The project was, however, very hastily organized and in my opinion far too ambitious for the resources. It was certainly begun without proper consideration of the implications of the limited resources compared to the objectives. We have been offered an opportunity to publish their first findings, and will consider doing

so after we see them. But at this point the important question is the value of the material being collected and the effectiveness of follow-up work. I do not think any of us are in a position to know the answer to these questions yet.

This is a rather long way of saying I don't think a responsible answer can be given as to whether or not the project should have further support until an evaluation is made of the quality of the work being done.

You might want to consider leaving the door open until such time as we and others can make this needed evaluation, which we shall be doing anyway.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

September 14, 1967

Dear Paul,

We have received a request from the Southern Rural Research Project in Selma for financial support.

Since Al Ulmer and J. Edwin Stanfield are listed as members of their Advisory Board, I assume you can give me a candid run down on this organization.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

See New World Fd. 1967

September 19, 1967

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation, Inc.
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Thank you for the welcome news of the renewal of support for the Rural Advancement Project as asked for in our recent request to you. This is, of course, the final grant and we will not put it before you again.

I think I get your message in regard to a further report for your November board meeting relative to general support. I shall certainly work at preparing something. I must be in New York within the next month and hope we can talk about it at that time.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File New World Fd. Gen - 1967

$250.00 posted in Money Book 9/25/67 wj

September 21, 1967

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Vernon:

This morning, incredibly, four copies of your Foundation's letterhead were on my desk. What a striking indication of the Foundation's support of the Southern Regional Council. I retaliated by sending you four letters today; three of which are routine, but nevertheless expressing genuine gratitude.

The fourth, however, your vote of confidence, is more appreciated and of value than you can ever know.

Our receipt is enclosed.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

September 20, 1967

Dear Paul,

As a vote of my personal confidence in you, I enclose my own contribution to SRC.

More power to your right arm!

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

30.00 ck
9-21-67 rk

File
New World Fd. 1967
(posted in money book, 9/25/67)

September 21, 1967

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Vernon:

This will acknowledge with grateful appreciation the Foundation's grant of $25,000 in support of the Voter Education Project for 1967. The required financial and program reports will be sent to the Foundation as you have requested.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

September 20, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

Further to my letter of May 19th, I am pleased to send you the Foundation's check in the amount of $25,000 which represents our grant toward support of the Voter Education Project for the year 1967.

We shall require a financial accounting of how the funds are expended and look forward to receiving reports on the project.

Sincerely,

Vernon

$25,000. ck

9-21-67 ah

See New World Fd. 1967

(posted in Money book - 9/25/67)

September 21, 1967

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Vernon:

This will acknowledge with grateful appreciation the Foundation's grant of $30,000 in support of the general operations of the Southern Regional Council. Financial and program reports on the use of these funds, as in the past, will be provided the Foundation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

September 20, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

In accordance with the terms of the grant approved by the Board of Directors of The New World Foundation in February, 1966, I am pleased to enclose our check in the amount of $30,000. That amount represents the final installment of our grant in support of the general operations of the Southern Regional Council.

We wish you every continued success.

Sincerely,

Vernon

$30.000 CR
9-21-67 RR

File
New World Fd. 1967
(posted in money book, 9/25/67)

September 21, 1967

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Vernon:

This will acknowledge with grateful appreciation the Foundation's contribution of $20,000 as a final grant toward the Rural Advancement Project.

The requested financial and program reports will be forwarded to the Foundation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

September 20, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

We have now had an opportunity to give careful consideration to your request for the final installment of our grant toward support of the Rural Advancement Project.

We continue to feel that the Project is serving a very useful purpose in a much-needed area, and, accordingly, are pleased to enclose our check in the amount of $20,000.

As in the past, we look forward to receiving reports on the Project and, in due course, a financial accounting of the funds expended.

We wish you every success for the Project.

Sincerely,

Vernon

$20,000 ck
9-21-67 rr

File — Cr. ref. Southern Rural Research Proj. re: Eagle's evaluation of the Project

PW
MJ-jb

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

September 27, 1967

Dear Paul,

I had an opportunity to meet with Donald Jelinek and Kathleen A. Veit of the Southern Rural Research Project. These are obviously intelligent, dedicated people, but I had to tell them that I had great reservations about the effectiveness of what they are trying to do.

Jelinek is clearly interested in gathering information for use in law suits against the government agencies, especially the Department of Agriculture, and these may have some nuisance value but that's about all.

The questionnaire they use is too long and its credibility easily questioned since those doing the interview are assumed to be prejudiced in one direction. It is clear, also, that the questionnaire is much too complicated for the often illiterate farmers to fill out intelligently.

It would seem to me that if you wish to gather the kind of information they seek, it must be done under better auspices than the Southern Rural Research Project. The only value of the project would appear to be the fact that Jelinek and his colleagues are able to attract

a fairly large number of volunteers or others who are willing to work for little or nothing.

I shall be interested in your own evaluation when you make it.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Paul: I agree essentially with this, based on the two or three times Jelnick was in here with that incredible questionnaire. Jelnick (and I assume you all checked Chuck regarding their experience with him) is just a guy who ought to be turned loose to mess around in the South, and not have to go through all this kind of structuring for the privilege of messing around down there around Selma. assuming it is agreed he'll do more good than harm.

Patw [redacted]

See New World Fd.

October 18, 1967

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation, Inc.
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

This morning I have talked with Don Jelinek about developments in his program.

Earlier you may recall I promised to share with you our opinions of the materials they have been collecting when they became available. This morning Don tells me that the Sociology Department at Tuskegee Institute has the questionnaires and is processing them. Don would be happy to have you write to Dr. Edward Epps, Department of Sociology, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama for an evaluation of them. This sounds to me like an even better source than us, and I have told Don this suggestion would be passed on to you.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Fire New World Fd. 1967

October 19, 1967

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Here it is, whatever it is. Without knowing why, I am somewhat uneasy about the adequacy of this proposal. As I said to you on the telephone yesterday, I think it is in part because of the feeling of the Council, as a good friend, having the audacity to promote itself before the Foundation. Needless to say, if you don't think this the right thing for your board, please let me know and I will do something else promptly.

Thanks for your guidance.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

See New World Fd. 1967

A PROPOSAL TO THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
from the
Southern Regional Council

October 18, 1967

This is to request the consideration of the Foundation of a two-year renewal of support to the Southern Regional Council in the amount of $30,000 per year.

For a number of years the Council has received the support and confidence of the New World Foundation and we cannot adequately express our appreciation of, and the importance of, both. This is all the more true since the Foundation has been willing to provide support for our general operations, the heart of and most valuable part of the Council.

The Council is now nearing completion of the second year of a major three-year program operation developed and funded in 1965. These programs include the substantial Voter Education Project and specialized work in such areas as community organization, prison reform, prevention of delinquency, urban planning, and others; all operated within the Council's traditional methods. We have attempted to keep the Foundation informed of the details of these programs, and hesitate to go into further detail here. However, attached are detailed six-month reports of the major efforts prepared in July 1967, should there be an interest in them.

Under any circumstances it would be appropriate, indeed necessary, to begin an evaluation and review of current programs and priorities, especially in planning for the future should funds be available for those plans. Given the current situation in the region and in the nation, this review is all the more imperative. For this reason the agency has been going through one of the most exhaustive evaluation periods in its history.

We feel we cannot ask the New World Foundation for continued support without making an attempt to briefly outline our description of current conditions and the philosophy and thinking which will be reflected in the Council during the period of the requested support. In doing so, it should be noted that this comes at a time of great confusion, disagreement, misunderstanding, pessimism, and alarm in the region as well as in the nation. Too, we have approached our plans for the future with an essential ground rule of accepting per se nothing for the future simply on the basis that we have done it in the past and it was in the past of value.

Last year at the Council's annual meeting the Executive Director reported in his statement to the Members: "...forewarning... I feel the single important qualification I bring to the position you allow me to hold is that of directing this new and expanding Southern Regional Council into the mold and philosophy of all the Council has been to date. I cannot express to you too strongly my dedication to the Southern Regional Council as I have known it over the past decade and as I have seen it evolve."

That statement is emphatically reaffirmed at this moment even as there is the need for questioning the past while thinking and planning for the future. But the statement was made, and is reaffirmed, with the idea that the Council is a flexible organization; one capable of changing with the times in an attempt to meet, serve, indeed sometimes influence, the course of the times. In short, the continued most valued characteristic of the Council is its flexibility.

If the Council has been anything in the past -- and it has been much -- it has been not simply a source of information but an interpreter of uniquely valuable and reliable information. It has been, too, not simply the voice of woe over injustice, but rather that voice that challenged injustice. The Council has directed a

challenge to the best that was in man and the best that was in society. The challenge has been moral and it has been intellectual. It has drawn from the highest ideals of the society, but has not hesitated to document the most elementary factors of self interest. Ideas, information, challenge, sound goals, this has been the best of the Council. There is another important characteristic of the Council. At times of insanity in this region the Council has tried to speak sanely. At times of confusion, the Council has tried to offer direction. (And certainly, insanity and confusion have been typical, not atypical, of this region during the Council's life.)

Now, in late 1967, in the region and the nation we are told there is a growing disillusionment and bitterness among Negro Americans. We are told Negroes are increasingly questioning all the institutions of this society. They are institutions of the white man, we are told, and the white man has become suspect. We are told there is a widening gulf between white and black and that if we gauge progress in terms of a unified society then we are retrogressing.

Those who speak these things are correct we believe.

We are told, too, that the day of the backlash has arrived. Perhaps it has. More importantly, among whites in this country there is now undoubtedly a considerable overt expression of the prejudice of white America. Of equal importance, there is now among whites, fear, disgust, misunderstanding.

We are told the white liberal establishment in this country is in disarray. There is great confusion, we are told, among liberals and none of the unity of old when all the good guys and the bad guys were lined up in neat order against each other. Perhaps so.

All these things we are now told, or have ourselves concluded, have a large measure, if not the whole measure, of truth in them.

If these events are thus we of the Southern Regional Council have two ways in which to react:

(1) We can cry "Oh, Lost," we can dream of the good old days when it was all so neat and promising. We can crawl into our lair and enjoy great measures of self-pity as we lick our wounds luxuriously.

(2) We can recognize that the society in which we live and for which we have concerns has never been beautiful, just, or well ordered. The institutions of our society have never been perfectly responsible or perfectly responsive. The men of this society have always been capable of nobility while committing or allowing to be committed the most despicable of acts. Recognizing this we can be disappointed and concerned, but realistically maintain our faith and our objectives.

The Southern Regional Council shall choose the second alternative. In doing so we can only hope that we have learned something, of particular valuevin speaking sanely and offering direction.

If we are correct in our evaluation of the times and the agency, as we feel we are, we feel, too, there was never a time to be more grateful for this role or ever a time when it was more necessary to perform it.

In fact, while trying hard to avoid the role of polly anna, and certainly not accepting the mantle of the optimist, we feel there may be good in the tragedy of America 1967.

In 1956 we began to witness what we all called "the tragedy of Little Rock." It was the beginning of an era just as two years ago we began the era of "the tragedy of Watts." But Little Rock, as tragic as it was,

had another element -- an important element -- standing out very clearly if only it could be seen through the spectre of troops, mobs, innocent children. That element was the element of a society in convulsion. That was, too, the indisputable evidence of a society in the real process of change.

As pitifully inadequate as it was, when the handful of Negro children went to the "white"school, history was made and there was the slight beginning of an old and rigid pattern being cracked if not shattered. As pitiful as it was, when Orville Faubus and the white mobs, young and old, spat, screamed, cursed and kicked, the ugly face of bigotry and hatred came from behind the closed doors recognizing that the quiet efficient patterns of automatic separation were threatened. Bigotry started to fight openly because it was seriously challenged. As pitifully late and inept as it was, when federal troops marched into Little Rock, the federal government finally indicated there was a "law of the land" and a national government to enforce it.

Now, throughout the nation, there are convulsions and tragedies that make Little Rock almost look insignificant. But, we suggest there are parallels. And, perhaps there are parallels of hope.

There is value in what we have seen, heard and experienced. Churches stir, the poor become articulate, whatever their reections, affluent America is at least confronted with the other America.

These items of possible significance are not offered as predictions of an immediate happy future. Rather, they are offered to suggest that these events have caused some, including the Council, to conclude that goals, beliefs, ideals, and methods are reaffirmed not shattered.

This request to the New World Foundation is presented not only with sincere gratitude for past support,

but also understanding of present demands on the Foundation. It is offered, too, with a sincere sense of modesty. It is depressing to us all that the past so nearly continues. But, perhaps the summary of this request is our attempt to say to the New World Foundation we feel our accomplishments justify the request for your consideration, and we plan our programs without a sense of depression about the future.

- o -

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

Paul 10/26/67 mj

file

October 25, 1967

Dear Paul,

"Whatever it is" is excellent and just what I need for my Board.

In due course I'll let you know their decision.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

See N. World Fd. Cy. ref — Miss. re: Ken Dean appeal for funds for dealing with publication

212 - 749-4171

October 27, 1967

Mr. Vernon Eagle, Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

I'm sure that you are aware of the recent activities in Mississippi and in Washington having to do with the problem of hunger, malnutrition and related medical circumstances. The Mississippi Council on Human Relations has worked quite closely with Senator Clark and the Sub-Committee, the Field Foundation and other public and private groups as regards this project. Two reports which the Council compiled were used rather extensively by most of the agencies that have been involved in this work. Enclosed find these two reports, along with a copy of a report by Governor Paul B. Johnson's medical committee. The Governor's report was submitted to Senator Clark as representing the state's findings as regards the problem of starvation in Mississippi. I am sure you have seen a report the SRC did on this subject. It is entitled "Hungry Children."

For the last three months, the Mississippi Council has been involved in an assessment of the medical resources in the state and the willingness of these resources to engage the problems of malnutrition and medical deficiencies in Mississippi. This past week I spent three days meeting with medical doctors, educators and public health officials. The Dean of the University Medical School and the State Director of Public Health were both involved in these meetings. The results of these meetings are most disturbing. For three years I have been working with various groups and institutions here in Mississippi. From time to time reference has been made to people who feel that there is some sort of conspiracy against the state of Mississippi; but I really didn't

believe this existed, at least not in high offices. I now learn that, among the medical profession and in our medical institutions, the prevailing opinion is that there is a serious movement underway to take over controll of state medical facilities and programs. Officials refuse to say just who is developing this conspiracy, but they are insistent that such exists.

A comparison of the Governor's report and other reports (including the "hungry children" report) reveals that there is agreement between in-state physicians and other physicians as regards the essentials of the problem of malnutrition. While this is the case, the medical profession in Mississippi is using a criticism of the "hungry children" report to deny that there is a fundamental problem and to further expand the claim that this is a conspiracy on the part of a national group to take over medical facilities in Mississippi. The result of this is that no substantial progress is being made in dealing with the seriousness of the problem. The Mississippi Medical School refuses to become involved, and the Public Health Department is dragging its feet. While this happens at the state level, a Congressional committee has Senator Stennis' Food Bill tabled.

The Mississippi Council is interested in putting together a magazine type publication that would include a parallel printing of the Governor's report and the "hungry children" report. We would like to include in this publication three or four other statements having to do with the problem of malnutrition. These three or four would be selected from among a statement made by the United States Surgeon General, William H. Stewart, before the Sub-Committee in Washington, statements offered at that same hearing by Dr. Milton Senn, Dr. Allen C. Merrmann and Dr. Joseph Brenner and possibly one from the reports gathered by the Council.

I think this kind of publication could be used as an educational devise both at the state and national levels. I think it would constitute sufficient pressure to bring about action on the part of the University Medical Center, the Mississippi and United States Health Departments; and, hopefully, it would revive the legislation now hung up by the House. There would be a broad circulation of this document among national groups and within the state.

The title of this kind of publication would be something like "The Truth About Starvation in Mississippi." There would be a large picture on the front page, and, perhaps, a number of smaller pictures on other pages. The estimated cost of this project is $1,200. SRC in Atlanta is willing to offer some

support; but, at this time, their support is limited. In order to realize this project, we would need $900. Would your foundation be interested in this kind of assistance to the Mississippi Council? I wish there were some way for me to communicate to you the urgency which I feel accompanies the need for this project. If you need further information, I am eager to make such available and would be happy to discuss this either over the phone or in person.

Let me thank you in advance for any consideration you can give this matter. I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Kenneth L. Dean

KLD:dmh

enclosures

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

File

November 20, 1967

Dear Paul,

Enclosed is my formal reply to your request.

The Board was unanimous in its approval, and there was a discussion about other ways the Council might be influential in the South. Perhaps we can discuss their ideas on one of your next trips to New York.

More power to your right arm!

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

file

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

See →

re: $1,200 Grant for publication dealing with Starvation in Mississippi

November 20, 1967

Or ref.

Mr. Kenneth L. Dean
Executive Director
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
306 First Federal Building
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

Dear Mr. Dean:

At its recent meeting the Board of Directors of The New World Foundation gave careful consideration to your request for a grant of $1,200 to cover the costs of the printing and distribution of a publication on the problem of starvation in Mississippi, as outlined in your letter of October 31st.

The Directors feel that the publication can make an important contribution in the State of Mississippi by comparing the findings of other reports and the report made by Mississippi physicians for the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty. Accordingly, they have approved your request. They have asked me to inform you of their decision, and I am pleased to enclose the Foundation's check in the amount of $1,200.

Will you please send us ten copies of the publication, and in due course we shall require a financial accounting of the funds expended.

We wish you every success.

Sincerely,

bcc: Paul Anthony
Robert Coles
Leslie Dunbar

file

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

file
Orig. rec'd.

re: denying New World funds to SRRP.

November 21, 1967

Mr. Donald A. Jelinek
Director
Southern Rural Research Project
1015 Griffin Street
Selma, Alabama 36701

Dear Mr. Jelinek:

We have now had an opportunity to give careful consideration to your request for support of the Southern Rural Research Project, as outlined in the materials which were enclosed with your letter of August 22nd, and as we discussed.

I must confirm what I indicated when we met. It will not be possible for The New World Foundation to provide financial assistance. As I explained to you, our present program in the field of civil rights and race relations is almost exclusively involved in action program rather than research, seminars and conferences. This is a priority decision of the Board of Directors with respect to the limited funds which are at our disposal.

We trust the necessary funds will become available to continue and expand the Project.

Sincerely,

VE

bcc: Mr. Paul Anthony

See New World Fd.
posted in Money book 11/28/67 mf

November 22, 1967

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Vernon:

This will acknowledge with sincere appreciation the welcome news of the Foundation's continued support for the general operations of SRC. We are very grateful for such action particularly at this time.

Please know and express to the Trustees our gratitude.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

file

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

November 20, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

At its recent meeting the Board of Directors of The New World Foundation gave careful consideration to your request for continued support of the general operations of the Southern Regional Council for the years 1968 and 1969.

The Directors continue to feel, as do I, that the Southern Regional Council is the most effective organization working for better race relations in the South, and, accordingly, they have approved your request for a grant of $30,000 a year for two years.

They have asked me to inform you of their decision, and I trust payment should be made as in the past.

We wish you every continued success.

Sincerely,

V A Eagle

FILE COPY

Apprentice

February 1, 1957

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Mr. Eagle:

In the light of our conversations with Miss Taylor and the emerging possibility of a grant for an apprenticeship, we have worked up the enclosed revised budget to accompany our request to the New World Foundation for 1957. This will supersede the budget proposed at the end of our original request dated November 20, 1956.

As you will see, should the Foundation approve the apprenticeship grant, we would use it to fill the position of Field Service Assistant, which would be closely concerned with implementation of the consultant program. So that you may see how the position would fit into our scheme of things, I enclose an organization chart just approved by power of Executive Committee.

I might add a word about the kind of person we would try to find to fill the apprenticeship. Our preference would be a young, promising Negro person fitted by temperament and background to work effectively with people of varying racial attitudes. We see a special applicability for the apprenticeship program in the South. In the first place, circumstances in the South, even more than elsewhere, militate against the choice of a career in intergroup relations work. The Southern Regional Council, both in staffing its own operations and assisting its state affiliates in developing professional staff, has had a thorough education in the difficulties of finding young Southerners who are properly motivated and equipped for this work.

What is true of white Southerners is even more true of Negro Southerners. The limited educational and cultural opportunities that the South has afforded for its Negro citizens automatically limits the field. This in turn results in a very high demand for talented Negro professionals in academic institutions and Negro business centers. Thus at this point the

most promising and able persons are too securely berthed to be pulled away into human relations jobs that offer little in the way of long-range tenure and security. This is one of the shortfalls in our integrated staffing that the consultant program has been designed to meet.

As you can readily see, this situation enhances our eagerness to participate in the apprentice training program, and strongly conditions the choice of candidate which we would hope to make. Of course, the requirements of the work must take ultimate precedence, and should it prove impossible to find a Negro candidate with the necessary skills and promise, we would have to proceed, of course, with the best applicant regardless of race.

Direct supervision of this apprentice would be the responsibility of Fred Routh, our Assistant Director. This is desirable from every point of view, since Mr. Routh has had a substantial amount of experience in training graduate students when he was on the faculty of the Human Relations Department at the University of Miami.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

cc: Miss Taylor
Mr. Freeman
Mr. Loescher
Mr. Hope
Mr. Parrish

copy of budget to all
~~Miss Taylor~~
~~C. H. Parrish~~
~~John Hope~~

FILE COPY

PROPOSED BUDGET AS REVISED

SRC Consultant Service Program

- 1957 -

Income:

Grant Requested from New World Foundation (Including Apprentice Training Project)			$20,000.00

Expenditures:

Administrative Costs			
SRC overhead charge of 10%	$2,000.00		
Direct Supervisory Services	$4,000.00		
Communications	$ 400.00		
Sub-total		$6,400.00	
Consultants Costs			
Fees for Consultant Services	$4,600.00		
Consultant Service Travel	$4,000.00		
Sub-total		$8,600.00	
Apprentice Training Project			
For salary, travel, supervision and training of Apprentice. (Break down of costs to be determined in light of competencies of Apprentice accepted.)		$5,000.00	
Total Expenditures			$20,000.00
Balance			- 0 -

July, 1957

INTERNSHIP IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

The Southern Regional Council, under a grant from the New World Foundation, is participating in the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials' program of "Internship in Intergroup Relations."

A unique on-the-job training program has been designed to provide supervised experience in the field services division of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

The position, under the supervision of SRC's Assistant Director, will entail:

1) Liaison work between SRC and eleven state human relations councils.
2) Administrative and field participation in SRC's Consultant Service Program.
3) Administrative and field participation in the cooperative inter-agency effort which SRC serves as secretariat.
4) Work with SRC's Labor Consultant, planning and attending labor conferences.
5) Work with SRC's Director of Women's Work, planning and attending conferences.
6) Work with community leaders in various Southern States.

The Intern will attend a NAIRO-conducted workshop toward the end of the training period. Possibilities are good for continuing employment after the internship period.

PERIOD OF INTERNSHIP: One year, beginning September, 1957. SALARY: $3,600

QUALIFICATIONS: Male. 22-32 years of age. College graduate. High potential. Mature, stable personality. Democratically motivated. Native or long resident of the South. No racial restriction.

APPLICATIONS: Applications for the internship position should include two professional and one personal letters of recommendation; a vita sheet; a summary of educational and (if any) professional and occupational experiences; and a brief statement on why the individual is interested in intergroup relations.

SEND Inquiries and applications to:

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Cr. ref. for internship file

VIA AIR MAIL

October 10, 1957

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

We have finally selected a young man to fill the internship made possible by the grant from the New World Foundation. He began his service with us on October 3rd, and we have every reason to feel that he will prove to be a good choice. You will recall that we were hoping to find a promising young person, Negro, who had recently completed his formal education and was interested in beginning a professional career in the human relations field. The young man selected, Machion Garrison, seems to qualify on all points.

I am enclosing both our description of the internship and a personal data sheet submitted by Garrison.

Within the next day or two I will be sending you a rather lengthy report on the activities of the Consultant Service Program since you last heard from us.

It may be worth mentioning that I am to be in New York from Monday, October 21st through Thursday, October 24th. If by any chance you are going to be in that vicinity, don't fail to let me know.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

To: Harold Fleming

From: Fred Routh

Re: Assignment of Intern to Atlanta Urban League for Orientation in Housing.

Mr. Thompson of the Atlanta Urban League stopped by the office this morning and we discussed the letter of agreement re: assigning Machion Garrison to his supervision for orientation in the field of housing for a six week period. We agreed the letter was satisfactory.

We discussed the scope and nature of the orientation program and agreed on the following:

(1) Relocation. Action research project securing information on persons applying for relocation to determine where they now live, place of employment, amount of income, and location of 221 housing acceptable to them.

(2) Public Housing. Acquaintance with history of public housing, its current status, and proposed plans for extension - with special emphasis on Atlanta.

a. Meeting personnel in Public Housing in Atlanta
b. Acquaintance with Urban Renewal plans in Atlanta

(3) Financing. Acquaintance with financing of FHA 203 and 221 housing and the various Public Housing Acts.

(4) Private Housing for Negroes. Acquaintance with private housing developments in Atlanta - existing, under construction, and planned.

a. single unit
b. multiple unit
c. cooperatives

FBR:ls

Zion Hill Baptist Church

666 McDaniel Street, S. W.
Telephone MAin 4703
L. M. TERRILL, A.B., A.M., B.D., D.D., Minister
151 Chicamauga Place, S. W.
Telephone AMherst 5084
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

SUNDAY SERVICES

6:00 A.M.—Prayer Meeting
9:30 A.M.—Sunday School
11:00 A.M.—Preaching
6:00 P.M.—B. T. U.
7:30 P.M.—Preaching
3:00 P.M.—Every First Sunday Holy Communion
7:30 P.M.—Every Wednesday Prayer Meeting

CHURCH OFFICERS

L. D. KEITH
Chairman Board of Deacons
ROGERS CAIN
Chairman Finance Committee
EMMITT ELLINGTON
Chairman Board of Trustees
H. G. BELL
Chairman Mission and Charity Committee
ANNIE M. PITTS
Church Secretary
W. D. McDANIEL
Church Treasurer

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Asst. Director of the Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

I am pleased to recommend Mr. Machion Garrison Jr. of 237 Westlake Drive N.W. Atlanta, Georgia for a One Term Internship in Inter-group Relations.

Mr. Garrison Jr. is a 1954 graduate of Morehouse College and an active member of Friendship Baptist Church. He is honest, dependable and reliable and comes from a very good family.

Any consideration shown Mr. Garrison will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours

L. M. Terrill

L. M. Terrill

May 4, 1956

Mrs. Gilbert Harrison
3556 Macomb Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Harrison:

Ben Segal quite rightly sent you on our project in the form as laid before the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. I add some items about it.

Also, I state that for set purposes I shall be happening into Washington all day Tuesday, May 8th, and will let Ben Segal know where I am so that if there should be any occasion to put questions at me I will be available.

One beauty of this one is that it has had a goodish trial run and it has proved that it works. I could add to the other state meetings a quite recent one in South Carolina that similarly started people thinking about how to do the job.

Two other things we have to say and they are a little hard to get into words. Very important point that this device taps (and accustoms Southern people to the tapping) the best Negro brains. You well know that without such careful pre-contriving all the social science advice would be white and less keenly informed.

X 12

The other thing is a matter of evoking responsible community compliance with community-analyses made in camera. I never describe this matter without feeling at my back the ghost of its trade union side. The humblest union people are wise to fight like tigers for the right to be represented at bargaining sessions by persons of their own choosing. They need experts! So do Negro parents in many a Southern community. And you can't ask the local Negro school teachers. They wear harness.

X 13

In this transition the South is going to need persons who can be fully trusted by everyday Negro people to go into conferences with the local powers-that-be and come out with the most forward agreement practicable.

X 14

Here is the machinery that builds such a category of persons. And notice that it accustoms local school people to dealing with these able Negro social scientists. Almost always whenever there is a problem of sweeping change it is wisest to go about the change bit by bit, place by place. This is the instrument for discovering how to do it.

X15

See what you have got: influential lay people in close and reasoning contact with the keenest students of the subject. Almost certainly out of this little furnace will come some superb practicioner of the art of unsegregating schools; and some persuasive arguments; and very probably a couple of good books.

X16

One last argument; the thing grew up natively.

We shall be needing to run along to the end of this calendar year some such sum as in the letter before you, but the immediate problem is June and July, when on present budgets we would have to pull back this cutting edge of change.

If the new Foundation will stretch a point and see what it can do we will be exceedingly grateful.

We are fully tax-exempt as evidence the enclosed letter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - cc of Internal Revenue ltr to
SRC dtd April, 1946

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

May 8, 1956

Mrs. Gilbert Harrison
3556 Macomb Avenue, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Harrison:

The Southern Regional Council asks The New World Foundation for modest assistance on a month to month basis for a provenly helpful project. To have an official name it is called The Consultants Service Program of the Southern Regional Council.

I have supplied you with items of correspondence which detail the history, rationale and uses of the program. In my recent letter to you and in conversation I added some more.

When I telephoned down to the office in Atlanta just now I gathered a few extra facts. The program has been running for five months. We have spent on it a shade better than nine thousand dollars. Its present monthly costs are approximately one thousand dollars for per diem, travel and communications for John Hope who runs it; and a couple of state meetings per month, each of which is costing about five hundred dollars. That is two thousand dollars a month. It costs a bit more in secretarial service. And it ought to be expanded so as to reach not merely state meetings of our own people but so as to serve locality gatherings containing school officialdom. The project costs, therefore, a minimum of two thousand dollars a month and could usefully be floated to anything up to three thousand dollars a month.

Earlier correspondence stated that the project should be financed through December of 1956, by which time we think the next thing to do would be apparent. I do not now ask The New World Foundation to float the project for all these months but I do ask The New World Foundation to float the project for as many months ahead as it can find convenient -- two, three or four.

Sincerely,

May 15, 1956

Mrs. Gilbert Harrison
3556 Macomb Avenue
Chevy Chase, Maryland

Dear Mrs. Harrison:

I promised to find for you a copy of the earlier letter to Montgomery Bradley. Here it is.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Gsm/eab
Encl: ltr from GSM to
Rockefeller Bros. Fund
dtd 10/28/55

New Wood Foundation

May 17, 1956

Mrs. Gilbert Harrison
3556 Macomb Street, N.W.
Washington 16, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Harrison:

What joyful news!

It will take me the turn-around of two or three days to send out the proper documents, but I will. And probably on Monday.

I am grateful -- most because I think wisdom was shown.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

May 22, 1956

(Dictated May 21)

Mrs. Gilbert Harrison
3556 Macomb Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Nancy Harrison:

Here comes up the formal letter. It has been duly sent around to the others.

And today we got Mr. Bentley's noble check, and I shall be mailing him a receipt tomorrow.

We were in a barrel about to try Niagara Falls, and you fetched us back!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. ltr to Mr. Richard Bentley dtd 5/21/56

3556 MACOMB STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 16, D. C.

May 15, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

You may have already received a letter from Mr. Richard Bentley telling you that we voted to give your Consultants Service Program a grant of approximately $17,000 for the period June 1 to December 31 of this year. The others agreed to do this on my promise that you would produce a detailed and comprehensive application as well as some kind of a budget.

My suggestion would be that you take as much from your two letters to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund as is applicable to our Foundation, plus a revised budget similar to the one on pages 5 and 6 of the letter of April 3 to Mr. Montgomery Bradley. I suggest that you use practically all of that April 3 letter, since it lists the consultants and tells in detail how the program functions, as well as your view of the value of the program to your state people. I suggest you make five copies of this application, sending one each to the following people:

Mr. Richard Bentley, 120 S. LaSalle Street,
Chicago 3, Illinois;

Dr. Roger I. Lee, 446 Walnut Street,
Brookline, Massachusetts;

Miss Katharine Taylor, 41 Hawthorn Street,
Cambridge, Massachusetts;

Mr. Fred Hoehler, 120 S. LaSalle Street,
Chicago 3, Illinois;

and myself.

It was a great pleasure to see you the other day and a privilege to be able to help in this work. I hope you will let me know when you are in town again.

With all best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Harrison

Anne B. Harrison
(Mrs. Gilbert A.)

September 4, 1956

Mrs. Gilbert A. Harrison
3556 Macomb Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Nancy:

I have been slow about getting to you some account of what we have been doing with the New World Foundation's generous help. I have not been forgetful; I have been wound up in the difficulties of getting things done in August.

A longish report is being done and will be sent up to you by Harold Fleming in a few days time.

The thing really works!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

September 1, 1956

1808 ~~Dawson~~ Morena St. 8, Tex.

Write ltr to John Hope in re progress report to the New World Foundation. See GSM's ltr to JH dtd 8/8/56.

Dr. Mitchell: I also attached JH's report which was received in the office on Friday, 8/31.

Rop

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

August 28, 1956

IN REPLY REFER TO:
BENJAMIN SEGAL
TRADE UNION CONSULTANT
[redacted]
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
STERLING 3-2194

1820 Jefferson Pl., N.W.

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED AUG 29 1956

Dear George:

I had lunch with Nancy Harrison today. In the course of our conversation she mentioned that she had not heard from you at all. I gathered from our talk that it might be avdisable for you to work up a pretty full and detailed report of your activities -- especially the project in which you used the New World Foundation grant. She indicated that if she got the report by the end of October that that would be sufficient time. I believe I also laid some ground work for your going back and asking for more money for next year. It might be a good idea, by the way, to put her on your mailing lists so she gets information and other material about your activities. For instance, she was not aware of the fact that the Virginia Council for Human Relations is a SRC affiliate. The New World Foundation has not solved their tax situation so I gather that they still do not have any money to give this year but will have some to give next year.

See attachment
erh

- put on mailing list
Mrs. Harrison have referred 8/29/56
erh

I will be interested to hear how the Texas School went. I am now working on trying to get someone down at the Florida School the week of September 9th.

Best wishes and kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Segal
BS

Ben Segal

P.S. I'd appreciate being put on the mailing list of the SRC too.

gone volume to Frances 8/29/56
erh

58

November 16, 1956

Mrs. Gilbert A. Harrison
3556 Macomb Street N. W.
Washington 16, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Harrison:

We have delayed longer than we should in getting in to the New World Foundation a request for assistance for 1957. The reason is two-fold: First, we have been exploring community needs for consultant services in various areas of the South, so that our request might be based on as much first-hand assessment of needs and opportunities as possible; secondly, our Annual Meeting took place in Williamsburg, Virginia only yesterday, and we wanted to base our request to the Foundation on the policy actions taken there.

A detailed request is now in preparation and will be submitted within a few days. Meanwhile, I'm writing you to let you know that we are hoping for further generosity on the part of the New World Foundation for the coming year. Our community explorations have convinced us that the wise provision of consultant help, on a broader and more flexible basis than before, can do as much as any other one thing to move the South in the right direction during the months ahead. A substantial part of the job will be skilled advance work in the field by the full time staff of the Southern Regional Council. As to amount, Ben Segal has advised us that for tax reasons, $20,000 would be the maximum figure that could be considered by the Foundation. Therefore, though the need is great and we might otherwise have sought even more generous support, the request will be kept within those bounds.

Our Annual Meeting was an occasion for much earnest planning and renewed resolution by our Board Members and staff. Not the least of our encouragement was the sympathetic assistance that we have had from you and

from the New World Foundation. I believe that the activities planned for 1957 will justify your continued confidence.

Cordially yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

November 20, 1956

Mrs. Gilbert Harrison
3556 Macomb Street, N. W.
Washington 16, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Harrison:

In addition to the letter to you, we are enclosing four copies of the same letter addressed to Mr. Bentley. This was the procedure suggested to us recently. It is our understanding that you will distribute them to the folks whom you once listed for us.

As Assistant Director for State Organizations let me add one word about the Consultant Service Program -- it works! Our state groups are more effective because of the work-conferences which they have been through.

The next big step of working with communities will be an even greater contribution to the growth of democracy in our Southland.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director for
State Organizations

FBR/eab

New World Found.

November 20, 1956

Mrs. Gilbert Harrison
3556 Macomb Street, N. W.
Washington 16, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Harrison:

This is a formal application to the New World Foundation for a further grant to the Southern Regional Council to assist our Consultant Service Program during 1957.

When last we reported the progress of the Consultant Service Program on September 10, 1956, work-conferences had been held with lay boards of directors and professional staffs in Arkansas, Florida, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia. Also, a special "hard-core" states conference had been held in Atlanta with Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina participating. As these meetings have been rather fully reported we will not review them here.

Since the September report conferences have been held in Alabama, Georgia, and Kentucky with gratifying results; here is a brief account of these meetings:

Alabama. John Hope II, Dr. Hylan Lewis (Atlanta University) and Fred Routh met with some 25 Board members of the Alabama Council on Human Relations at the Tuskegee Institute, September 25-26. The group took a problem census and then assigned priorities for discussion of the problems listed. The two items which seemed most helpful were: first, an identification of the variety of roles Board members might play in the Council, in other organizations to which they belong and as citizens; second, a careful analysis of forces operating in the tense situation in Tuscaloosa, home town of the University and site of the Miss Lucy affair. Once again the consultants explored with members the basic question, "What can we do at this time to make for meaningful progress in Alabama?"

Georgia. John Hope II, Dr. John A. Griffin (Emory University), Dr. William Jones (University of Tennessee), Dr. Hylan Lewis (Atlanta University), Dr. Herman Long (Fisk University), Mr. Whitney Young (Atlanta University) and Fred Routh met with the Board of Directors, the professional staff, the

state organizations' consultants and a carefully selected group of key people in Atlanta, September 27-28-29th. The large group broke into three sections to consider community organization, interracial communications, and self-survey techniques. This was an exciting conference. Participants went home not only with greater determination to do a job but with increased and new skills to apply to the task.

Kentucky. John Hope II, Dr. Lee Coleman (University of Kentucky), Dr. Robert Johnson (NCCJ), Dr. Bonita Valien (Fisk University), and Dr. C. H. Parrish met with Board members, staff and state consultants November 17-18-19. A great deal of thinking went into defining the best role for consultants -- professionalism vs advocacy. The group was interested in developing criteria for choosing communities in which to work and a thorough review of difficult communities and soft spots was undertaken. The group got so deep in their deliberations that they cancelled a "free period" they had scheduled.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

In the report of September 10th we wrote:

"We are preparing a program offering soon to be announced: the availability of the Consultant Service Program to public and private agencies in local communities facing the progess of desegregation. If the level of acceptance of this service by community leadership inside and out of the SRC movement approaches that of the state affiliates, we may expect a greatly increased demand for the program. We will be faced with the need for expanded resources, both in manpower and finances. It should be emphasized that this service is not imposed even upon our affiliates, but must be "marketed," and that tactfully.

At this community level our major targets would include:

(A) Local community units of our affiliates.
(B) Other established community relations agencies.
(C) Local organizations or local units of regional or national organizations which have a subsidiary concern with inter-group relations, e. g. churches, labor unions, civic organizations, etc.
(D) Local governmental or quasi-governmental bodies or committees of such bodies specifically concerned with the implementation of the public school desegregation decisions, e.g. school boards, PTA's teacher workshops, etc."

Since these words were written we have made quiet exploratory approach to several communities through our state affiliates and local leadership. We expect, and this should be regarded as confidential, requests for consultant aid from Miami and St. Petersburg, Florida; Nashville, Tennessee; and Greensboro and Charlotte, N. C. There is also the possibility of requests for aid from communities in Arkansas, Kentucky, and Texas.

Work with these communities or their school boards would, of necessity, be without publicity or credit-claiming. In some cases, we expect to be invited in only if we promise to keep the fact fully confidential. Many school boards that desire to behave fear what publicity at this stage might do on the local scene.

Properly to meet the anticipated requests for aid we will have to add to our "stable" of consultants some specialists in the field of school administration who have been through the desegregation experience. We have also been planning to add specialists in law enforcement and in public administration. Obviously if the volume of requests for aid live up to our expectations, there will be a considerable increase in effort and expense for the Consultant Service Program.

Such an expanded program will impose an increased administrative load. There will be need for the equivalent of a full-time assistant in field services who will carry on field work in communities which might be interested in consultant aid, in taking the pulse of communities which request aid, and in cultivating new consultant specialists.

Up to this point we have been enthusiastic about the results of this program; now we are excited about its potentialities. We therefore ask the New World Foundation for a grant of $20,000 for the calendar year 1957 to assist the Consultant Service Program. A proposed budget is attached. It should be noted that the Budget totals $27,000.

John Hope has been running the program from his nearly full-time job in Nashville; obviously he needs to be represented here where day-to-day decisions must be taken.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

HCF:FBR:GSM/eab

Encl.

CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

PROPOSED BUDGET 1957

INCOME

Renewed grant from New World Foundation	$20,000	
		$20,000

EXPENDITURES

SALARIES

Assistant Director, SRC (½ time)	$ 3,750
Field Assistant (full-time)	5,000
Consultant Fees	6,250
Secretarial help (½ time)	1,500

TRAVEL

Assistant Director	$ 1,500
Field Assistant	3,000
Consultants	4,000

OTHER

Overhead	$ 1,000
Phone, Postage, and Supplies	1,000

$27,000*

*We are in hopes that a sufficient balance will remain from the 1956 grant to make up the difference.

December 14, 1956

Mrs. Gilbert Harrison
3556 Macomb Street N. W.
Washington 16, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Harrison:

I've just had a letter from Miss Katharine Taylor in which she suggests that we send you the enclosed leaflets. She also conveyed the very welcome news she may be paying us a visit in January or February.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Encs.

December 27, 1956

Mrs. Gilbert Harrison
3556 Macomb Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Harrison:

I find that I am to be in Washington Thursday and Friday of next week. On the chance that it might be possible for me to see you, at least briefly, I will call on Thursday morning. If it is not convenient, please don't concern yourself; I will try again on a more carefully planned trip to Washington.

Our best wishes to you and to Mr. Harrison for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

Consultant's file

FILE COPY

January 11, 1957

Mrs. Gil Harrison
3556 Macomb Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Harrison:

Enclosed is a memorandum which undertakes to give a more concrete idea of what has been done through the Consultant Service Program so far. I am sending Mr. Eagle enough copies to send one to each of the Foundation's trustees if he cares to do so.

I enjoyed our luncheon together immensely. It's nice to meet a kindred spirit who knows our province right down to its dietary peculiarities!

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mm

Enclosure

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

January 8, 1957

To: The New World Foundation
From: The Southern Regional Council
Subject: Report on SRC's Consultant Service Program

The aim of this memo is to give a more comprehensive picture of SRC's Consultant Service Program. In previous reports to the New World Foundation, we dealt mainly with the "process" of the workshops held with our state affiliates' boards and staffs; here we seek to spell out the "content" of those sessions. This, along with our letters dated May 21st, September 10th, and November 20th, 1956, will provide an overall summary of our experiences with the program.

CONSULTANT SERVICES TO SRC STATE AFFILIATES

Each of the sessions described in this report followed a general pattern. (1) Early in the session a resource inventory was taken; this included resources in staff, in board membership, and in other key individuals and organizations in the area considered to be (as a minimum requirement) "for law and order." (2) The next step was to divide the listed resources into potential and active categories. (3) A problem census was taken, including the listing of resistance groups. (4) An attempt was made to relate particular resources to specific problems.

Stress was laid on the importance of developing local integrated councils to work on a variety of local problems such as health, sanitation, recreation, education, law enforcement, employment, etc., on a community-wide basis. Care must be taken, it was pointed out, that Negro members of such groups truly represent the Negro community and are not merely "window-dressing."

Each state group was warned against political activity as a tax-exempt organization; it being recognized, however, that board and general members could be politically active as individuals.

Two of our state affiliates, Kentucky and Tennessee, started operations using a consultant staff plan of their own. Since the development of SRC's Consultant Service Program, the idea and practice have been adopted by four more states - Alabama, Georgia, Texas and Virginia - testimony, we believe, to the effectiveness of the program.

INDIVIDUAL SESSIONS:

Virginia: The consultant session with the Virginia Council on Human Relations took place on February 17 and 18, 1956, shortly after the passage of the Grey Amendment. Those attending felt depressed because the organization had been unable (due to its tax-exempt status) to take an active part in the political fight which had raged across the Old Dominion. The two basic questions asked were: (1) What can we do that is effective, other than political activity, at this time; and (2) What can be done by a volunteer group when the power of the state government is being used to maintain segregation?

The consultants suggested that intensified effort to move some "soft spots" toward desegregation would prove fruitful. The group listed communities which had previously announced plans for desegregation and others which seemed inclined to accept it, such as Arlington, Charlottesville, Hampton, Norfolk, Richmond, and Waynesboro. Since the workshop, "locals" have been

formed or strengthened in most of these key communities. The Charlottesville Council made national headlines when it brought Louisville School Superintendent Charmichael to the community and again when John Kasper (later of Clinton infamy) sought unsuccessfully to disrupt a meeting.

Arkansas: The work conference was held March 9 and 10, at a Methodist camp outside Little Rock. Hoxie, Arkansas, with the aid of our state affiliate, had successfully weathered opposition to school desegregation, but no further communities were moving toward desegregation of their schools. Arkansas is predominently a rural and agricultural state. Thus, a real problem is how to proceed in rural areas where there isn't regular community organization structure.

The consultant team suggested several approaches, among which were: (1) working with such groups as do reach rural people, e.g., church groups, the Grange, PTA's, teachers associations; (2) working out from county seats; (3) picking for concerted effort key areas which are pace-setters for surrounding areas; (4) picking strong personalities who influence others in rural areas; (5) getting news releases to all rural weeklies; (6) concentrating effort in Little Rock to move the entire state; (7) raising with appropriate state authorities the question of what effect defiance was having on incoming industry.

The Arkansas Council, which has an unusually good Board and able staff, had been doing many of these things, but some Board members who had been inclined to "let George (George being the staff) do it" agreed to take a more active role themselves. A committee visited the Industrial Development Commission and the Chairman of the IDC, Winthrop Rockefeller, later publicly warned that prosegregation activities would jeopardize the state's industrialization.

Texas: The Lone Star State is almost an empire of itself. In recent years it has been facing more and more to the West, but the Old South still tugs at it - particularly in East Texas. The main problems confronting the state organization are covering so vast an area and planning a sufficiently varied program for a state with such great diversification of racial attitudes and practices.

At the meeting March 16 and 17, the consultants suggested (1) using the "locals" which existed as information gathering centers for the central office at Austin and as disseminating centers for information from Austin. This provides a two-way pipe line into key communities and provides information on which to base program planning. Further, it was suggested that programs be planned around these "locals," each seeking to move ahead as rapidly as possible. It was also suggested that special effort go into the soft spots to attain as much integration as rapidly as possible.

As a result of the recognized need for staff assistance to each of these local groups, the Texas Commission has adopted a consultant plan, making use in each of these communities of professionals who work on a per-diem basis, with the Executive Director serving as coordinator.

Hard Core Conference: This was a sub-regional meeting held March 23-24th in Atlanta for board members and staff from Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. The bringing together of these people so that each knew he was not alone, that others shared his problems, was of great value in itself. There were both general sessions and individual state sessions.

Generally it was recognized that one of the chief problems in the Hard Core Area is keeping open the lines of communication between whites and Negroes. Small, informal, integrated groups were suggested as a help in this direction. It was also suggested (and this has since been put into practice)

that workshops should be quietly held with "locals." The problem of maintaining law and order was also heavily stressed by consultants and much discussion was devoted to the mobilization of the "moderates" to this end. The problem of documenting and counteracting reprisals against whites and Negroes who favor, or are purported to favor integration, led to various suggestions for getting their story out through the national media.

South Carolina: This is one of the five hard-core states which are in open defiance of the Supreme Court decision. When they met on April 25-26, the board and staff of the state group had a sense of frustration, for it seemed impossible to work directly on the problem of school desegregation.

The consultant team quickly recognized the need for a more elemental program aimed at mobilizing public opinion for the defense of the basic rights of freedom of speech, association, and assembly. After considerable round-table discussion it was decided: (1) that special effort should be made to document incidents of economic and social reprisal against Negroes and whites who favor compliance; (2) to get the story of these reprisals out to the national press through SRC (this has been done with considerable success); (3) that considerable attention should be given to work with church and civic groups and newspapers to support law and order, for it was recognized that without this support no progress was possible; and (4) that with the cooperation of SRC an attempt would be made to relocate the new class of "D.P.'s" - displaced parsons. (We have since played a modest part in assisting several such "D.P.'s.")

Florida: This meeting was held on June 11 and 12 at Florida Southern College, Lakeland, shortly after the Democratic primary in which a retired general from the Florida National Guard had campaigned for the governorship on the single plank of white supremacy. Though he lost, things were not all orange blossoms in the "Sunshine State," for a special session of the state

legislature to consider means of preserving "our way" of public education was in the offing.

The Florida Council's Board is sophisticated and the integrated staff works well as a team. After deliberation with the consultants it was decided: (1) that special effort should be made to reach friendly elements in the major dailies of the state to have them editorially urge preservation of law and order and, where possible, compliance with the decision; (2) to undertake renewed and concerted effort with "locals" to keep open the lines of communication between the racial groups; (3) to help develop local interracial groups which would work to relieve tensions but which might not - or might not care to - formally affiliate with SRC; (4) to prepare for a joint meeting of all agencies in the state concerned with human relations. (This has been done with considerable success and the Florida Council continues to play a coordinating role.)

Alabama: This is a hard core state, but one with some liberal influences at work in several areas, notably TVA in the Tri-City area (Florence, Sheffield, and Tuscumbia) and the coastal influence of the deep sea port of Mobile. Alabama was also the site of the Montgomery bus protest, which was peaceful, and the Miss Lucy affair, which was not.

At the session with Consultants on September 25 and 26, considerable time was spent discussing means of preserving law and order and winning recognition for national public policy. A careful analysis of how law broke down in Tuscaloosa during the Miss Lucy affair was undertaken and plans were made to work with the ministerial association in that town to prevent similar disturbances when the next Negroes apply for admission. (This is in progress.) Differing roles of Board members were discussed. These were identified as (1) safe roles - white church women, retired white ministers, Negroes who were independent of the white community; it was recognized that

these people were more free to act and take public stands than most; (2) one-shot roles - the use of a person from out of town who could say things that needed to be said but which no local person felt safe in saying; (3) continuing role - the use of a person over a period of time in a given area calling for more discretion and sophistication than the "one-shot" role, etc.

Georgia: For a more complete picture of what happens at one of these Consultant Service Program workshops, we attach a copy of the rough summary of this conference, prepared by the conferees themselves.

Kentucky: The Bluegrass State is moving rapidly ahead with desegregation; indeed, the state board of education reported this fall that 84% of the school systems were in the process of integrating their schools. The Kentucky Council therefore is turning toward problems of teacher integration and non-discriminatory employment practices. The state group itself makes use of consultants in its community relations work.

The SRC consultants met on November 17-18-19 with the Kentucky Board members, Executive Director, and state consultants. Some time was spent defining the role of consultants as professional advisers, rather than as "advocates." There was general concensus that advocacy should be left to the Board, the Executive Committee, and the Executive Director. The problem of opportunities for professional training for Negroes was next on the agenda. (As a result of this, a survey of nurse training facilities done by the Kentucky Council has received wide newspaper coverage.) The Kentucky Council is now surveying employment practices by industries in Kentucky. They are cooperating with the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

BROADER APPLICATIONS OF CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

As part of the expanded activities of the Consultant Service Program, three special consultant services have been undertaken. The first two should be regarded as confidential. More such strategic consultative

approaches are anticipated.

Montgomery, Alabama. Just prior to the issuance by the Federal District Court of the bus desegregation decision of the U.S. Supreme Court, Emory Via (SRC's labor consultant) and Fred Routh (Assistant Director) went to Montgomery. There they conferred with local white and Negro leadership to ascertain what preparations were being made for the peaceful acceptance of the order. A second purpose of the visit was to stimulate thinking and action on the part of these leaders to prepare the community for the order. Among those conferred with were Dr. M. L. King, Jr., Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, and E. D. Nixon of the Montgomery Improvement Association; Grover Hall, editor of the Montgomery Advertiser; Rev. Thomas Thrasher, key white minister; E. C. Pippen, AFL-CIO labor leader; Dr. James Pierce and Dr. Council Trenholm, (President) of Alabama State College.

This service helped bolster the plans of local leaders to prepare the public for peaceful acceptance of the Court order. It also helped SRC's Information Service prepare the background story on the Montgomery bus protest movement which was widely distributed to Southern newspaper editors just prior to the implementation of the decisions.

Nashville, Tennessee: John Hope II, G. H. Parrish, and Fred Routh attended an "off-the-record" meeting with some key leaders of the Nashville area to assist them in their thinking on how to move the Nashville Conference (a local interracial group of influential people who identify themselves as "moderates") ahead more rapidly. There was also the question of supporting the governor in his previous stand of opposing all pro-segregationist attempts to influence public opinion in the state. Committees from two influential non-SRC groups have since called on the governor. When the legislature convened, members found a letter from the Tennessee Council of Churches on their desks asking them to act in moderation and Christian

humility.

Davidson College, N.C.: Fred Routh attended the sessions of the USCC - United Student Christian Council at Davidson on December 28-29 as a consultant and as leader of the section on race relations on the campus. Some 350 students from across the South met on an interracial basis to consider "Our United Campus Witness." The sessions in race relations were well attended and well received. Great concern was manifested by students over the dichotomy between their position and that of their parents. This was a first step toward communication and concerted planning among college student groups in the South.

FBR:mm

January 11, 1957

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3556 Macomb Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Harrison:

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I enjoyed our luncheon together immensely. It's nice to meet a kindred spirit who knows our province right down to its dietary peculiarities!

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mm

Enclosure

File

3556 MACOMB STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 16, D. C.

January 24, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you so much for the material you sent me and the pamphlets on integration. I have not yet had time to read them, but intend to get to them soon.

Meanwhile, Miss Taylor seems to be having a delightful time with you and I certainly enjoyed meeting you and having such a cheerful lunch. I look forward to seeing Miss Taylor's report on the meetings she is attending.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Harrison

Anne B. Harrison
(Mrs. Gilbert A.)

March 5, 1957

Mrs. Gilbert A. Harrison
3556 Macomb Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Harrison:

We have just received official notice of the generous action of the Board of the New World Foundation in approving the full amount of $20,000 requested by the Council for 1957.

While I have expressed formal acknowledgement and thanks to Vernon Eagle, I also want to send a personal word of thanks to you for this deeply appreciated support. Knowing that the Foundation acted on our request at a time when its own affairs were complicated, we are deeply conscious of what it means in terms of the Foundation's confidence in the Council and our responsibility to use the funds with the utmost effectiveness.

I don't know that I have ever written you how greatly we enjoyed Katherine Taylor's visit and how immediately and how much we liked her. She is a remarkable person and I am sure her friendship has meant a great deal to you over the years.

With appreciation and warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

Fiche
New World Foundation
1957

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

January 8, 1957

To: The New World Foundation
From: The Southern Regional Council
Subject: Report on SRC's Consultant Service Program

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Alabama: This is a hard core state, but one with some liberal influences at work in several areas, notably TVA in the Tri-City area (Florence, Sheffield, and Tuscumbia) and the coastal influence of the deep sea port of Mobile. Alabama was also the site of the Montgomery bus protest, which was peaceful, and the Miss Lucy affair, which was not.

At the session with Consultants on September 25 and 26, considerable time was spent discussing means of preserving law and order and winning recognition for national public policy. A careful analysis of how law broke down in Tuscaloosa during the Miss Lucy affair was undertaken and plans were made to work with the ministerial association in that town to prevent similar disturbances when the next Negroes apply for admission. (This is in progress.) Differing roles of Board members were discussed. These were identified as (1) safe roles - white church women, retired white ministers, Negroes who were independent of the white community; it was recognized that

these people were more free to act and take public stands than most; (2) one-shot roles - the use of a person from out of town who could say things that needed to be said but which no local person felt safe in saying; (3) continuing role - the use of a person over a period of time in a given area calling for more discretion and sophistication than the "one-shot" role, etc.

Georgia: For a more complete picture of what happens at one of these Consultant Service Program workshops, we attach a copy of the rough summary of this conference, prepared by the conferees themselves.

Kentucky: The Bluegrass State is moving rapidly ahead with desegregation; indeed, the state board of education reported this fall that 84% of the school systems were in the process of integrating their schools. The Kentucky Council therefore is turning toward problems of teacher integration and non-discriminatory employment practices. The state group itself makes use of consultants in its community relations work.

The SRC consultants met on November 17-18-19 with the Kentucky Board members, Executive Director, and state consultants. Some time was spent defining the role of consultants as professional advisers, rather than as "advocates." There was general concensus that advocacy should be left to the Board, the Executive Committee, and the Executive Director. The problem of opportunities for professional training for Negroes was next on the agenda. (As a result of this, a survey of nurse training facilities done by the Kentucky Council has received wide newspaper coverage.) The Kentucky Council is now surveying employment practices by industries in Kentucky. They are cooperating with the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

BROADER APPLICATIONS OF CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

As part of the expanded activities of the Consultant Service Program, three special consultant services have been undertaken. The first two should be regarded as confidential. More such strategic consultative

approaches are anticipated.

Montgomery, Alabama. Just prior to the issuance by the Federal District Court of the bus desegregation decision of the U.S. Supreme Court, Emory Via (SRC's labor consultant) and Fred Routh (Assistant Director) went to Montgomery. There they conferred with local white and Negro leadership to ascertain what preparations were being made for the peaceful acceptance of the order. A second purpose of the visit was to stimulate thinking and action on the part of these leaders to prepare the community for the order. Among those conferred with were Dr. M. L. King, Jr., Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, and E. D. Nixon of the Montgomery Improvement Association; Grover Hall, editor of the Montgomery Advertiser; Rev. Thomas Thrasher, key white minister; E. C. Pippen, AFL-CIO labor leader; Dr. James Pierce and Dr. Council Trenholm, (President) of Alabama State College.

This service helped bolster the plans of local leaders to prepare the public for peaceful acceptance of the Court order. It also helped SRC's Information Service prepare the background story on the Montgomery bus protest movement which was widely distributed to Southern newspaper editors just prior to the implementation of the decisions.

Nashville, Tennessee: John Hope II, G. H. Parrish, and Fred Routh attended an "off-the-record" meeting with some key leaders of the Nashville area to assist them in their thinking on how to move the Nashville Conference (a local interracial group of influential people who identify themselves as "moderates") ahead more rapidly. There was also the question of supporting the governor in his previous stand of opposing all pro-segregationist attempts to influence public opinion in the state. Committees from two influential non-SRC groups have since called on the governor. When the legislature convened, members found a letter from the Tennessee Council of Churches on their desks asking them to act in moderation and Christian

humility.

Davidson College, N.C.: Fred Routh attended the sessions of the USCC - United Student Christian Council at Davidson on December 28-29 as a consultant and as leader of the section on race relations on the campus. Some 350 students from across the South met on an interracial basis to consider "Our United Campus Witness." The sessions in race relations were well attended and well received. Great concern was manifested by students over the dichotomy between their position and that of their parents. This was a first step toward communication and concerted planning among college student groups in the South.

FBR:mm

January 11, 1957

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Mr. Eagle:

I have heard both from Frank Loescher and Mrs. Harrison of your new position with the New World Foundation. It's good to encounter a name that became familiar in the youthful days of AVC!

Frank told me that you felt the need of more concrete information about what we have been doing through the consultant program. The enclosed memo is an attempt in that direction. I am sending copies to Mrs. Harrison and to Miss Taylor, who, as you no doubt know, will pay us a visit in a couple of weeks.

I am enclosing additional copies in case you wish to pass them on to your trustees or others.

We're hoping you will be able to make an expedition to the South before long. Meanwhile, call on us if we can supply information that will be helpful.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mm

Enclosures

January 11, 1957

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

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Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mm

Enclosures

RECEIVED JAN 19 1957

120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET, ROOM 1865
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

January 16, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of January 11 and the enclosed detailed memorandum covering the Southern Regional Council's Consultant Service Program. I have only had an opportunity to glance at this, but will read it carefully in due course.

One thought does occur to me, however. It would be helpful if you could provide me with a more or less detailed financial statement on the expenditures of The New World Foundation's previous grant.

I am sure you will enjoy meeting Miss Katharine Taylor who, as you know, is acting as a consultant to The New World Foundation.

I should very much like to go South, but the pressure of setting up the new office is a bit too much to allow that luxury at present.

Sincerely yours,

Eagle

Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation

January 23, 1957

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Room 1865
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Mr. Eagle:

We are winding up the customary year-end bookkeeping business and have planned to send you a full accounting of the New World Foundation grant shortly. You should receive it in a few days.

Our conference of agencies working in the South, which begins this afternoon, is shaping up most promisingly. Unfortunately Miss Taylor got grounded in Boston and we are still hopefully looking for her.

I can well understand your comment about the rigours of setting up a new office, since I am in the process of occupying the new one.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Dictated but not read

~~cc: PA~~

cc: Katharine Taylor

January 31, 1957

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Mr. Eagle:

Enclosed is a report of expenditures under the 1956 grant of the New World Foundation for the consultant service program. We have supplied some brief supplementary notes on those items that seem to require them. If you would like further details or further explanation, please let me know.

Along with these impersonal figures come our warm thanks to the Foundation for making possible a year of productive effort.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

"SRC over-head charge of 10%." This is the percentage allocation for overhead which the Council customarily charges against the budgets of special projects. In one way or another, all of the resources of the organization are involved in the planning and implementation of the consultant program. SRC's Administrative Assistant handled much of the paper work and routine administrative tasks for the project here at the Central Office in Atlanta (Mr. Hope's headquarters are in Nashville). The Research Assistant spent considerable time pulling together and editing pertinent background about each state which consultants were to visit. This material, distributed in advance, saved as much as half-a-day's time usually needed for on-the-spot orientation and briefing of consultants. All of the professional staff have spent considerable time working with Mr. Hope in planning and evaluating each of the activities. Included in the overhead allocation, of course, are such routine costs as secretarial help, mimeographing services, use of office facilities and local phone calls.

"Held in Reserve." Both of the items listed under this section were planned for execution late in the last calendar year but had to be postponed because SRC was in the process of important change. Dr. Mitchell had retired as Executive Director and Harold Fleming had been chosen his successor. The Council began to rethink its own program focus in terms of greater centralized and regional emphasis. Until the new administration and emphasis had "shaken down" a bit, we felt it wise to postpone these two crucial meetings.

"State Staff-Consultant Conference." This is the last year SRC's state affiliates will receive aid under the grant from the Fund For the Republic. We hope, during this last year, to give them a real push toward self-sufficiency in program planning, development and execution; and in fund raising ability. Careful

consideration has been given to this task. The most important step, we believe, will be taken in bringing their professional staffs together to talk through their problems with a battery of our best consultants. We have also obtained from the American Friends Service Committee the offer of services, on a gratis basis (except for travel), of a fund raising expert. Chief emphasis, however, will be placed on further developing a program worthy of local support.

"Consultant Workshop." It has been almost eighteen months since we last drew together all of SRC's consultants. There is a real need now to bring them together to evaluate the program as it has developed, to examine where we are, and to plan where we are going. There is an increasing demand for consultant services from other agencies and from community leadership. We must enlarge both the number of consultants and the range of specialties represented to meet these demands. New consultants must be orientated in our approach and methods. As more and more Southern communities meet the stress of social transition, the availability and ability of such consultants may well determine the course these communities follow.

February 5, 1957

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Mr. Eagle:

Enclosed are two recent items pertaining to the work of the Council which I believe you will find of interest.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Encls.
Ltr. from John Alexander 1/29/57
"The South of Promise"

February 6, 1957

AIR MAIL

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Mr. Eagle:

Thanks for your good letter.

I am enclosing a copy of the letter from the Treasury Department of April, 1946, showing our tax-exempt status. Our accountant is just finishing our annual audit, so unfortunately I am not able to send you a copy at once. It should be finished and reproduced within a week or so, and at that time I will get it to you.

Best wishes for a successful Board meeting.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET, ROOM 1865
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

VERNON A. EAGLE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

February 4, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letters of January 31st and February 1st and the enclosures.

As requested, I will substitute the new proposed budget for that contained in your original request dated November 20, 1956. Katharine Taylor explained to me the circumstances surrounding this change, and I fully understand.

You very kindly provided everything which I need to present your project to The Board of Directors, but I wonder if you could do me one more favor and send me for our files a copy of the Treasury Department tax-exempt letter showing your tax exemption? Also, if you have an extra copy, it would be useful for me to have your audited annual financial report. attached

Please convey your love to Tomorrow (Em)

From all I hear, you people are doing a wonderful job. Best of luck!

Sincerely yours,

Vernon Eagle

February 8, 1957

A I R M A I L

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Mr. Eagle:

Katherine Taylor has suggested that I send to you post-haste the enclosed thumbnail sketches of our consultants. These are merely brief identifications which we have used for internal purposes. We can supply you with much more detailed background on each of them if that would be useful.

As you know, these are the consultants we have been using to assist our state affiliates and a few other human relations groups in the South. From now on we will probably be broadening the range of consultants somewhat to meet such needs as that indicated by the Bryson City Board of Education. Thus the consultants will include some of the best practitioners -- school officials and others -- as well as social scientists.

I hope this reaches you in time to be of use in your meeting next week.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls - 4 c. "SRC's Consultant Panel"

February 11, 1957

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Mr. Eagle:

I greatly appreciated your note of February 7th. It was thoughtful of you to give us this helpful background.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET, ROOM 1865
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

VERNON A. EAGLE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

February 7, 1957

RECEIVED FEB 9 1957

(This is a PERSONAL,
not an official, letter)

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of the 5th with the enclosures. I was especially interested in the copy of the letter from the American Friends Service Committee.

As you know, the grant made last year to the Southern Regional Council was listed under the category of "the right education for children," so any emphasis in that direction is helpful.

As you probably know through Katharine Taylor, we are having a Board meeting next week; and though I can promise you a favorable presentation, due to our tax problems, it may be difficult for the Board to act favorably. Once we can solve this tax situation, we can act with a great deal more freedom.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon Eagle

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET, ROOM 1865
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED FEB 21 1957

VERNON A. EAGLE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

February 19, 1957

PERSONAL

did not acknowledge

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is just an informal note to let you know that at the recent Board meeting the Directors voted to make the $20,000 grant to the Southern Regional Council on the project as presented.

You will receive a formal notification, but I thought you would like to have this information.

Best of luck!

Sincerely yours,

Vernon Eagle

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET, ROOM 1865
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

VERNON A. EAGLE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

March 1, 1957

RECEIVED MAR 4 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The Board of Directors of The New World Foundation has carefully considered the application of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. as outlined in your letter of February 1st, 1957 for a grant of $20,000 to assist the financing of its Consultant Service Program. This grant would include the financing of the participation of the Southern Regional Council in the Apprentice Training Program under the direction of NAIRO.

Taking into consideration the excellent results achieved by the Consultant Service Program and appreciating the great need for the Apprentice Training Program, the Board of Directors has decided to make the grant to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. in the amount requested. It gives me great pleasure to carry out the instructions of the Board to inform you of this fact.

You will realize that although part of the funds in this grant are in support of a program to which The New World Foundation previously contributed, this is not to be considered in any way as an indication or commitment that future grants will be made.

As in the past, it would be helpful if you could give us a brief report on the progress of the work and upon its completion, a financial report.

On behalf of the Board of Directors, I extend best wishes for success in this worthwhile cause.

Sincerely yours,

V. A. Eagle

bc: MissKatharine Taylor

March 5, 1957

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Room 1865
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

Delighted to get rid of the cumbersome formality of Mister.

Enclosed herewith is a slightly more formal acknowledgement of the grant from the New World Foundation. I know from the action of the Board, under circumstances of some difficulty, that you realize how much this assistance means to our work in the South.

It would not inconvenience the Council in any way if the payment of the funds were made in two lots, $10,000 now and the additional $10,000 in June or July. It will take us a while to find the proper person for the apprenticeship, so that $10,000 should be sufficient for both purposes until the early summer.

With appreciation and best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET, ROOM 1865
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

VERNON A. EAGLE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

March 1, 1957

PERSONAL

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I'll drop the "Mr." if you will!

Under separate cover, you will have received the official notification of the grant from The New World Foundation.

As I think you understood, the Foundation has certain difficulties, financial and otherwise, until our tax situation is cleared up. If it would not in any way inconvenience you or the Southern Regional Council, it would be more convenient for me to be able to send you the funds in two lots--$10,000 at the present time and $10,000 in June or July. If this would cause any difficulty, let me know and we can provide all of the funds immediately.

I shall be particularly interested to learn how you make out in your search for a participant in the Apprentice Training Program.

Kindest regards and best of luck.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon

bc: Miss Katharine Taylor

March 5, 1957

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Room 1865
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Mr. Eagle:

The Southern Regional Council acknowledges with the deepest gratitude the grant of $20,000 approved by the New World Foundation for 1957. Our official receipt will be sent to you as the funds are received.

We understand that the grant is to be applied to the consultants service program and the apprentice training program in the terms set forth by our letter of application dated February 1, 1957. We have also carefully noted the fact that this grant is not to be considered as a commitment of further support.

We will keep the Foundation appropriately informed of the progress of our work under both programs, and a complete financial report will be forthcoming at the end of our calendar year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

March 18, 1957

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
120 South La Salle Street, Room 1865
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

It gives me much pleasure to acknowledge receipt of the first half of the New World Foundation's grant for 1957. Our official receipt is enclosed.

I am awfully glad you got a chance to meet George and Alice Mitchell before they set sail for Scotland. Word from you of the New World Foundation's grant and generally favorable view of the Council's work was about as good a send-off as they could have had.

The consultation with the Brison City school board comes off next week. We secured the services of the Fayette County, Kentucky, school superintendent and a very able local social scientist who advised on the school desegregation in that city. It gives us all a good deal of satisfaction to have a hand in the shaping of an official plan in one of the first cities in North Carolina to move in this direction, however tentatively and off-the-record that action is.

With appreciation and all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:mm
Enclosure: Official Receipt

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET, ROOM 1865
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

VERNON A. EAGLE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

March 12, 1957

RECEIVED MAR 14 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am now back at my desk after a brief trip East, and the first order of business is to send you the enclosed check for $10,000 from The New World Foundation as part of its grant of $20,000 which was approved at our Board meeting of February 12, 1957.

$10,000.00
CR
rhe

I am sure you would let me know if this method were in any way inconvenient, and I appreciate your co-operation.

By happenstance, I met Mr. and Mrs. George Mitchell in Dave Freeman's office, and I took the occasion to tell him that he was leaving the Southern Regional Council in good hands. He was pleased to know of the grant.

Best regards and best of luck.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon

Enclosure

March 22, 1957

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Secretary
The New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

This is in response to your request for our view of the work of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the South.

We are acquainted in a general way with some of the activities that the FOR has been carrying on, notably the work of their Field Secretary, Glenn Smiley in Alabama and South Carolina. Staff members of the Council's affiliates in those states have worked cooperatively with Smiley in various situations. They think well of him and, on the basis of what we know here, so do we.

Probably the simplest way for me to give you our views is in a point by point fashion:

1. The approach of the FOR is a very sharply defined and rather restricted one. Their interest lies in techniques of non-violent, passive resistance as a means of achieving social change. Naturally the emergence of the Ghandian movement in Montgomery has become a major focus for FOR's activities in the South. Through visitations by Smiley and through workshops, FOR is seeking to spread the understanding and practice of this method to other communities.

2. While some white liberals are interested and involved, the orientation of the FOR means that the greater part of their work is probably with Negroes and, in my opinion, their effectiveness is likely to be largely limited to the Negro group for the time being.

3. FOR does see as one of its functions, I gather, visits to white religious leaders to discuss race relations in moral terms and to "lay on their conscience" a concern for the responsibility for what happens in the community.

4. FOR is likely to play more of a lone wolf role than other human relations organizations, such as ours. I don't mean that there is any conflict inherent in our respective operations, simply that the orientations are quite different. SRC and such groups as the YMCA, YWCA, the various denominational groups, the Jewish agencies, etc., are likely to find a good deal in common in terms of strategy and operational techniques that would be distinct from FOR's special concern.

To sum up, it would be our judgment that the FOR works vigorously and intelligently within the framework of their program. I should think any judgment of them as a potential beneficiary would start from the question of their fundamental philosophy and approach to social change. Anyone who would like to see this approach made -- or made better -- might well give some help to FOR.

If we can help by getting more specific information for you on this or other matters, let us know.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
/signed in absence

April 4, 1957

Make special file for Eagle

Mr. Vernon Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

Thanks for your letter of March 26th.

I was glad to give you my "off-the-top" views on the work of the FOR in the South. Don't ever hesitate to ask us for our views on matters of this kind or anything else that we might know something about. If my replies seem labored sometimes, it is only because I want to be as fair as I can when somebody else's performance is involved. But that doesn't mean that I'm in the least unwilling to offer a judgement for whatever it is worth.

At the moment, I see no possibility of my making the National AVC Convention, though I would like nothing better. If I should find myself in the vicinity at that time, you can be sure that I will be trying to track you down.

All best regards.

Sincerely

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET, ROOM 1865
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

VERNON A. EAGLE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

March 26, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am now back in Chicago after a hectic but well-spent week in New York and have your letter of the 18th as well as the one of the 22nd on the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

I trust you don't mind my throwing something like this at you for your ideas since you are far better qualified to judge in matters like this than I am. Naturally, all I want is your own personal, not an official Southern Regional Council, opinion, and I promise never to hold you liable for anything you say.

At the present time, I expect to find some excuse for attending the National AVC Convention in Washington. If by any chance you should happen to be in the neighborhood, we could get together.

Kindest regards and many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

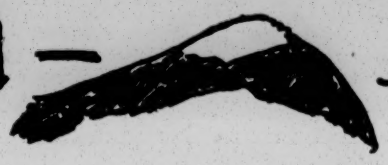
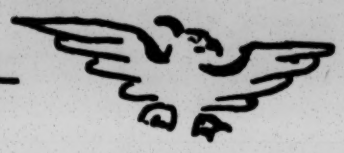
Vernon

EAB -

Pls file this with the green of the ltr to Eagle -

HCF

New Orleans

4 + −  + 

New World Foundation
Norman Eagle

Consultant Program Progress Report.

Orlando, Florida

Orlando, Florida has two segregated ministerial associations but once a month members of the non-segregated Clergymen's ~~Ministers~~ sub-committee of the Orange County Council on Human Relations come together for a luncheon meeting. On March 12th SRC supplied a consultant to discuss with the group progressive steps being taken in the South and the role of religious groups and clergymen in social transition. Present were 55 clergymen both Negro and white.

Charleston, S.C.

The Atlantic Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church, USA met in Charleston, S.C., on March 25th. SRC provided a consultant to discuss with the group population trends in the South and their meaning to the Church. Most of the ministers present were Negro and considerable emphasis was placed on helping urban Negro Clergymen start planning to assist people who are moving to cities and towns from the farms.

(1) Jacksonville, Florida

On April 5 and 6 the North East Florida Council on Human Relations sponsored a workshop, entitled "Counsel for the Council" for lay people in the Jacksonville area. Some sixty people attended, a number of them members of the power structure. Since this was a pilot project in topping community leadership a team of SRC Consultants participated. See attached Workshop Program "Counsel for the Council" for a fuller idea of what happened.

State dir Baptist Student movement

Dairyman
Asst. Sup't Schools
Attorney

(2) Memphis, Tenn.

"Nashville may be the capital of Tennessee, but Memphis is capital of the Delta" is the proud boast of many a Memphisite. But there are many who feel otherwise and some 150 of them came to a workshop held at LeMoyne College April 13a. SRC's consultants worked with the smaller sessions and participated on a panel before the general session. See attached "~~Conference on~~ Race Relations" for a more inclusive description of the conference.

Nashville, Tennessee

On April 23, 24, & 25 much of the Leadership of the white, protestant, Southern clergy & laymen came together for a Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations. The Nashville held conference was sponsored by the Fellowships of Southern Churches and the Tennessee Council of Churches. SRC had two consultants at this important meeting in addition to four state staff people who participated. A lot of church leaders not only had their batteries re-charged here but through prayer, instruction, and discussion they increased their skills in the field of human relations.

Montgomery, Alabama

At a YMCA camp outside of Montgomery, a group of white, protestant, Southern clergymen and laymen met to discuss, off the record, what can the church do in Alabama to speed compliance with the Supreme Court order. The Executive Director of SRC's Alabama affiliate helped plan and organize the meeting and an SRC consultant met with the group. At the end of the day they voted to meet on an integrated basis in the fall.

Talladega, Alabama

The student State Ecumenical Conference of Alabama met at Talladega College on April 4th. This organization is the only remaining integrated statewide student organization. Among the Negro and white participants were delegates from State colleges and the University. SCC supplied a consultant to discuss with conference members "Christ on the Campus — witnessing without segregation." In small discussion groups students got down to the nitty gritty of what to do through their campus religious organizations.

New Orleans

La. Council. Bonita + Hy + FBR + JH.

Mary Raymond

Exec. Secy Council Soc Agencies - new bd members. Syty Rousseve, 22 policy people.

Fr. Louis Twomey, Fr. Eugene McManus

(1) Community educ for voter regis.

(2) "Soft spots" - buses, parks, library, art museum.

2 subcttees to deal with labor relations + employment opp.

S C H E D U L E

9:00 a m.	Registration, Foyer of Brownlee Hall
9:30 a.m.	General Assembly - Lecture Hall
10:15 a.m.	Coffee Break - Faculty Lounge
10:30 a.m.	Discussion Group Meetings

Group	I	EDUCATION - - - - - -	Room 24
Group	II	CHURCH - - - - - - -	Room 22
Group	III	EMPLOYMENT - - - - -	Room 27
Group	IV	PUBLIC FACILITIES - -	Room 21

12:30 p.m.	Lunch - College Cafeteria
1:45 p.m.	Discussion Groups Reassemble
3:00 p.m	General Assembly - Lecture Hall

GENERAL INFORMATION

Participation in the Conference is by invitation only.

Registration fee of $1.00 will cover cost of Luncheon.

A mimeographed report of Conference proceedings may be purchased for $.50 payable at the time of registration. This report will be mailed at a later date.

Reservations must be made by April 6, 1957.

Materials will be on exhibit.

INFORMATION TO CONSULTANTS

1. Meals will be served in the College Cafeteria

April 12 - Dinner 6 p.m.

April 13 - Breakfast - 8 a.m.
Lunch - with Conference group
Dinner - 5 p.m.

2. Lodging at home of President Price. Some may stay at a nearby home.

3. Transportation to and from airport:

Let us know in advance hour of arrival and flight number.

In case of delay and you are not met on schedule, call President Price WH 8-6626; if no answer, call WH 8-5789.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

EMPLOYMENT

1. The effects of the Supreme Court's Decision on job opportunities for Negroes.

2. Problems within organized labor.

3. What are the chances of Negroes passing examinations for licenses in skilled and technical fields?
   a. plumbing
   b. electricity
   c. radio (etc.)

4. How does in-migration to Memphis affect the labor market?

5. Services and facilities for Negroes in Employment Security offices.

6. Wage and hour law - In what ways are employers avoiding the minimum wage laws?

7. Differences of Southern Based Plants and Northern Based Plants in hiring policy and practice.

8. Employment problems of the under-educated and the untrained.

9. The Soil Bank and mechanization of farms - and the disappearing small one family farms.

10. How does the employment pattern of Negroes affect their protection under the Employment Security and Social Security laws?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

EDUCATION

1. Are there any groups in Memphis studying school integration plans? What about Baltimore, St. Louis and Louisville experiences?

2. Is anything being done to improve the quality of teaching?

3. Are P T A's helping in parent-teacher relationships?

4. What are the problems arising in schools in low income areas?

5. What are the problems of public finance in relation to educational facilities?

6. To what extent has our dual-segregated school system increased the cost and lowered our standards of public education?

7. Is educational equipment adequate in Memphis? Is there a fair distribution of equipment? (among the city schools)

8. What preparation and planning is being done to work out a program of compliance with the Supreme Court decision?

9. To what extent would the Louisville and Nashville plans be feasible for us?

10. What plans can we suggest as to how schools might be integrated in Memphis?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

CHURCH

1. What is the message from the Bible and the Hebrew-Christian tradition concerning segregation and integration?

2. What is the extent of interracial contacts in the churches of Memphis? Is the picture different from what it was a few years ago? In what ways is it different?

3. How shall we cope with the "good, regular, devoted church member who says 'I love the Negro but I will not sit down at a table and eat a meal with him?'"

4. Since churches in Memphis are about 100% segregated what things can be done to better human relations in various fields of human endeavor?

5. If churches in Memphis were about 100% non-segregated what things could be done to better human relations? Are there some things possible in No. 5 that are not possible in No. 4?

6. Is it possible for the church to influence the climate of opinion among the people of Memphis? If so, how can this be done?

7. What roles have churches played in bettering human relations in other communities? Which of these are feasible for Memphis?

8. Let us set up a five year plan to see how and what the church and related organizations in Memphis might do.

MAKE YOUR OWN PLAN

What should be done in terms of race relations in the next five years in each of these areas of public facilities?

RECREATION	CULTURE	HEALTH	FIRE & POLICE	TRANSPORTATION
Parks Playgrounds Community Centers Stadia Fairgrounds	Library Art Museum "Pink Palace" Auditorium Shell	Hospitals Clinics Nursing	Fire Services Fire Personnel Police Services Police Personnel	Buses
1957				
1958				
1959				
1960				

OPENING WORSHIP
State Ecumenical Conference of Alabama
Talledega, Alabama

CALL TO WORSHIP

PRAYER

HYMN

SCRIPTURE

MEDITATION

A Litany of Dedication for Students

LEADER: Remembering in this hour the needs of men and women--ourselves, and others--and looking to God for strength to make real those of our ideals which are in accord with him:

PEOPLE: We dedicate ourselves

LEADER: To a daily effort toward understanding God's way, through Bible study, prayer, corporate worship, and careful thought;
To continued intellectual and spiritual growth in the meaning and implications of Christian faith, by reading, conversation, and reflection;
To participation in the work of the Church Universal, through our own denomination and congregation.

Remembering that we have this treasure in earthen vessels, and with deep humility, nevertheless:

PEOPLE: We dedicate ourselves.

LEADER: To the sharing of this faith and the winning of others to active allegiance, by the contagion of earnest living and by the persuasion of the spoken word;
To the uprooting of small evils, which are the source of greater evils, in our own lives and in our immediate group in college life.

Believing that "blessed are they that mourn," when so many of those whom Jesus called our neighbors are in deep distress:

PEOPLE: We dedicate ourselves.

LEADER: To the cultivation of an abiding sensitiveness to great social wrongs, and a lasting refusal to become comfortably complaisant;
To the better understanding of complex social patterns which often make men of goodwill partners in wrong and injustice;
To the faithful performance of commonplace and routine duties, without the thrill of great excitement or the impulsion of pride in being the greatest;
To the maintenance of whatever uplift of spirit has been achieved in Christian fellowship, hardening high inspiration into the tough fiber of daily effort;

To the fullest use of our student Christian movement as an effective linking of our group with the larger company of Christian students here and everywhere;
To the discovery of, or continuance in, a life occupation which will be our primary and major expression of faith.

In all these ways, to the service and adoration of Jesus Christ, whom we joyfully hail as Lord and Master, truly God and truly man, in gratitude and love:

PEOPLE: We dedicate ourselves. Amen.

HYMN

May 7, 1957

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

We were planning to send you soon an informal interim report on the consultant program, so your request is well-timed. You will be hearing from me in a few days.

I am sorry I wasn't able to make the AVC meeting. Bob Thompson reported that it was one of the best in recent years and mentioned that he had had a chance to chat briefly with you.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET, ROOM 1865
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

May 3, 1957

VERNON A. EAGLE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have a Board meeting of The New World Foundation coming up in Washington on May 21st.

I believe it would be helpful if I could give them a brief, informal, up-to-date progress report on the Consultant Program, if this would not be too much bother to you.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon

cc: Katharine Taylor w/enclosures
John Hope - no enclosures

May 13, 1957

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

Since the New World Foundation approved the 1957 grant, the Council's Consultant Service Program has been busy. Here is a summary account of activities to date.

1. Consultation with the Bryson City, North Carolina, School Board. When we last reported, this session was in the planning stage. We had been requested by the local school board to make available the counsel of a Kentucky school superintendent who had effectively carried out desegregation. We secured the services of Mr. Noah Turpen of Fayette County, Kentucky, and Mr. Lee Coleman, of the University of Kentucky, who had served as a consultant to the Fayette County School Board on its successful program of desegregation. We feel that there is good reason to believe that this consultation was a significant contribution to Bryson City's prospects for early and orderly desegregation of the schools. Attached is a copy of the letter from John W. Alexander of the American Friends Service Committee, which gives a very encouraging report on the outcome.

2. Jacksonville, Florida Workshop. On April 5th and 6th we supplied a consultant team to a workshop sponsored by the Northeastern Florida Council on Human Relations for lay people in the Jacksonville area. Some sixty community leaders attended, including an assistant superintendent of schools, an owner of the area's largest dairy, a state director of the Baptist student movement, and others of some influence. The attached program shows the nature of the discussion. The results were a plan and a time-table for pushing desegregation of public facilities. Busses, parks, playgrounds, and schools -- roughly in that order -- were considered. In general, we felt that this was an effective use of the consultant program to stimulate specific planning and action by community leadership.

3. Memphis, Tennessee Workshop. A similar opportunity was presented by the Race Relations Conference held at LeMoyne College on April 13th. Approximately 150 people from the Memphis area came together for this session, and at the request of the sponsorship SRC supplied the main consultants. As in the case of Jacksonville, these community leaders developed a set of priorities for the desegregation effort in Memphis and the surrounding area. Some of those in attendance can probably be classified as "power structure" people, and the tone of the conference was surprisingly optimistic. Perhaps this is attributable in large measure to the long-standing tradition of Negro participation in Memphis politics.

4. New Orleans, Louisiana Workshop. In this instance, we were following last year's pattern of using the consultant device to strengthen the state affiliates. The Louisiana Council on Human Relations has had serious difficulty in maintaining the interest and activity of its best lay leadership. We supplied a consultant team to meet with twenty-two of the leading people interested in human relations activity in the New Orleans area. That included the Executive Secretary of the Council of Social Agencies, the Director of the Tulane School of Social Work, the city's leading Negro attorney, and two Catholic clergymen who have given vigorous leadership to the Louisiana Council. As a result of the session, the Board of the Louisiana Council was substantially strengthened by the enlistment of able new people. Program planning dealt with techniques for advancing community education on voter registration, and desegregation of busses, parks, libraries, and the art museum. Two sub-committees were appointed to follow through on the specific plans laid.

5. Orlando, Florida, has two segregated ministerial associations, but on March 12th a special meeting of fifty-five clergymen, Negro and White, assembled to discuss the role of religious groups and clergymen in the current social transition of the South. We supplied a consultant to background the group on progressive steps being taken elsewhere in the South and the material and resources available to a local group of clergymen interested in advancing race relations.

6. The Atlantic Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., met in South Carolina on March 25th. SRC provided a consultant to discuss with the group population trends in the South and their meaning to the churches. Because of the make-up of this denomination, most of the ministers present were Negro. Considerable emphasis was placed on helping urban Negro clergymen plan effective assistance for the large number of Negroes who are moving from the farms to the cities and towns.

7. Nashville, Tennessee Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations. On April 23-25 a large Southwide representation of white Protestant leadership came together under the sponsorship of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen and the Tennessee Council of Churches. This was an unprecedented rallying of Protestant conscience in the South. SRC encouraged attendance by state staff people and supplied two consultants

for the workshop sessions. It is possible that this conference represented a kind of turning point, in that church leadership was united for the first time, across denominational lines, in a resolve to advance desegregation through religious channels. In any case, it was a significant beginning.

8. A similar affair on a state-wide level took place near Montgomery in April. A group of white Protestant clergymen and laymen from all parts of Alabama met together for the first time for candid discussion of their responsibility in the present crisis. The Executive Director of SRC's area affiliate -- himself a Methodist minister -- helped plan and organize the meeting. SRC supplied a consultant to provide background information and guidance to the group. At the end of the conference the group voted to further their joint planning by another assembly in the Fall, this one to be held on an integrated basis. We rendered a similar consultant service to the Alabama Student Ecumenical Conference, which met interracially at Talladega College on April 4th. This organization is the only remaining integrated state-wide student group. Among the participants were delegates from state-supported colleges and universities. Much of the discussion turned on what the students could do through their campus religious organizations.

The long-deferred conference of our consultants will take place on May 24th and 25th. The difficulties of getting full attendance have been enormous, but it now appears that we will have a full house. We are bringing together, along with the established consultant panel, some promising new specialists whom we hope to use effectively in the months to come. We will be giving you a report of this meeting.

We have deliberately expended a disproportionate amount of time, energy, and money on the consultant program during recent weeks, since the Summer is a slack period. Out of the first installment of the 1957 grant from the New World Foundation, approximately $6,000 of the current grant has been spent thus far. Taking into account the less active Summer months, we believe this represents an appropriate pro rata expenditure.

Please convey our good wishes to the Board of the Foundation at its coming meeting, and our appreciation for the support which has made this productive activity possible.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

Suggested Agenda

MEETING OF MINISTERS AND LAYMEN

on

"The Christian Faith and Race Relations"

Camp Belser, Montgomery, Alabama

May 3, 1957

Morning Session

Rev. Merle C. Patterson, Presiding
Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Montgomery, Alabama

10:30 A.M. Invocation

Discussions:

10:35-11:05 "Constructive Developments in Race Relations in the South"
Mr. Fred Routh, Atlanta, Georgia
Representative Southern Regional Council

11:05-11:35 "Constructive Developments in Race Relations in Alabama"
Dr. A. S. Turnipseed, District Superintendent
Mobile District, The Methodist Church,
Mobile, Alabama

11:35-12:00 noon - General Discussion and Summary - by
The Rev. Mr. Patterson

12:00 noon - Lunch

Afternoon Session

Dr. R. L. Archibald, Presiding
District Superintendent, Bessemer District, The Methodist Church
Ensley, Alabama

Discussion - "What the Local Community Can Do to Improve Race Relations"

1:00 P.M. A Tape Recording, Carrying a Message, by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

1:30 P.M. Small Study Groups Meet to explore "What the Local Community Can Do To Improve Race Relations"

2:15 P.M. Reports from Study Groups and Summary - by
The Rev. Mr. Archibald

2:45 P.M. Other Considerations

3:00 P.M. Adjourn

FBR

RACE RELATIONS CONFERENCE

LeMoyne College

Memphis, Tennessee

THEME

IMPROVING HUMAN RELATIONS IN MEMPHIS

PURPOSE

To promote understanding of the present race relations situation in Memphis and Shelby County

by

---bringing together persons of good will
---encouraging open discussion
---considering practical next steps

April 13, 1957 9:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.

P R O G R A M

9:00 . . . . Registration, Foyer Brownlee Hall

9:30 . . . . General Assembly, Lecture Hall

Prayer . . . The Reverend Lionel Arnold
Purpose. . . . . Miss Martelle Trigg
The Problem . . . . Dr. Peter Cooper

10:15 . . . . . Coffee Break

10:30 . . . . . Discussion Group Meetings

Group I EDUCATION . . . . . Room 24

Group II CHURCH . . . . . Room 22

Group III EMPLOYMENT . . . . Room 27

Group IV PUBLIC FACILITIES . . Room 21

12:30 . . . . . Lunch, College Cafeteria

1:45 . . . . . Discussion Groups Reassemble

3:00 . . . . . General Assembly, Lecture Hall

Reports of Recorders

Dr. John Hope II

Questions and Answers

******

GROUP I EDUCATION

Co-Chairmen	Mr. John Spence
	Mr. Floyd Bass
Consultants	Mrs. Bonita Valien
	Dr. C. H. Parrish
Recorders	Mrs. Russell Sugarmon, jr.
	Mr. James R. Miller

GROUP II CHURCH

Co-Chairmen	The Rev. J. C. Mickle
	The Rev. Boyd Gibson
Consultant	The Rev. Will D. Campbell
Recorder	Mrs. Harold Johns

GROUP III EMPLOYMENT

Co-Chairmen	Dr. Peter Cooper
	Mr. Henry B. White
Consultants	President Hollis F. Price
	Dr. John Hope II
Recorder	The Rev. J. A. McDaniel

GROUP IV PUBLIC FACILITIES

Co-Chairmen	Mr. Taylor C. D. Hayes
	Mr. Lucius E. Burch
Consultants	Mr. Fred Routh
	Mr. Whitney Young
Recorder	Miss Elizabeth Jones

GENERAL INFORMATION

Participation in the Conference is by invitation.

Registration fee of $1.00 will cover cost of Lunch.

A Mimeographed report of the Conference may be purchased for $.50 payable at time of registration. This report will be mailed to you at a later date.

Exhibits prepared by INTEGRATION SERVICE.

WORKSHOP PROGRAM

HUMAN RELATIONS - "COUNSEL FOR THE COUNCIL"
April 5 & 6
St. Paul's Episcopal Church
5536 Atlantic Blvd.
Jacksonville, Florida

Friday, April 5

5:00 p. m. Get Acquainted Hour for leaders and consultants

6:00 p.m. Dinner and Briefing Session for leaders and consultants

7:30 p.m. Registration of workshop participants

8:00 p.m. General Assembly
Keynote Speaker: Fred Routh, Southern Regional Council
Orientation Session: John Hope, Fisk University

Saturday, April 6

9:00 a.m. Workshop Sessions
1. Creating Community Climate
2. Schools in Transition
3. Working with Public Officials

10:15 a.m. Coffee Break

10:30 a.m. Workshop Sessions

12:15 p.m. Luncheon

1:15 p.m. General Assembly
Workshop Topic Group Reports
Audience Question Period
Audience-Panel Discussion
Panel Summary

Note: The Session on Friday evening will conclude at 9:30; that on Saturday at 3:00

CONSULTANTS

The Very Reverend Roger W. Blanchard, Dean, St. John's Cathedral
•Lee Coleman, University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky
•John Hope, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
The Reverend Cannon Robert McClosky, Department of Christian Social Relations, Episcopal Diocese of Florida
Margaret MacGill, Duval County Public Schools
Irene Osborne, American Friends Service Committee
•Dr. C. H. Parrish, University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky
•Fred Routh, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia
Howard Roberts, Florida Council on Human Relations. Miami
William Williams, Florida Council on Human Relations, Miami
•Dr. Whitney Young, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

Workshop - April 5 and 6, 1957

HUMAN RELATIONS - "COUNSEL FOR THE COUNCIL"
conducted by
Northeast Florida Council on Human Relations

I. CREATING COMMUNITY CLIMATE

What means of communication can be established with newspapers, radio, and television?

What measures can be taken to equalize employment opportunities?

What educational measures can be undertaken in respect to showing implications of American and Judeo-Christian principles?

What measures are being taken by and being planned by the Councils of Churches?

What ministerial efforts are being made and can be made to further amicable relations - exchanges of pulpits, joining of ministerial unions, etc.?

What measures have been taken and can be taken to end segregation on public transportation?

II. SCHOOLS IN TRANSITION

What is actually being done at the county and city level to bring about the aims the Supreme Court set?

What steps may be taken beyond those already taken?

Is there any possibility of advancement under the program adopted by the State Legislature?

How can the members of the Council work with the school administration?

What possibilities exist in bringing about opportunities for use of university facilities for all the citizens of the community?

What possibilities exist in the area of sports?

III. WORKING WITH PUBLIC OFFICIALS

In what ways can the genuine attitudes of public officials be ascertained?

How can public officials be interested in the movements and organizations which endeavor to promote better human relations?

Are there means of opening public recreation areas to all citizens aside from legal action? What are the legal aspects of the sale of public recreation facilities to private interests?

What steps can be taken to bring about improved housing and to eliminate slum areas in the community?

What measures can be taken to improve street paving and extension of public utilities?

How may hospital and social service facilities be improved and extended for all citizens in the community?

COPY COPY

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

POST OFFICE BOX 1307

HIGH POINT, N. C.

March 28, 1957

John Hope, II
Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association,
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

The choice of Noah Turpen for the Bryson City job could not have been better. He really disarmed them of any apprehension they had about the experience. The discussion with the school board and superintendent was frank, open and [illegible]. From the viewpoint and basic assumption one that AFSC and SRC share on these matters Noah Turpen leaves absolutely nothing to be desired so far as I was able to [illegible]. In addition, he is a fine, personable individual.

Apparently, they (the board chairman and superintendent) were apprehensive to the point of not having scheduled any other meetings beyond that with the school board. They wanted to see just what the consultants were like before going any further. As it happened there was just not sufficient time left to schedule people the next morning, because they had other commitments. We couldn't get the ministers together and the superintendent was either reluctant or unable to get any school teachers, the principal or the supervisor together. We at least had a follow up meeting with the superintendent the morning after the 3½ hour evening session.

The board chairman told me the next day that the board was continually impressed by and appreciated greatly the approach and attitude of both Turpen and Coleman.

We are truly grateful to SRC for arranging this first actual desegregation consultation experience, which to my mind will bring concrete results in Bryson City even though we did not get much beyond the board and superintendent. It was of even greater value as a pilot operation for the state.

Turpen has recommended a teacher and a principal from his system to come to Greensboro to help us with a teacher workshop we are planning for May. I plan to go to Lexington in April to see what has been done there in the city and county systems and to complete plans for the workshop if Turpens people accept the invitation I have sent them.

Need I add that I still am without a secretary, but will have one April 1?

Sincerely yours,

John M. Alexander,
Director, School Program

Copy to Fred Routh

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET, ROOM 1865
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

FBR
JH
EAB

thermo-fax to Jh. 5/20/57
EAB

VERNON A. EAGLE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

May 15, 1957

RECEIVED MAY 17 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Your letter of the 13th was exactly what I wanted.

Congratulations on your progress and thanks for writing so promptly and so fully.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon

PAL

RECEIVED JUN 8 1957

RHA

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET, ROOM 1865
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

VERNON A. EAGLE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

June 7, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

July 1st will be convenient as far as we are concerned, and we shall send you a check about that time for the remainder of the grant.

Kindest regards,

Vernon

June 5, 1957

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

As you probably know, the nationwide announcement of the apprenticeship training program has finally been released. We are in hopes that more applications will be coming in presently. So far, we have received only one as a result of the announcement, although we have received three others through our own less formal channels. None of the applicants to date are quite what the position calls for, and we are looking hard for other likely prospects. I will keep you posted on our progress.

In our earlier correspondence, you suggested that the remainder of the 1957 grant might be forthcoming about July 1st. As the program is going, this date will be about right for us. If it presents any complications for you, we could perhaps work out our finances on another timetable. If that's called for, don't hesitate to let me know.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED MAY 31 1957

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET, ROOM 1865
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

VERNON A. EAGLE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

May 27, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Have you had any luck in finding a man for your apprentice training program?

Other than that, I wonder if you would drop me an informal note when you are in need of the rest of the funds from our 1957 grant.

Kindest regards,

V. Eagle

July 15, 1957

Mr. Vernon Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street, Room 1865
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

We gratefully acknowledge the second and final installment of The New World Foundation's 1957 grant to the Southern Regional Council. Our official receipt is enclosed.

I have recently sent a copy of our overall report on the Council's activities during the first six months of 1957. We will be sending further progress reports on the Consultant Service Program and the Apprentice Training Project from time to time. Meanwhile, any time such an interim report is desired by the Foundation, please let me know.

We are making special efforts to recruit a well qualified candidate for the Field Services apprenticeship and hope that we will soon be able to report a sound beginning on this project.

With appreciation and good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED JUL 11 1957

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET, ROOM 1865
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

VERNON A. EAGLE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

July 10, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

As scheduled I am enclosing our check in the amount of $10,000 to the order of the Southern Regional Council. This sum represents the remainder of the grant from The New World Foundation approved by the Board of Directors in their meeting of February 12, 1957.

$10,000.00
RHA

We understand that $5,000 of this amount is to be allocated to defray the expenses involved in your participation in the apprenticeship training project.

Congratulations on your good work to date and best wishes for the future.

Kindest regards,

Enclosure

July 22, 1957

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
The New World Foundation
120 South La Salle Street, Rm. 1865
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

I was embarrassed to find you are not receiving New South - one of those inexplicable slips in our machinery. We have remedied the matter, and you will receive New South regularly from now on.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Dear Vernon:

I was embarrassed to find you are not receiving New South — one of those inexplicable slips in our machinery. We have remedied the matter, and you ~~should~~ will receive New South regularly from now on.

Best regards

Sincerely,

Hal

RECEIVED JUL 18 1957

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET, ROOM 1865
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

July 17, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your very kind letter of the 15th.

We will need nothing further at this time, but it has occurred to me that I don't appear to be on your list to receive the NEW SOUTH. It might be helpful.

Kindest regards,

Kenon

File - Internship

wanted: 15 *young Americans*

TO WORK FOR FREEDOM

The National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO) announces internships in intergroup relations agencies. Public and private intergroup relations agencies are playing a leading part in America's historic national effort to reduce and finally eliminate discrimination based on race, religion or national origin. The agencies need additional trained professional personnel at the national, state and local levels, to expand their effectiveness in this effort. To meet this need, NAIRO has undertaken administration of the two year program of internship, with financing by a group of participating foundations and agencies. Under this program, beginning about September 1, 1957, the agencies listed below will employ interns for one year giving them on-the-job experience in a variety of intergroup situations, including employment, housing, educational, police and interfaith cooperation. The training program will also include a two week NAIRO seminar for all interns and senior staff members of the participating agencies.

Salaries will start at the junior professional level in each agency. A successful internship should lead to permanent professional status and employment in the intergroup relations field.

Applicants for the 1957-58 internships should apply directly to one or more of the following agencies not later than July 1, 1957. Letters of application should include a concise statement of the nature and extent of candidates' interest in intergroup relations, and a biographical resume including educational and employment experience, public activities and publications.

American Friends Service Committee
1830 Sutter Street
San Francisco 15, California

American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York, New York

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago
21 West Superior Street
Chicago, Illinois

Chicago Urban League
2410 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Additional agencies may participate by September 1957. For further information, write Richard V. Marks, Secretary, NAIRO, 1106 Water Board Building, Detroit 26, Michigan.

Community Studies, Inc.
417 E. 13th Street
Kansas City, Missouri

Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee
105 City Hall
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

National Conference of Christians and Jews
43 West 57th Street
New York, New York

Philadelphia Fellowship Commission
260 S. 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

San Francisco Civil Unity Council
437 Market Street
San Francisco 5, California

San Francisco Urban League
2015 Steiner Street
San Francisco 15, California

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Urban League of Greater New York
202 West 136th Street
New York, New York

National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials

33

FILE COPY

July, 1957

INTERNSHIP IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

The Southern Regional Council, under a grant from the New World Foundation, is participating in the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials' program of "Internship in Intergroup Relations."

A unique on-the-job training program has been designed to provide supervised experience in the field services division of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

The position, under the supervision of SRC's Assistant Director, will entail:

1) Liaison work between SRC and eleven state human relations councils.
2) Administrative and field participation in SRC's Consultant Service Program.
3) Administrative and field participation in the cooperative inter-agency effort which SRC serves as secretariat.
4) Work with SRC's Labor Consultant, planning and attending labor conferences.
5) Work with SRC's Director of Women's Work, planning and attending conferences.
6) Work with community leaders in various Southern States.

The Intern will attend a NAIRO-conducted workshop toward the end of the training period. Possibilities are good for continuing employment after the internship period.

PERIOD OF INTERNSHIP: One year, beginning September, 1957. SALARY: $3,600

QUALIFICATIONS: Male. 22-32 years of age. College graduate. High potential. Mature, stable personality. Democratically motivated. Native or long resident of the South. No racial restriction.

APPLICATIONS: Applications for the internship position should include two professional and one personal letters of recommendation; a vita sheet; a summary of educational and (if any) professional and occupational experiences; and a brief statement on why the individual is interested in intergroup relations.

SEND Inquiries and applications to:

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

APPLICATION FOR INTERNSHIP IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Name: Perry C. Daugherty

Date of Application: July 24, 1957

Present Address: 1131 Hunter Place, N. W.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Place of Birth: Covington, Georgia

Date of Birth: December 18, 1920

Present Family Status: Married, no children

State of Health: Good

Summary of Educational Experience:

E. P. Johnson Elementary School, Atlanta, Georgia, graduated, 1933

David T. Howard Junior High School, Atlanta, Georgia, graduated, 1937

Booker T. Washington High School, Atlanta, Georgia, graduated, 1940

Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia, graduated with the A. B. degree in Social Science, 1949

Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, candidate for graduation with M. A. degree in Sociology, August 8, 1957

Occupational and Professional Experience:

1942-1945-- United States Naval Reserve, active duty as fireman. Trained in the maintenance and operation of internal combustion engines.

1946-1949-- Student at Clark College (see education above).

1949-1951-- Student at Atlanta University.

1951-1952-- Teacher of social studies in the Grantville Training School in Coweta County, Georgia.

1952-1953-- Graduate Research Fellow in the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina. Collaborated with a group of social scientists in the study of a southern community.

1953-1957-- Associate Professor of social science and history at Miles College in Birmingham, Alabama.

Professional References:

Dr. Mozell C. Hill
Department of Sociology
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Hylan Lewis
9 Park Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Personal Reference:

Mr. R. A. Thompson
1850 Penelope Road, S. W.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Statement on Why I am Interested in Intergroup Relations

My interest in intergroup relations arises out of three sets of factors: (1) my experience as a native of Georgia (2) the belief that the people of the South may have a more democratically based life and (3) my training in the field of social science. I address myself to each of these briefly.

As a native of Georgia, I have felt for a long time that the two major population groups were needlessly set apart and ignorant of the deeply interdependent nature of their existence. I am anxious to see that this condition is corrected through the development and use of wise and courageous leadership.

I believe in Democracy and feel that many of today's problems arise out of a widespread reluctance to include large proportions of the citizenry in public affairs. The tendency in Southern policy to plan and solve problems without recourse to or consultation with large proportions of the population needs to be modified.

As a student of the behavior of human groups, I desire to achieve a better understanding of intergroup prejudice and tension. My interest is not alone academic, but it continues to the point of my wanting to be active in the process of seeking solutions to the problems which are largely the result of maladjustment in intergroup relations. Moreover, I want to be active in the process of applying sound knowledge to these troublesome situations.

I have a bias in the direction of belief in the soundness, correctness, and timeliness of the 1954 and 1955 decision of the United States Supreme Court with respect to the unconstitutionality of segregation in the public

schools. I believe that the police powers of the state are misused when they are employed to set people apart on the basis of race, national origin, or religion.

Thank you very much for your consideration of me for this spot which I consider an opportunity.

Respectfully submitted,

Perry C. Daugherty

Perry C. Daugherty

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS (NAIRO)
Room 5500, 60 East 42nd Street, New York 17. (MU 2-1250)

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATIONAL & PROFESSIONAL TRAINING
Thursday, August 15, 1957

Present: Charles Livermore, Chairman; Arnold Aronson; Louis A. Radelet; S. Andhil Fineberg, ex officio; John Lassoe, Secretary.

The Committee interpreted its role as that of a policy planning and advisory body for the internship project. Meeting at least every two months, it will review progress and evolve policy and guidance for the Executive Secretary, who is charged with implementation. It is responsible to the Board of Directors, and will report regularly.

ACTION: There being unanimous agreement among Committee members on this interpretation, the Board of Directors was asked to sanction it in the form of an official charge.

John Lassoe reported on his initial correspondence and contact with internship agencies. Seventeen agencies are in the process of hiring 18-20 interns for work in some 10 cities. Nine interns have been selected, and at least two have started work. Full information is lacking on five agency programs.

He noted that three agencies have recently indicated an interest in the internship program: Hamilton-Madison House (NYC), the American Baptist Home Missions Board (intern placement in Cleveland), and the New York Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. The first two have indicated their ability to match a foundation grant. (At least five other agencies were in contact with the Fund for the Republic at one time and, apparently, are not now participating for financial reasons only.)

Lassoe asked for guidance on the amount of time that should be spent now to secure foundation support for these new agencies, each of which have indicated interest in participating this year. Dr. Fineberg felt that emphasis should be on the quality of internship training rather than the quantity of interns. Mr. Aronson agreed, suggesting that NAIRO would be better served by approaches to foundations at a later date and with a broader base.

ACTION: There was unanimous agreement that the Executive Secretary should concentrate on service to agencies now participating, and should not attempt at this time to secure foundation support for additional participants.

ACTION: At Dr. Fineberg's suggestion, the Executive Secretary was directed to prepare a draft report on the internship program. This

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will be considered at the next meeting of the Committee and, in its final form, will be sent to foundations and agencies to acquaint them with the operation of the project and to prepare them for possible requests for aid at a later date.

ACTION: At Mr. Aronson's suggestion, the Executive Secretary was also directed to prepare a draft statement of the objectives of the program and the means of implementation. Specifically, (1) the expectations of NAIRO with respect to the training process and its own performance, i.e. the seminar, the role of the administrator, relationship with the participating agencies, and (3) the expectations of NAIRO with respect to the intern, i.e. his development, his future, his qualifications. The statement would also outline the reports expected or desired from agencies and interns and their content.

ACTION: At Mr. Radelet's suggestion, the Executive Secretary was directed to secure from participating agencies the personnel data on rejected internship applicants. These should then be offered to agencies that have not yet selected an intern and also kept on file for future reference.

There was some discussion of the definition of an intern. It was noted that applicants range from inexperienced college 1957 graduates to mature adults with considerable intergroup relations experience. In their selection, agencies seem to have chosen both types, and this difference in background needs to be recognized and rationalized.

ACTION: The Executive Secretary was asked to prepare a working definition of an intern, incorporating both types.

ACTION: After consideration of an outline submitted by the Executive Secretary, the Committee directed him to prepare a draft copy of a 15-20 page document on the internship program, the field of intergroup relations, its agencies, NAIRO, and career opportunities - for use by the interns as a basic reference piece.

ACTION: The Committee approved the collection of information on the interns (as they are selected) and on the training programs of the participating agencies. This has already been initiated by the Executive Secretary, and the final compilation will be circulated to the Committee and to the agencies involved.

It was suggested that the Executive Secretary submit to the Committee - at its meeting prior to the NAIRO Conference - the draft of his first official report, requested by the President for the opening business meeting.

The Executive Secretary reported that, in addition to the compilation of data on the interns and their programs, he will spend the next month talking with additional agencies in New York and Philadelphia, and with individuals involved in internship programs

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in other fields (e.g. social work, government). Following the next meeting of the Committee (set for mid-September), he will begin his field visits to agencies in other cities.

Respectfully submitted,

John V.P. Lassoe, Jr.

AUGUST, 1957
fib

NAIRO, c/o Fund for the Republic, 60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y.

August 19, 1957

TO: NAIRO Board of Directors

FROM: John V.P. Lassoe, Jr., Executive Secretary

SUBJECT: Monthly Report, July 15 - August 15

1. INTERNSHIP PROGRAM. Seventeen agencies are now participating (Hudson Guild, New York City, and Friends Neighborhood Guild, Philadelphia, having been added to the original list), and two of these plan to employ more than one intern. At least eight of the agencies have already selected their interns, and all expect to make their decisions by mid-September.

I have visited seven of the agencies (six in New York and one in Cincinnati) and have been in correspondence with the others. We are currently compiling intern biographies and internship programs for circulation among the participating groups.

John Feild appointed nine members to the NAIRO Committee on Educational and Professional Training, and designated it as the advisory body for the internship program. The committee, representing internship agencies, non-internship agencies, and academic centers, is headed by Charles Livermore. Other members: Arnold Aronson, Alexander Allen, Dr. Kenneth Benne, Dr. Martin Chworowsky, Dr. Dan Dodson, Maurice Fagan, Alexander Miller, Louis Radelet, and S. Andhil Fineberg, ex officio (the last-named as Chairman of NAIRO's Committee on Professional Standards). The committee has met once and has directed me to prepare draft statements on Internship Program policy and practices.

At least two agencies - the American Baptist Home Missions Society, and Hamilton-Madison House, New York City - are actively interested in becoming part of the Internship Program this year. Both are prepared to match foundation grants, if the latter can still be secured (the Fund having already allocated its 1957-58 total of $30,000).

* * *

2. INDOCTRINATION. As part of my own training, I visited George Culberson (Pittsburgh), John Feild and Dick Marks (Detroit), and Marshall Bragdon (Cincinnati). All gave me good background on NAIRO and the Internship Program; and, in Detroit, I had a chance to study the files. Both in Pittsburgh and in Cincinnati, I had an opportunity to meet with groups of intergroup relations people for very good discussions of the Internship Program.

I have had a chance to talk with two of the current Commission chairmen (Manpower and Housing) and with two of the Department chairmen (Research Services and National Private), as well as some of the other NAIRO directors and members. Incidentally, I sat in on my first NAIRO committee meeting last week - Professional

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Standards.

* * *

3. NATIONAL OFFICE. We have located the national office in the Newsweek Building, 152 West 42nd Street (at the corner of Broadway). It is a small but adequate two-room office on the 15th floor, renting for quite a bit less than the budget had allocated. Furniture for the office has been purchased from the Fund for the Republic for $70.(!!), and it only remains to secure the necessary mechanical equipment. We move in on August 30th.

* * *

4. OFFICE SECRETARY. I was fortunate enough to secure the services of Mrs. Frankye Brown as NAIRO Office Secretary. Formerly on the NCCJ staff and known to me for several years, she began work with us on August 1.

* * *

5. FUTURE PLANS. The National Office, once located in its new quarters, will take over the membership and other secretarial duties now being handled by Dick Marks' office. This transfer should take place after my return from the Detroit Board meeting.

During September-October, I will be visiting all of the internship agencies and, at John Feild's direction, I will be prepared to report on this by the November Conference. Internship visits will, incidentally, cover at least ten cities, since some of the national agencies are placing interns in field offices across the country.

fib

RECEIVED AUG 26 1957

237 West Lake Drive, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
August 24, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming,
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Enclosed you will find the short synopsis of my life for which you have asked. I hope you will find it satisfactory.

Yours truly,
Machion S. Garrison Jr
Machion S. Garrison, Jr.

974 Ashby Grove S.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
August 28, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

I am writing you concerning the Internship in Intergroup Relations, which is presently open on your Staff. I am interested in this type of work and would like to be considered for the position.

I am 22 years of age; an August 10, 1957, graduate of Clark College with a major in Social Science and a minor in Psychology.

My work experience includes two and one-half years as a clerk with the Southern Regional Council, Inc. At the Council, my duties included the assembling and mailing of most of the materials used in the organization's program. This, I believe, helped me familiarize myself with the type of program an organization in this field emphasizes. And as the Council is a human relations organization in the field of race relations, my tenure at the Council enabled me to work with and meet persons working in and interested in this field. This, I think, considerably broadened my knowledge of the field in which you are active.

I have been active with the Boy Scouts of America since childhood. In 1950, I represented my troop at the Second National Jamboree at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania; and in 1953, I was again chosen to attend the Third National Jamboree at Irvin Ranch in Santa Ana, California. At present, I am assistant Scout Master of my Church's Troop. I am a member of Warren Memorial Methodist Church and teach a Sunday School class.

In college, I was a member of the Dramatics Club for three years; member of Alpha Kappa Delta Honorary Sociological Society; member and officer of the Social Science Club; and a member of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity.

I believe your organization would offer me the kind of challenge which will permit me to realize what I feel are my potentialities and would enable me to make a contribution to the progress of an organization such as yours.

Any consideration you may extend me in this matter will be greatly appreciated. If there is additional information needed, I will be more than pleased to send it immediately.

Sincerely yours,

Joe Louis Tucker

Joe Louis Tucker

References for Joe Louis Tucker, 8-28-57

Mr. John T. Amey (Field Scout Executive)
170 Wellington Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. M. E. Tilly (Director of Women's Work)
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. William H. Hale (Head of Social Science Dept.)
Clark College
240 Chestnut Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. John Constable (Director of Information)
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. James P. Brawley, President
Clark College
240 Chestnut Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Ruth H. Alexander (Sec'y - Treasurer, SRC)
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Personal Data Sheet - Joe Louis Tucker

Name - Joe Louis Tucker

Address - 974 Ashby Grove Street, Atlanta, Georgia

Phone - PL 3-5709

Age - 22

Marital Status - Single

Army Status - Accepted for the Draft

Religion - Methodist

Education - 16 years formal Education

1 - 7 grades - E. R. Carter School, Atlanta, Georgia

8 - 12 " - Booker T. Washington High School, Atlanta, Ga.

Graduate of Clark College, Atlanta, Ga.

Experience: Two and one-half years as clerk with the Southern Regional Council, Inc. At the Council, my duties included the assembling and mailing of most of the materials used in the organization's program. This, I believe, helped me familiarize myself with the type of program an organization in this field emphasizes. And as the Council is a human relations organization in the field of race relations, my tenure at the Council enabled me to work with and meet persons working in and interested in this field. This, I think, considerably broadened my knowledge of the field in which you are active.

This I Believe

I believe your organization would offer me the kind of challenge which will permit me to realize what I feel are my potentialities and would enable me to make a contribution to the progress of an organization such as yours.

Sept 9th 1957

Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga

Gentlemen: —

Mr Mackie Garrison, a former student of mine is seeking employment with you and he has asked me to write to you in his behalf. I am very happy to do so.

Mr Garrison was a student of mine from 1952 through 1954. During this time I came to know him quite well. Academically his work was better than good. He demonstrated initiative, grasp and understanding in class. His character and general deportment rated "A". I am indeed happy to learn that you are considering him for employment. There are no reservations I can make in recommending him to you and I certainly hope

that you find him to be the man you want.

Yours very truly
Robert Hughes Brisbane
Prof. Pol. Sc
Morehouse College

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

Over Thirty-Five Years of Preventive Social Service

JACKSON 1-2355 • 239 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. • ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

September 13, 1957

Dear Harold and Associates:

I am glad to recommend Machon Garrison, Jr., for consideration of a fellowship with the Council's program during the coming year. I have known him since he was a little boy and have been impressed with his growing maturity and ability in relationships with people. He has a good mind and I believe, will profit by the experience and may become a worthy addition to the group of persons working knowledgeably in human relations. His undergraduate major in political science, should give him a background for work with the interests in the Council.

With all good wishes -

Yours cordially,

Grace

(Mrs.) G. T. Hamilton
Executive Director

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

GTH:mm

SRC Internship Prog.

Approved by MAW in phone conversation with FBR 30 Sept 57

September 20, 1957

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

You will recall that $5,000 of our grant from the New World Foundation was designated for an internship program in our field work activities. SRC is one of a number of such agencies which, under foundation grants, are recruiting promising young people for professional human relations work.

These openings have been nationally publicized, and in addition we have made our position known to appropriate persons in the South. Of the several applications we have received, only one seems to meet the requirements of the position. This was submitted by a young Atlanta man named Machion Garrison. I am enclosing a biographical resume and several letters of recommendation. Fred Routh, C. H. Parrish, and I have interviewed Mr. Garrison and judged him to be a pleasant, intelligent, and alert person.

This is a recommendation to you, as members of the Personnel Committee, that we employ Mr. Garrison as Field Work Intern for a period of one year at a salary of $3,600. Should he prove sufficiently promising we would hope to continue him as a regular staff member beyond the one year period.

If you wish further information on this applicant, please let me know. Otherwise, I shall look forward to your response to this staff recommendation.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

RECEIVED SEP 23 1957

SRC Internship Prog.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

September 21, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

In reply to your letter of September 20th, I am pleased to approve the employment of Mr. Machion Garrison as a field work intern for one year at a salary of $3600, as recommended.

With kind regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Rufus

REC:c

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

September 20, 1957

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

You will recall that $5,000 of our grant from the New World Foundation was designated for an internship program in our field work activities. SRC is one of a number of such agencies which, under foundation grants, are recruiting promising young people for professional human relations work.

These openings have been nationally publicized, and in addition we have made our position known to appropriate persons in the South. Of the several applications we have received, only one seems to meet the requirements of the position. This was submitted by a young Atlanta man named Machion Garrison. I am enclosing a biographical resume and several letters of recommendation. Fred Routh, C. H. Parrish, and I have interviewed Mr. Garrison and judged him to be a pleasant, intelligent, and alert person.

This is a recommendation to you, as a member of the Personnel Committee, that we employ Mr. Garrison as Field Work Intern for a period of one year at a salary of $3,600. Should he prove sufficiently promising we would hope to continue him as a regular staff member beyond the one year period.

If you wish further information on this applicant, please let me know. Otherwise, I shall look forward to your response to this staff recommendation.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

HCF/mf
Enclosures

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

30 Sept 57

M.S. Garrison notified this date by telephone of his selection as SRC's Intern.

He agreed to report for active duty tomorrow Oct 1st.

FRR

Internship programme

30 September, 1957

Dr. George Wilson, Jr.
The City of Hope
13183 Van Nuys Boulevard
Pacoima, California

Dear Dr. Wilson:

The personnel committee of the Southern Regional Council has awarded the Internship to a young man here in Georgia. They gave careful consideration to your application and felt that you were too experienced to consider for an Internship. The Foundation which underwrote this program specified that interns be newly out of college and seeking to find their life's work. We believe the young man selected best fits the qualifications specified by the Foundation.

We had a considerable number of other well qualified applicants, but frankly most of them were too well qualified for an Internship and would have been better suited for a full-time professional position, and certainly this was true in your case. Unfortunately there are no openings for such a position at this time with the Southern Regional Council.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

Internship programme

30 September, 1957

Mr. Percy C. Daugherty
1131 Hunter Place, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Daugherty:

The personnel committee of the Southern Regional Council has awarded the Internship to Mr. M. S. Garrison.

Their decision was based, to a considerable extent, on our agreement with the Foundation underwriting this program that the Intern should be a young man, newly out of college, with little or no experience in this field. It is hoped, that through this method, new and promising persons may be given the opportunity to find their life's work in intergroup relations.

This in no way reflects on your ability. Indeed, the reverse is true for you were considered too experienced to be considered for the Internship. Had there been an opening for a fully qualified professional staff member you would have topped the list of those who applied.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Vernon A. Eagle

REGARDING:

Internship Program - financed by New World Foundation - employment of Intern - Machion Garrison.

DATE:

October 10, 1957

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

New World Foundation
Vernon A. Eagle

VIA AIR MAIL

October 16, 1957

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
120 South La Salle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Mr. Eagle:

Mr. Fleming, who is ill and out of the office, has requested that we reply to your letter of October 14th. It is anticipated that he will be in New York next week as planned, and reservations have been made at the Hotel Commodore from the 21st through the 24th. On the 20th and 21st, he is to see Dave Freeman in Philadelphia.

We are enclosing six copies of the reprint of the Congressional Record which you requested.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures - 6

RECEIVED OCT 16 1957

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

October 14, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your note concerning Garrison. I feel confident that he will get good training with you. Incidentally, I am delighted you were able to find a Southern Negro who is qualified.

I just spent last week in New York and Washington, so it is unlikely that I shall be there next week. But on the chance that I should get there, how should I get in touch with you?

I thought the reprint of the Congressional Record of Paul Douglas' speech was an excellent one. If it is not too much trouble, could you send me another half dozen copies.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon

File New World Foundation 1957

VIA AIR MAIL

October 18, 1957

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

Here is the report by John Hope summarizing the activities of the Consultant Service Program since we last sent you a run-down. I'm afraid it's too long, but I thought there would be an advantage in sending it along as prepared by John, who is directly responsible for administering the program. And, of course, you can ignore the bulky enclosure to the report.

One unimportant correction to the letter my office wrote you. It is Frank Loescher I am seeing in Philadelphia; I will see Dave Freeman in New York. The main thing is that I will be in New York, staying at the Commodore, from Monday afternoon through the remainder of the week. If by any lucky chance you should be there during that time, don't fail to look me up.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure: 1 report

REPORT OF SRC CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM
MAY 15 to SEPTEMBER 15, 1957

By: John Hope II, Chief Consultant

The Consultant Service Program has had an unusual amount of activity during the summer months, although this period is traditionally the time of least activity in the region. The immediate prospect of partial desegregation in several Southern communities and the increasing realization on the part of community leaders and government functionaries that the Desegregation Decision cannot be indefinitely evaded, have led to a variety of kinds of requests for immediate assistance and also to planning for anticipated service on the basis of current and probable developments.

Partially because of these activities, the Council has been able to review and strengthen this phase of its program. A major step in this process occurred during May when our panel of consultants, augmented by additional participants, was brought together in Atlanta to review the effectiveness and needs of this program. This conference is described below.

During the period of this report, continuing efforts have been made to increase the flexibility and efficiency of the Consultant Service Program (CSP). In contrast to the emphasis of the first year of operation (i.e., concentration upon assistance to the boards and staffs of state SRC affiliates), are our efforts of the last quarter to focus our resources upon leadership of local communities, particularly those places which for some reason (voluntary or otherwise) are ready at least to consider action aimed at implementing the letter and spirit of the Desegregation Decision. This we believe to be a field of growing readiness for consultant help. (Exhibit I)

Community Leadership Workshops

Workshops conducted in April in New Orleans, Memphis, and Jacksonville (described in the last report), have been followed during the summer period by similar community workshops in Charlottesville and Hampton, Virginia, and preliminary workshop-planning assistance to groups in Norfolk and Arlington. Within each of these Virginia communities, the local boards of education are under court order to desegregate and judicial and legislative maneuvers to circumvent the Desegregation Decision have been nearly exhausted. It is hoped that the CSP can assist community leadership in so anticipating the hazards of transition and planning their specific course of action that they may minimize, if not avoid, the acute pain and high cost of desegregation so recently witnessed in Nashville and Little Rock.

Our contribution of specialized consultant service to an off-the-record meeting of western Arkansas school superintendents and other officials involved in the desegregation process during July further illustrates our approach to local needs at the cutting edge of social change.

A brief account of these meetings with local community leaders and with local officials follows:

1. On July 19-20 the university city of Charlottesville, Virginia, was the site of a workshop of community leaders. It was sponsored by the Charlottesville-Albemarle Council on Human Relations (an affiliate of the Virginia Council) and drew about 125 participants some of whom came from as far away as Hampton, Newport News, Richmond, and Roanoke. The services of three SRC consultants and two from the local communities were utilized. Mr. Benjamin Muse, columnist for the Washington Post and one-time Congressman from Manassas and candidate for governor, was the keynote speaker. The group was divided into three discussion sections which dealt with the local school situation, employment practices and job opportunities, and housing for Negroes. Brief reports on the current situation in each of these discussion areas were made by local leaders. These groups were about equally divided racially and concentrated upon what to do and how to do it in bringing about the desired changes.

2. The Peninsula Council for Community Cooperation sponsored a similar type of workshop at Hampton Institute on September 6-7 which drew participants mainly from Hampton, Newport News, and a few observers from Norfolk. A bi-racial group of eighty-three persons participated, of whom 21 were involved in leadership roles as local consultants, speakers, section chairmen, and recorders. The keynote speech was given by Dr. Peter Mellette, Regional Director, National Council of Christians and Jews of Richmond, Virginia. Three SRC consultants were furnished, one assigned to each of the following three discussion groups section: Coping with Interracial Disturbances; Working through Civic Groups; and Minority Job Opportunities. As in the Charlottesville Workshop, each of these discussion sections was introduced by a report on the local situation from a qualified local participant. This workshop drew significantly from outside of the ranks of the Peninsula Council; approximately one-third of those not in leadership roles were non-members.

3. Following intensive ground work by our Arkansas state affiliate (ACHR), three SRC consultants were supplied for an ACHR sponsored Arkansas School Administrators' Conference

on Desegregation on August 7-8 in a small town in western Arkansas. Seven superintendents, one head of a college department of education, and one county superintendent out of an expected attendance of 12 to 15 persons participated. Most of these were from small school districts in western and northern Arkansas which had small Negro populations and thus costly though inadequate segregated facilities for them. The CSP met their request for consultants who could help them with their particular problems by providing two superintendents from the neighboring states of Missouri and Oklahoma who had experienced the desegregation process in communities similar to those of the participants. In addition, one of our regular consultants, a sociologist with considerable experience in desegregation matters in Kentucky, was asked to serve as a coordinator of the meeting. They discussed their fears -- real and imaginary -- and also the application of local resources to the problems which they encountered. The local superintendents made no promise to move ahead this fall, nor did we expect them to. They did learn, first hand, that desegregation is possible in small rural and semi-rural communities. The two "consultant" superintendents were enthusiastic about the educational and financial benefits derived from desegregation.

In the planning and staging of each of these meetings, the close cooperation and coordination of the SRC and state SRC affiliate staffs were important factors in the success of the meetings.

Inter-Agency Assistance and Cooperation

Assistance to and coordination with other organizations and agencies with goals similar to those of SRC have involved the resources of the CSP in both formal consultations and informal, but nonetheless important, efforts. Illustrative of these are the following:

1. SRC provided a consultant-resource person to the annual meeting of the Presbyterian Church, US (Southern) at Montreat, North Carolina, on The Committee on Christian Citizenship made full use of his knowledge and insights as they discussed the role of the churchman in a changing society.

2. The American Friends Service Committee called a meeting of all human relations agencies in the state of North Carolina to consider cooperative strategy in the three desegregating communities, i.e., Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem. An SRC consultant participated in this important session which discussed such things as what role each agency should and could play, and the evaluation of the roles of the press, law enforcement agencies, and the role and potential danger of opposition groups in these communities.

3. Through the intermittent activities of an SRC consultant, close but inconspicous assistance was provided to the principal community organizations supporting partial desegregation of the Nashville public schools. This was accomplished primarily through contacts with key leadership in the Nashville Conference on Community Relations, the Tennessee Council on Human Relations; and through indirect "pipe lines" to the mayor, chief of police, and local department of education.

4. Assistance to the Knoxville desegregation efforts through informal but continuing contact with the Knoxville field representative of the Unitarian Service Committee in that city has contributed to some improvement in desegregation prospects there.

SRC Consultant Conference

A two-day consultants' conference held early in this period was one of the most important activities in terms of its long-range value to the effectiveness of the CSP.

On May 24-25 SRC held a meeting of all consultants and a carefully selected group of additional professionals at Atlanta University. There were twenty-five (exclusing six participating SRC staff members), of whom eleven were on our existing panel and 13 were guest participants from whom the panel will be augumented in response to needs. The need for supplementing the areas of specialized training and experience represented in our panel to meet the varied and somewhat specialized needs of local communities was taken into account in the selection of the latter group. These included the fields of religion, political science, government, economics, and labor relations.

The meeting opened with a brief orientation session at which the CSP was placed clearly within the framework of SRC policy and program, and its origin, nature, scope, and results to date were described. The participants were then divided into four discussion groups, each chaired by a member of the consultant panel and including both consultants and guests, which spent half a day evaluating various aspects of the program and making recommendations for future operations. For each of these groups, key questions were provided in order to focus their deliberations as sharply as possible. The following key questions were considered:

Group I. What is the most effective role of the Consultant Program within the frame of reference of SRC's operation? Definition, scope, and assumptions of such a program.

Chairman: Dr. Kenneth Clark

Group II What standards should be applied in selecting problem-areas (e.g., housing, employment, education, transportation, etc.) for consultant services? What are the local variables that should determine the focus in a given community?

Chairman: Dr. Lewis Killian

Group III. What are the strong and weak points in the consultant techniques used to date? What are the elements of effective reporting and analysis that will make possible follow-through by SRC? What forms should reports take?

Chairman: Mrs. Bonita Valien

Group IV. What criteria should be applied in choosing the best opportunities for consultant services -- as between different leadership groups; as between local, state, and wider spheres of operation? What factors of timing should be considered in the selection and coordination of opportunities?

Chairman: Dr. Lee Coleman

While the pressure of urgen demand upon staff time has delayed final publication of the findings and suggestions of this conference, the staff has already put into operation some of the recommendations, and future actions will reflect other suggestions made. (Exhibit II -- to follow later).

Review of Consultant Activities

One of the needs long recognized is for systematic follow-up of CSP workshops and institutes to evaluate the effectiveness of such activities in motivating positive action and developing leadership. Related to this, of course, is a determination of what further SRC staff assistance might facilitate the desegregation process and what form such aid should take. Such an exploratory effort was made by an SRC consultant in July following the LeMoyne Conference held in Memphis in April. This consultant conferred individually with various community leaders, some of whom were actively involved in this workshop and some who were not, in order to measure the tangible results of this conference in the brief period that has elapsed, and to determine what next steps might appropriately be taken in this community. Among the key people interviewed were the president of the Chamber of Commerce, a prominent attorney, and a leading newspaperman. It was generally felt that the LeMoyne Conference was a start in the right direction. Further cultivation of these key persons will be continued.

"Straws in the Wind"

SRC has received inquiries from a rural editor about the possibilities of holding an off-the-record consultant meeting with key people in Celo and Spruce Pine, North Carolina. This is being followed up and the results will be reported in a subsequent report of the CSP.

An offer to the Mayor of Nashville of the services of a special consultant on law enforcement techniques in racial cirsis situations

through a special committee of the Nashville Conference on Community Relations was not accepted. A "feeler" from a high Arkansas state official regarding the prospects of such assistance during August did not materialize either. Subsequent developments in both Tennessee and Arkansas suggest that our efforts in this direction should be pushed harder in the future.

Requests for assistance in community workshops in Birmingham and other Alabama cities are in the exploratory stage and show promise for the coming months. The on-the-spot help of the Alabama Council on Human Relations staff will be crucially important in reaching progressive leadership in this beleaguered state.

-:-

October 18, 1957

C O P Y

C O P Y

PENINSULA COUNCIL FOR COMMUNITY COOPERATION

Mrs. James Cherry
Chairman
307 Chesapeake Avenue
Newport News, Virginia
24 September, 1957

Dear John:

Many thanks for all the time, energy and know-how which you so generously contributed to our workshop on human relations. I should say your workshop, for we would not have attempted it without your help. We were also highly pleased with the consultants you secured for us.

There were 83 people present. 21 of these were consultants, speakers, chairmen or recorders. However, with the exception of the visiting consultants, we can truly say that the workshop was a learning experience for this group, particularly so for those* who were not members of the council but were influential members of the community. I think we are well on the way to having Dr. Walkers' "fifth column" as a result of the workshop.

Mr. Hicks, The Hampton juvenile officer, told a friend that it was the most inspiring experience of his life. (He was in Dr. Clark's group). I think he will be a valuable ally. Rabbi Schwartzman was also much impressed. (He had been cool to a committee which visited him earlier.)

Of the remaining 62, roughly 20 were non-members. I forgot to ask the people who came in for the afternoon session to register before they left, but I think this is a close guess.

Several very good suggestions came out of the discussion groups which we will incorporate in our program for this year. If you would like copies of the group reports, let me know and I'll send them.

It was very pleasant getting to know and work with you. I hope that we will have the opportunity to see more of you. Again, for myself and the council, our deepest thanks.

Sincerely,

Marjorie Cherry

*Seven

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

May 23, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: DIRECTORS OF SRC STATE AFFILIATES AND CONSULTANTS

FROM: JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT, CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

SUBJECT: THE CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM -- PURPOSE, REQUISITES FOR EFFECTIVENESS, AND SCOPE

The major purpose of the Consultant Service Program (CSP) is to provide technical assistance in program development to SRC affiliates and other groups whose objectives are similar or compatible with those of SRC, e.g., the elimination of segregation and discrimination based upon race in the Southern economy. It seeks to provide professional guidance on how to achieve democratic race relations; not persuasive advocates to foster and promote acceptance of the principle. Effective implementation of the policy, not its establishment, is emphasized.

Such assistance is provided by a panel of consultants highly qualified by formal training, experience, and temperament, who are available on a part-time basis to organizations, community groups, official bodies concerned with and/or committed to the desegregation process. Initially, the service was confined primarily to the SRC state affiliates as an SRC service without cost to them, though it was available to outside groups on a cost or partial cost basis. From the start, this restriction in scope of service was simply based upon limitations of resources and the recognition of a priority to members of the SRC family. But the operations of the first few months clearly demonstrated a broader need for such aid to unaffiliated local groups and official bodies if the common aims of these and SRC affiliates were to be achieved expeditiously and efficiently.

Foundation aid was sought and obtained which now allows us to provide technical assistance to non-SRC as well as SRC affiliated local as well as state or regional groups on basis of need and their ability to effectively use such resources either without cost or on basis of their ability to pay for it. This, it is believed, has greatly extended the range of potential availability of technical assistance in program development, community organization, etc. to groups fostering the goals and spirit of the Desegregation Decision in the South and has further increased the flexibility and efficiency with which these professional talents can be allocated so as to gain maximum positive results for the region as a whole.

On the other hand, it places a heavier burden upon SRC and state affiliate staff members to publicize the CSP and in a sense "selling" the services to potential users. Figuratively speaking, the writer and, indeed, the SRC as a whole, is a broker whose function is to bring together in the most effective way those groups or key individuals who have need for such professional services and those who possess the talents required but are not organizationally situated so as to focus them where they can be most fruitful in gaining SRC objectives. Since the resources of the CSP are limited, all requests for assistance cannot be accepted however deserving they might be. Rather, our role appears to be that of choosing from the requests submitted those which appear to be most promising and most likely to be multiplying and accelerating in their impact upon the productivity and sophistication of leadership, those which will not only render needed high level scarce services to groups involved in our cause but may activate and encourage other groups to similarly employ and finance such skills. Ours is the task of complementing and supplementing existing (and sometimes dormant) resources in the community, not competing with them; of providing the additional element that may motivate liberal groups to constructive action and prevent frustrating inertia in the face of complex and discouraging obstacles; of supporting the dedicated and effective volunteer layman with limited technical skill and advice at the time and point of need and getting out of his way when he is ready to move forward unaided,with skill, understanding, and courage.

But the function of administration of the CSP goes far beyond mere brokerage of a given service. The service itself though requiring a definite level and type of formal training as social scientists or practitioners, must be subtly and deftly tailored to the individual needs of each group and frequently is not separable from a particular consultant. Such a person through temperament, personality, or experience may give as a part of his total professional contribution a unique element (or spark) that gives his service a plus value in particular situations -- and, indeed, may conceivably provide a negative one in others.

Consequently, if the CSP is to be equal to the varied types of present demands and ready to meet new ones as they arise, the panel must be varied enough in its composition to provide maximum flexibility without

loss of the basic common qualifications necessary for overall efficiency. On the other hand, if lofty standards are to be maintained, the consultants should receive frequent enough assignments to motivate their continuous awareness and study of new developments in the Southern situation and periodic re-evaluation of the situation as scholars. Thus, in terms of present limits of resources and consultation opportunities, very real restrictions on panel size are necessary, while pressure for overall competence and flexibility seem to increase as the demands move closer to the specific friction points, e.g., the local community with a pending court order, the school board, the park commission, etc. Under these conditions, the consultant is challenged to give rather specific suggestions to fit the particular conditions, advise as to whether particular plans or strategies seem sound or not.

Therefore, effective administration of the CSP, in addition to bringing consultant and consultee together, depends upon the extent to which the composition of the panel includes and the program utilizes the blend of specialties and high professional qualifications needed to meet varied demands; the extent to which the individual consultants are able to accept assignments when requested; the amount and quality of their preparation for assignments, and the support given by SRC research and information facilities.

A clear distinction should be made between efforts aimed at gaining adherents and achieving acceptance of the <u>principle</u> of equality and the <u>policy</u> of desegregation and integration, and those directed to the application of these principles and policies with maximum speed and efficiency and a minimum of overt conflict. Both of these are necessary and should be pursued by staffs of all state affiliates but the emphasis given to each will vary from state to state at a given time and in each state from time to time. It is imperative that the director always have clearly in mind which of these aims he seeks, or the relative significance of each, in every project developed -- policy acceptance or effective implementation of policy in specific program areas chosen to fit the needs of a particular community -- because the best techniques for achieving these respective goals are not necessarily the same.

The primary field of operation and usefulness of the CSP is the latter -- implementing the letter and spirit of the Desegregation Decision. Its major sphere of operation is among organizations and strategically placed individual community leaders who have accepted in principle, at least, the Desegregation Decision and those who, without regard to their personal attitude, are by their positions impelled to seek its

implementation (or to maintain order and avoid illegal opposition) -- willingly or unwillingly. The CSP should prepare to assist those who are working for implementation whether through personal conviction, organizational involvement and consequent implicit acceptance of group discipline, or administrative responsibility to implement laws, court orders, etc. applied to their employer.

Its prime target is thus leadership, not rank-and-file membership; those in a position to motivate, multiply, and accelerate affirmative action, not followers. Therefore, efforts at "selling" the CSP should be aimed at leadership groups who for some reason are ready to at least consider action. This is where the state and SRC staffs should cooperate as broker. The success of this operation requires rifle shot, not shotgun, methods of promotion; careful choice of persons or groups who can most profitably use consultant service; and specific promotional efforts, mainly personal, aimed at encouraging them to seek such help. Mimeographed general mailings are not likely to be effective and may alert the opposition thus generating counteractive efforts which may unnecessarily cause the diversion of some of our efforts to defensive channels.

The following are some of the organizational frameworks through which, it is felt, the CSP can be effective in the next two or three year period which may be used as a basis for determining where it can be useful in strengthening and broadening program:

I. SRC state affiliates and their local units, with emphasis upon more promising local community situations. (Utilize the assistance and other organizational contacts and associations of board members in developing opportunities.)

II. Assistance to and coordination with other organizations and agencies insofar as they are promoting activities with goals similar to ours, including purely local groups and local units of national, regional, or state organizations.

A. Religious groups, e.g., United Church Women, Council of Jewish Women and other Jewish groups, the Catholic Interracial Committee, the organizations of various religious denominations and/or their subordinate agencies and commissions concerned with our cause; local inter-denominational ministerial associations, etc.

B. Civic Organizations, e.g., League of Women Voters, American Association of University Women, PTAs, etc.

C. Professional Organizations, e.g., organization of social workers, nurses, etc.; Council of Social Agencies; etc.

D. Organizations of Economic groups.

1. Labor Unions.

2. Business and Industrial Organizations and Service Clubs, e.g., Chambers of Commerce (Sr. and Jr.), Kiwanis, Lions, Rotary, and other such clubs.

III. Official governmental bodies concerned with problems of desegregation and the elimination of discrimination.

A. Departments and/or Boards of Education (local, state) and their administrative heads.

B. Law enforcement officials and/or agencies, e.g., municipal police chiefs, commissioners, etc.; county sheriffs; state officials (patrol, troopers, rangers, etc.); state guard.

C. Public transportation officials and commissions and their administrative heads (municipal, county, state).

D. Public recreation officials and their administrative heads (municipal, county, state).

E. Other public bodies concerned with segregation and discrimination, e.g., industrial or labor and industry commissions; health and welfare commissions; etc.

Among the principal methods by which consultants can serve the above groups are the following:

I. By the use of consultant teams working in group study situations of leaders or policy level officials, with participation usually by invitation only.

A. Developing plans and contributing (some or all) consultants or resource persons needed for a workshop, institute, or conference, by invitation from the consultee group and in participation with it.

B. Selecting and providing resource persons in particular problem areas for participation in workshops, conferences, etc. of other organizations, usually as part of a larger group of consultants, e.g., the LeMoyne Race Relations Conference.

II. By the use of technical assistance on a specific problem from a consultant with specialized competence in that particular problem area. Such aid is likely to come from

one consultant and conceivably could involve a more sustained association than is characteristic of workshops and conferences. Consultants for this purpose may or may not be members of our panel and some may not be used more than once.

The choice of method for a given consultant service request will depend upon the specific needs and circumstances involved.

RECEIVED OCT 24 1957

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

October 23, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Unfortunately, I shall not be in New York while you are there this coming week, although I expect to be there on November 7th and 8th.

I look forward to reading John Hope's report on the SRC Consultant Service Program. To date I have only heard favorable comments on the work that the SRC is doing.

Kindest regards,

Vernon

THE CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE 2410 South Michigan Avenue - Chicago 16, Illinois

October 28, 1957

NAIR - Internships

MEMORANDUM

TO: Executive Director

FROM: Research Department

SUBJ: Progress Report for Chicago Urban League
Intern - Olivia Whitlock Filerman -
June 10 through October 28, 1957

ORIENTATION

The Chicago Urban League Intern reported for work Monday, June 10, 1957. Because of her previous work experience, she was assigned to the Research Department as a base of operation for her work with all departments of the League.

The first several weeks of the intern training involved extensive reading on the League's organization, historical development, basic philosophies and present program and methods of operation. During this time the reading was supplemented by individual and group conferences with members of the professional and clerical staff. The intern attended regular staff meetings at both levels, she was invited to ask questions and offer suggestions at any point during the meetings. These meetings involved analysis of past programs and plans for program priorities for the coming year. Exposure to meetings of this kind was most beneficial to the intern.

Several opportunities were provided during the first months of the program for the intern to meet staff members of related intergroup relations agencies, among them were the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, Illinois Commission on Human Relations and the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago.

As part of an assignment with the Community Organizations Department, the intern collected information on legislation of all cities throughout the United States regarding discrimination in housing. In the course of the four months, the intern has also been exposed to the fund-raising activities of the League.

After the orientation period, the intern was assigned a research project to be completed for the Employment and Guidance Department of the League.

RESEARCH PROJECT

The problem statement for the research project "Analysis By Industry of the Employment Patterns of Non-whites in the Chicago Area" was completed July 15, 1957. A copy of the problem statement is attached. The formulation of the project and the collection of data to answer the questions raised in the study involved contact with research people within and outside of intergroup relations agencies. Work on the project is continuing, the first progress report will be completed within the next three weeks. This report will be used primarily as a basis for program planning in the Employment and Guidance Department of the League.

COMMUNITY CONTACT

A. Research Project:

A number of individuals were contacted as a source of information in

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connection with the project.

Mrs. Slotkin - Illinois State Employment
Mr. Nayhouse - Illinois State Employment
Dr. Duncan - Chicago Community Inventory - University of Chicago
Mr. Krehmerer- Welfare Council of Metropolican Chicago
Mr. Cloos - Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago
Mr. Ducey - Chicago Commission on Human Relations
Mr. Krell - Real Estate Research Corporation

B. Race Riot

The Calumet Park race riot exposed the intern to intergroup agency combined action that otherwise may not have been available. The intern was assigned the task of compiling incidents of racial violence in Chicago in the 18 months prior to the Calumet Park riot. This list has been prepared and is available for inter-office and interagency use.

The intern participated in a question and answer period following a special board meeting of the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations shortly after the riot. As a follow-up assignment, the intern observed the trial of the first group of defendants tried under the City and State riot acts. A report of the trial is attached. Attached also, is a map prepared from reports of the intern showing the incidents of racial violence as related to areas of Negro residence.

C. National Urban League Conference:

As a part of the specific training conferences outlined in the application for the Field Foundation Grant, the intern was sent to the National Urban League Annual Conference in Detroit, August 31 through September 4, 1957. The conference afforded an opportunity to meet and talk with people in intergroup relations work from many parts of the country. This contact gave a basis for comparing different approaches to human relations problems in different settings.

D. Other meetings

The intern has been exposed to community contacts not directly involved with intergroup relations agencies, but representing community structures through which the programs of the Urban League are carried to the "grass roots" levels or structures from which the League obtains information necessary for the operation of its program.

Examples of such contact include:

Meeting with Mr. Paul Zimmer, Director of Research for the Department of City Planning. This meeting included department heads of all departments of the League. An exchange of information on the operations and resources of the respective agencies established areas of mutual concern and provided for an exchange of information in the future.

Personal contact with Betty Jane Lee and George Nollett, staff members of the Department of City Planning. Direct staff contact facilitates exchange of information, when the director of the

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department might be unavailable.

Meeting of the Central South Side Community Council. This Council is one of the groups serving as a parent body for the multi-community groups in the Central South Side of Chicago. Understanding and working with organizations of this type will give the intern an introduction to work within the community organizations department of the League.

Serving a similar purpose in the intern's community contact program, are meetings of the Association of Block Clubs on the West Side of Chicago. This contact offered contrast in the approach to similar problems in two sections of the City.

Meeting with the intern of the Catholic Interracial Council in addition to the exchange of information on the operation of the intern program in the two agencies, gave our intern an opportunity to learn first hand about the specific programs of the other agency as well as to interpret the League's program to the intern from the Interracial Council.

ACADEMIC AND ASSOCIATION ACTIVITIES

The development of the intern as viewed by the program of the League involves both on-the-job training and formal education. The League feels a strong need for a theoretical framework within which to operate in setting up and carrying out a program in human relations. The League's intern is enrolled at the University of Chicago in the department of Sociology, continuing her work for the Masters Degree. The program of study for this quarter includes:

Statistical Inference
Introduction to Population and Human Ecology
Research Institute

Professional association membership is equally valuable in the League's intern program as the academic activity. The intern is an active member of the American Statistical Association and the Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials.

The above activities highlight the participation of the intern during the past four months, in addition, she has been involved in the preparation of reports published by the Research Department and active in its day-to-day operations.

Reprinted by: NAIRO, New York
fib - November, 1957

November 25, 1957

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

At the Council's recent Annual Meeting - the first since the New World Foundation's 1957 grant - the members present unanimously adopted the enclosed resolution. The appreciation it expresses is deeply felt, both by the governing body and the staff of the Council.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Resolution)

Resolution to the New World Foundation
Adopted at the Southern Regional Council
Annual Meeting - November 12, 1957

In this, the South's hour of travail and transition, enlightened local leadership has asked for experienced guidance and wise counsel.

Through the generosity of the New World Foundation, the Consultant Service Program of the Southern Regional Council has been enabled to furnish some part of this guidance and counsel so urgently needed.

In the new world which is being built in the South of today, this contribution will stand out as a significant factor in its growth and development.

Therefore, we, the members of the Council, wish to express our thanks and acknowledge the indebtedness of our region to the New World Foundation.

File

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

November 27, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your very kind note and enclosed resolution adopted at the Southern Regional Council Annual Meeting.

The reaction of your Board is generous in terms of the small part we have been able to play.

I can't tell you how much of my heart is with you in the work you are doing.

Kindest regards,

Vernon

VIA AIR MAIL

December 4, 1957

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

I hate to write about the future so soon after transmitting the Council's thanks for past support! But, as you might suppose, we are hoping that the New World Foundation will renew its support of the Council's work for 1958.

This is to ask you for any guidance you can give us on the timing of our request and any other circumstances we should take into account in submitting one.

As is my habit, I pass on the fact that I expect to be in New York on December 17 and 18. Please don't feel you have to respond to these periodic bulletins on my travels -- at least until the lucky chance of our getting together comes up.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NAIRO
Internships

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS
152 West 42 Street New York 36, New York
John V.P. Lassoe, Jr., Executive Secretary

INTERNSHIP BULLETIN # 3

Belated and brief, this Bulletin will be supplemented by my mid-year report on the entire Internship Program - due by January 1st (ha!)

REQUEST: Will those interns who have not yet sent biographical data (a short sketch) please do so?

AND I will welcome any reports that interns or their supervisors can provide on the first months of the program. (Some of you have been sending me monthly reports, others have promised them quarterly. All will be welcome at this point!)

* * * *

As promised, here are the dates (tentative) for the Internship Seminar:

MARCH 1 through 14

The city will be Chicago , and the exact location will be determined when I visit there during January. Dates might have to be changed a day or two in some direction, depending on available facilities - or any strong objections registered by the participating agencies. Please let me hear from you if these dates are bad!

* * * *

Interns now number 20 - JACKE C. HARRIS and RALPH D. KING, both of the Northeastern Regional Office, National Conference of Christians and Jews; FRANK ARRICALE of the Connecticut-Western Massachusetts Regional Office, NCCJ; JACK N. SCHAEFERS of the Southern Ohio Regional Office, NCCJ; and BERNARD SOBEL (replacing Milton Trazenfeld, who resigned) of the Newark office, Anti-Defamation League, are all newcomers.

* * * *

PAUL ERTEL (Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee, Cincinnati) added a son to the Internship Program on November 17th .... WYLDA BREWSTER (Chelsea Citizens Project, New York City) is planning to add a husband in the near future .... Seven interns from the New York - Hartford - Philadelphia area will meet for a "little seminar" (one day) in New York City on January 3rd, to exchange internship experiences and to talk with one or two key intergroup relations people .... NAIRO's Board of

- M O R E -

Directors meets in Chicago on January 24 - 25; any interested interns are invited to sit in on their sessions .... Four interns attended the NAIRO Conference in Kansas City last month (PAUL ERTEL; PHILIP GEISSAL - YMCA-Community Studies, Kansas City; ALBERT NELLUM - Catholic Interracial Council, Chicago; and CHARLES PATTERSON - Council for Civic Unity, San Francisco).

* * * *

Finally, all good wishes for the holiday season and for the New Year. I look forward to seeing all of you - some at the Seminar, some on visits beforehand.

fib
December, 1957

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS

152 WEST 42ND STREET — ROOM 1508
NEW YORK 36, NEW YORK
LONGACRE 3-6757

OR REPLY TO:

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
JOHN V.P. LASSOE, JR.

PA file

PRESIDENT
ARNOLD ARONSON
N.C.R.A.C.
New York, New York

PRESIDENT-ELECT
MARGARET GARRITY
President's Committee on Government Contracts
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FRANK W. FAGER
Board of Community Relations
Toledo, Ohio
South
JOHN HOPE, II
Race Relations Department, A.M.A.
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

347

12 June 1958

Dear Agency Executive:

If you have or anticipate a vacancy on your professional staff, I hope that you will give serious consideration to one of the young people available for employment after a year of on-the-job professional training in intergroup relations, under NAIRO's Internship Program.

I am enclosing brief resumes to give some indication of the variety of talent and experience that they represent. Some of these interns are available immediately; others will be finishing their year sometime between now and early September. All are anxious to continue in this field.

Needless to say, I should be happy to discuss any job opening with you and to suggest the intern(s) best suited for the post. In addition, each of the interns has listed several professional references, and you may contact these at your discretion.

Each intern has had sound orientation in intergroup relations practice, an exposure to a variety of agency programs, supervised professional work responsibility within the training agency, and the benefit of attendance at NAIRO's intensive two-week Internship Seminar. Each is ready now for employment at the junior professional level, and we are anxious to place them in appropriate posts.

Please feel free to communicate directly with any of them or to consult with me about them.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

John Lassoe

JOHN V.P. LASSOE, JR.

fib
Enclosures

(MISS) JOAN BERRY, NAIRO Intern, Urban League of Greater New York

ADDRESS: 208 West 80 Street, New York 24, New York BIRTH: August 4, 1933

CITIZENSHIP: Canada; resident in U.S. on immigrant visa MARITAL STATUS: Single

Education: Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, N.Y., 1955, B.A.
- junior year in Paris, France, at the University of Paris, School of Political Science
- major subjects: social sciences and languages

Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., 1957, M.A. cultural anthropology

Undergraduate Field Work: University Settlement House, New York City (October 1954 to June 1955 - group worker

Mental Health Project, Payne Whitney Clinic, New York Hospital October 1954 to June 1955 - research assistant

Experience: Intern in Intergroup Relations, Urban League of Greater New York August 1957 -

My daily work experience has been in the housing department, and, within its framework of improving the housing of minority groups and increasing integration in housing, I have formed and serviced a housing committee which studies housing problems and takes action to help alleviate them; worked on a proposal for a relocation study designed to provide recommendations for improving the city's relocation process; prepared a bulletin listing new housing developments in previously white areas as a guide for Negroes seeking housing; answered phone inquiries and interviewed individuals with housing problems, investigating their situations in an effort to give them advice or direct help; and initiated and carried out a door to door campaign, using volunteers, to urge support of an anti-bias housing bill (now the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Law).

Camp Algonquin, Algonquin, Illinois (June 1957 - September 1957) - group worker

Rogers Park Club, Rogers Park, Illinois (October 1956 - June 1957) - group worker

The Wel-Met Camps, New York, N.Y. (July 1956 - September 1956) - - program assistant

Other Skills: Speaking French and German (fluently), some Italian, now learning Spanish; Stenography - Shorthand 80 w.p.m., typing 60 w.p.m., and dictaphone.

References: Mr. Paget Alves, Jr., Housing Director, Urban League of Greater New York, 202 West 136th Street, New York, N.Y.

Miss Olive Crocker, Director of Camp Algonquin, c/o United Charities, 123 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois

Mrs. Emma Llewellyn, Professor, Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York

(MRS.) WYLDA BREWSTER COWLES, NAIRO Intern, Chelsea Community Council (New York City)

BUSINESS ADDRESS: Chelsea Community Council, 400 West 23rd Street, New York, N. Y.

HOME ADDRESS: 66 St. James Place, Apt. 4, Brooklyn, New York

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Education: B.A. Hunter College - Home Economics, 1947

Summer Session University of Mexico - Spanish, 1945

Graduate Work, Fisk University - Sociology and Race Relations, 1954 to 1955

Experience: NYC Department of Welfare - Social Investigator, 1947 to 1957

Chelsea Community Council (NAIRO Intern) - Community organizer specializing in organizing Puerto Ricans; September 1957 to September 1958

Special: Speaking, reading and writing knowledge of Spanish.

REFERENCES

Mr. H. Daniel Carpenter, Director
Hudson Guild
436 West 27 Street
New York, New York

Miss Marjorie Buckholz, Assistant Director
Chelsea Community Council
400 West 23rd Street
New York, New York

Mr. Michael Coffey
Chelsea Community Council
400 West 23rd Street
New York, New York

PREFERENCES

My preference is to do community organization among minority groups, particularly where it involves gaining their participation in integrated settings. My first choice of location is New York City, but I would consider Chicago or San Francisco.

PAUL ERTEL, JR., NAIRO Intern, Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee, Cincinnati, Ohio

BUSINESS ADDRESS: Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee, 105 City Hall, Cincinnati, Ohio

HOME ADDRESS: 327 East University Avenue, Cincinnati 19, Ohio

Personal Data: Age - 24; married; one boy.

Education: Hughes High School, Cincinnati - 1951

University of Cincinnati - 1958
- Teachers College, major: Social Studies
- Activities: Wesley Foundation President, Treasurer; Student Religious Council President.

Intergroup Relations Experience:
Intern in Intergroup Relations, Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee, Cincinnati, Ohio (September, 1957 - September, 1958). General duties in program planning, fact-finding, committee work, interviewing, etc.

Human Relations Workshop, University of Cincinnati, Summer, 1957.

Other Employment Experience:
1955 - 1957: Full and part time as Community Center Leader, Playground Leader, Public Recreation Commission, Cincinnati.

Military Experience: 1953-1955 U.S. Army. Basic Training, Fort Knox, Ky. 18 months Southern Germany, company supply.

Church Activities: Presently a member of the Official Board, Board of Trustees, Youth Council and Pastoral Relations Committee of the Mt. Auburn Methodist Church, Cincinnati, Ohio. Member, Board of Managers of Wesley Foundation, University of Cincinnati.

References:

Rev. Hiram B. Holdridge
Assistant to the Editor
Together Magazine
740 Rush Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Mr. Leonard F. Swift
Professor of Education
Teachers College
University of Cincinnati
Cincinnati 20, Ohio

Mr. Marshall Bragdon
Executive Director
Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee
Room 105 City Hall
Cincinnati, Ohio

MACHION S. GARRISON, JR., NAIRO Intern, Southern Regional Council

ADDRESS: Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

Date of Birth: October 22, 1933 Place of Birth: Anderson, South Carolina

Marital Status: Married, one child Military Status: 2 years service, U.S. Army, honorable discharge.

EDUCATION: Morehouse College, Atlanta Georgia, B.A., 1954
- Major: Political Science. Minor: English History
- Served on Executive Committee of Student Body, and on Social Committee. Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity.

EXPERIENCE: NAIRO Intern with Southern Regional Council (October 1957 -)
Conference arrangements and program, discussion group leadership, research, general program activities.

Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, Georgia Division, 1957.

Butler Street YMCA, Atlanta, Georgia - Physical Education.

Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia - Registration Clerk (1950-54)

MILITARY EXPERIENCE:

Two years, U.S. Army, including Military Police Training.
Rank: Specialist, 3rd Class - Assistant Squad Leader

REFERENCES: Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mrs. Grace Hamilton, Director
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Robert Brisbane, Professor
Department of Political Science, Morehouse College
859 Fair Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LEWIS MILLARD HUNT, NAIRO Intern, Philadelphia Fellowship Commission

ADDRESS: (home) 1134 Pine Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Birthdate: November 22, 1926 Birthplace, Sanford, Seminole County, Florida

EDUCATION: Academic courses in elementary and secondary schools of Sanford.

Obtained A.B. at Earlham College (Quaker-related), Richmond, Indiana, in 1952, with a Social Science Concentration, including twelve courses in Sociology and Psychology. Following year, two semesters of post graduate study at same school in same field, including leadership of Freshman discussion groups and some field work in Townsend Community Center, local settlement house in multi-racial neighborhood.

One semester, graduate Seminar, "Intergroup Relations in the U.S.," Greenfield Center for Human Relations, University of Pennsylvania, 1958.

EMPLOYMENT: NAIRO Intern with Philadelphia Fellowship Commission (private, city-wide agency). Special responsibilities with PFC Seminar on Interreligious Understanding and with neighborhood police-community relations team. Participation in programs around community tensions, election practices, employment, housing, higher education, public schools, and community organization. Leader of film discussions for children.

One year in U.S. Army, 1945-46. Major job - Classification Specialist, interviewing new personnel.

Office worker (Order Scheduler) with Linear, Inc., Philadelphia, 1954-57. Company is now relocated in Dallas, Pa.

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES: Member, Macon (Ga.) Interracial Committee, while student. Member of Koinonia Farm (pacifist, interracial community), Americus, Ga., 1949-50. Participant, month-long Summer Interracial Workshop in Washington, D.C., jointly sponsored by F.O.R. and C.O.R.E., 1952. Participant, Weekend Workcamp program of Friends in Philadelphia. Organizer and co-leader, Great Books Discussion group, Western Community House, Philadelphia, 1954-57. Graduate, Great Books Leadership Training Courses, 1955 and 1956. Executive Committee, Phila. Area Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1957-58.

DEPENDENTS: None.

REFERENCES: Mrs. Mary Constantine, Assistant Director
Philadelphia Fellowship Commission
260 South 15 Street
Philadelphia 2, Pa. (Internship supervisor.)

Miss Marjorie Penney, Director
Fellowship House
1521 West Girard Avenue
Philadelphia 30, Pa.

- m o r e -

REFERENCES:

Mr. Thomas Burress, Director
Western Community House
1613 South Street
Philadelphia 46, Pa.

Mr. Leslie Ginniff, Chief Scheduler
Linear, Inc.
Dallas, Pa.

EMPLOYMENT PREFERENCES:

Ultimate goal - intergroup relations work in the South. Special interest in problems of Negro in-migrants in northern urban areas.

STANLEY LEIBNER, NAIRO Intern, American Jewish Committee (Miami, Florida)

ADDRESS: 600 North East 27 Street, Miami, Florida Age: 28

Marital Status: Married. No children.

Military Status: U.S.M.C.
Honorable Discharge
(9/51-9/53)

EDUCATION: Graduate - Cortland State Teachers College, Cortland, New York, B.S. Education - January 1957

Graduate - New York University, New York City, M.A., Human Relations. - February 1958.

HONORS: Summer scholarship in Human Relations granted by National Conference of Christians and Jews. June 1957

Delta Psi Omega - National Honorary Dramatic Society

WORK EXPERIENCE: American Jewish Committee, September 1957 - June 1958
Position: Administrative Assistant
-Duties: Professional resource for several committees including one on education and another on employment discrimination problems. Responsibilities with publicity, membership orientation and chapter newsletter. Assignment with the Executive Director of the Florida Council on Human Relations as professional resource person. In this capacity assumed broad responsibilities for program planning and coordination and for membership activities, including recruitment, retention and orientation. I have at various times been engaged with problems of housing, education, race relation, desegregation and other problems of community and national concern. Besides the basic human relations skills, I have had considerable activities that utilized public speaking, leading group discussions, public relations and fund raising.

REFERENCES: Dr. Dan Dodson, Director
Human Relations Center
New York University
New York, New York

Mr. Seymour Samet, Executive Director
American Jewish Committee
1208 Congress Building
Miami, Florida

Rev. William K. Williams, Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
213 N.E. Second Avenue
Miami, Florida

(MISS) CARRIE MISNER, NAIRO Intern, American Friends Service Committee, San Francisco, California

Present Address: Community Relations Department, American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

EDUCATION: B.A. from University of Pittsburgh - 1957
Sociology major, Psychology and English minor

EXPERIENCE: NAIRO internship with American Friends Service Committee, Northern California Regional Office.

1. Indian center - Group work and home visiting
2. Farm labor program - Community development and some community organization
3. Community relations staff - Housing, interviewing with Mayor's Committee on Human Relations

COLLEGE ACTIVITIES: Mortar Board, Pres. Campus YWCA (1956-57); Pres. Pennsylvania Baptist Student Movement (1955-56); Interreligious Council

REFERENCES:

Bard McAllister
AFSC Farm Labor Secretary
Rt. 4, Box 113x
Visalia, California

Phil Buskirk
Community Relations Secretary
57 E. Santa Clara, Room 216
San Jose, California

Rev. Paul Offenhiser
Minister to Students
Bellefield and Bayard
Pittsburgh 13, Pa.

Dr. David Henderson
Acting Head of Sociology Department
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh 13, Pa.

JOB PREFERENCE: I am looking for a job working directly with people rather than chiefly through organizations. I'm interested in community development as a means of exerting pressure in a democratic way for social change. The location doesn't matter; being single, I have no dependents and have learned to pick up and move.

ALBERT NELLUM, NAIRO Intern, Catholic Interracial Council, Chicago, Illinois

ADDRESS: (home) 932 East 44th Street, Chicago 15, Illinois

EDUCATION: Corpus Christi High School, graduated: June 1950

Loyola University, Chicago.
Degree, B.S., Social Science, June 1955.

EXPERIENCE: 7/53 - 7/54 Photostat Operator, Aldens Inc., Chicago

8/55-4/57 Personnel Clerk, U.S. Army, Japan and Korea

6/58 - 9/58 Case Worker, Department of Welfare, Cook County.

9/58 - NAIRO Intern with the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago. Primary responsibility for CIC school and college program activities - arranging meetings, obtaining speakers, organizing groups, advising on program.

PERSONAL: Age - 26

Marital Status: Single, one dependent (widowed Mother)

Religion: Roman Catholic

MEMBERSHIPS: National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials

Loyola University Alumni Association

Education Committee, Chicago Commission on Human Relations.

REFERENCES: Mr. Lloyd Davis, Executive Director
Catholic Interracial Council
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Rev. George Clements
St. Ambrose Rectory
1012 East 47 Street
Chicago 15, Illinois

Mr. John L. Yancey
AFL-CIO, 20th Floor
666 North Lake Shore Drive
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dr. Paul Mundy, Professor of Sociology
Loyola University
820 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago 10, Illinois

NELSON WILLIAMS, JR., NAIRO Intern, San Francisco Urban League

Address: San Francisco Urban League, 2015 Steiner Street, San Francisco 15, Calif.

Born: Chicago, Illinois; 1924

Selective Service Classification: United States Navy veteran of World War II - Honorable Discharge.

Marital Status: Married - two daughters.

EDUCATION: Bachelor's degree in Sociology - psychology minor, Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland; 1956.

WORK EXPERIENCE: 1948-50: Orderly at Mt. Zion Hospital, San Francisco, Calif.

1953: Metal Inspector Trainee, Bethlehem Steel, Sparrow's Point, Maryland.

1956-57: Assemblyline worker, General Motors Corporation, Chevrolet Div., Baltimore, Maryland

INTERGROUP RELATIONS EXPERIENCE:

Intern in Intergroup Relations, San Francisco Urban League (September, 1957 - September, 1958). Responsibility in Industrial Relations program - career guidance, exploration of apprenticeship practices, survey of union membership policies, etc.

REFERENCES: Mr. Barnes, Director
Morgan State College Placement Office
Baltimore, Maryland
(faculty references on file there)

Mr. D. Donald Glover, Industrial Relations Secretary
San Francisco Urban League
2015 Steiner Street
San Francisco 15, California

October 27, 1958

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
120 South La Salle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Vernon:

October 1 marked the end of SRC's one-year internship project made possible by the New World Foundation. We are most grateful for this special support and feel it proper to give you an accounting and evaluation of the project.

To this end, I am enclosing a memorandum prepared by Fred Routh, the staff member charged with direct supervision of our intern. I think it is an accurate and balanced appraisal of the project.

While we are far from feeling that the internship was an unqualified success, developments since my last oral report have caused us to revise our estimate upward. There is a good possibility that Machion Garrison, through his year as intern with us, has been equipped to play a pioneer role in a new area of employment on merit. Certainly the fact that he secured his present position is largely attributable to his experience with the Southern Regional Council.

Again, our appreciation to the New World Foundation for making this project possible.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Internship Project Report)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

October 23, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Harold C. Fleming

From: Fred Routh

Subj: Final Report - Internship Training Program

This is the final report of SRC's participation in the NAIRO Internship Training Program. This program was envisaged as a means of providing new professional personnel for the field of intergroup relations without straining the already over-burdened budgets of the various agencies. The Southern Regional Council received a grant for this purpose from the New World Foundation.

Prior to participating in this program, the Council had found difficulty in securing qualified Negro personnel to staff the state Councils on Human Relations then affiliated with it. The professional staff of the Council decided to look for a promising young Negro Southerner for the position of Intern.

A goodly number of applications were received; the more promising applicants were interviewed; the candidate judged "most likely to succeed" was chosen. Thus Machion Garrison came to the Council in October, 1957.

The training program at the Council consisted of four stages: 1) Indoctrination -- introduction to the field of intergroup relations and familarization with SRC and its modus operandi; 2) supervised participation in the activities of the Council; 3) participation in formal learning situations including the Fisk Institute on Race Relations and the NAIRO Intern Seminar; and, 4) the increasing assumption of professional responsibility.

From the Council's view the year's experience was not entirely satisfactory; the Intern, in his final report, rated it moderately successful. There are a variety of reasons why the program did not live up to expectations. 1957-58 in the South was not measured in months but in crises; it opened at Little Rock and drew to a close in Charlottesville and Norfolk. Staff time, which in calmer days might have been devoted to close supervision of the Intern, was diverted elsewhere. In retrospect, full use was not made of such time as was available for supervision of the Intern's work.

Several aspects of the training program proved most fruitful; introduction to the field and the Council, participation in formal learning situations, and six weeks special assignment to work with the housing expert of the Atlanta Urban League.

MEMORANDUM TO HCF # 2.
October 23, 1958

The Intern ended the program with an adequate knowledge of recent literature in the field; he had met and worked with more than a dozen professionals; he had participated in several inter-agency meetings; he had helped plan and had participated in a region-wide conference of Church Women; he had organized and led a local citizens' effort to lessen discrimination in a large department store.

During the year in which the Intern was with SRC he increased his ability to establish rapport with people of diverse backgrounds; he developed new insights into some of his own personality problems; he learned to adjust more readily to new situations; he became more aware of the complexities of intergroup problems.

Despite the advances noted above, it was the opinion of SRC's professional staff that the Intern needed a year of further supervised training or graduate study before he would be adequately prepared to assume full responsibility as a professional human relations staffer.

Toward the close of the intern year, several job opportunities presented themselves. First, an opening with the Atlanta Housing Authority. The Intern was interviewed for the position of Assistant Administrator of one of the Authority's housing projects. Before the Authority had reached a decision, another offer was presented which the Intern accepted.

An insurance adjustment firm decided to add a Negro to its professional staff. The person secured was important, for this was a "break-through" in employment in this field. The firm looked for a young Negro who had experience in working with whites, who could deal successfully with white or Negro claimants, and who would see this role as a pioneering effort. Largely because of his year with the Council, Mr. Garrison was offered the position. After discussions with the professional staff of SRC and with business acquaintances, he accepted the firm's offer. Today, Mr. Garrison is one of three adjustors, and the only Negro working with this insurance adjustment firm.

Should this experiment prove itself, a new field of employment will have been opened to Negroes. If so, the year of intern training will more than justify itself.

- : -

INTERN PROGRAM

GRANT		$5,000.00
EXPENDITURES:		
Salary	$3,600.00	
Overhead and Supervision	1,000.00	
Social Security Tax	81.00	
Travel (Conferences)	281.87	
Materials & Equipment	37.13	
TOTAL:		$5,000.00

Copies sent to: Vernon Eagle
John Lassoe

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

October 23, 1958

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Materials & Equipment	37.13	
TOTAL:		$5,000.00

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

November 7, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This will acknowledge your letter of the 27th enclosing Fred Routh's memorandum of October 23rd concerning a final report on the internship training program.

We are glad to have the report for our records and this, together with supplementary conversations I had with Fred and others, give a good pictures.

Often one can be right for the wrong reasons, and as you point out, if the program made possible Garrison's pioneer role in the merit employment field, it would indeed be worthwhile for that reason alone.

Best regards,

Vernon

Report for the Years 1954-1959

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

For many years the Southern Regional Council has carried forward programs to promote mutual understanding among persons of different racial, cultural, and national backgrounds. It helps to organize integrated Human Relations Councils in the southern states, works with church groups, public and private agencies, school administrators and teachers. It serves as a clearing house of information for the public and the press; and it publishes *New South,* a monthly analysis of southern problems and progress.

During a three-year period starting in 1956, grants totaling $47,000 were made to help finance the Council's consultant service program for assisting local school officials and community leaders to plan and carry out programs for orderly compliance with the United States Supreme Court decisions on school desegregation.

In addition, special grants have been made: in 1957 $5,000 enabled the Southern Regional Council to participate in the apprentice training program, which is administered by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials; in 1958 $10,000 was granted for special education programs which could not be anticipated in the regular budget; in 1958 and 1959 a total of $7,500 was allocated to further the educational projects of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations; in May 1959, after reviewing the work of the Southern Regional Council over the years, the Directors of The New World Foundation concluded that in this instance the objectives of their program could best be achieved by contributing to the general support of this organization. Accordingly, a grant of $40,000, payable over a two-year period, was approved on this basis.

UNIVERSITY RELIGIOUS CONFERENCE

900 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles 24, California

The University Religious Conference was established in 1928 near the new University of California at Los Angeles by a group of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish clergymen and laymen who were concerned with the moral and spiritual education of students and who were convinced that each could do a better job with students of their respective faiths if they joined forces.

Two of the more important by-products of University Religious Conference are Uni-Camp and Panel of Americans. Uni-Camp was started by UCLA students in a rented camp site for sixty children from *less chance* areas. Today facilities provide for six hundred and fifty youngsters. The camp is financed and operated by the students of UCLA under the guidance of University Religious Conference.

The Panel of Americans program described under the grant to the National Council for the Panel of Americans was developed at the UCLA University Religious Conference.

From this program *Project India* has developed. For the last eight summers twelve to fourteen students and two adult advisors have spent nine weeks in India working in village projects, getting to know Indian university students, speaking to service clubs and other groups. They tell the Conference story of unity without uniformity.

In 1955 a grant of $30,000, payable over a three-year period, was made to assist the development of the University Religious Conference program at Santa Barbara, Riverside, and Long Beach. And in 1958 an additional $30,000, payable over a three-year period, was granted for the study of the adaptability of the Conference program to California's junior colleges.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

TRL
TA
MBB-file

November 10, 1961

The Rev. James D. Glasse
President
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Reverend Glasse:

We have given the request contained in your letter of September 27 for support of the Council's program to expand its services in college and university communities careful consideration. While there is no question that this is a needed and worthwhile program, it will not be possible for The New World Foundation to be of assistance at this time.

I trust that you will realize that this negative action on our part does not imply negative value judgment but results from prior commitments in this area.

We wish you every success in your endeavors.

Sincerely,

VE

bcc: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar

Extra carbon copy

January 4, 1962

Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Enclosed are brief statements on the following four matters:

The Fellowship of the Concerned
The Virginia Council on Human Relations
The Voter Education Project
Quaker House, Atlanta

We have kept these short, and that undoubtedly means incomplete. I think, however, there may be enough here to whet an appetite if any of these is a cup of tea which has appeal. If so, we can, in the case of the first three, furnish more detailed justification. If there is interest in the Quaker House I suggest that Michael Straight, or someone he designates, communicate directly with Jungblut; I would, however, be glad to do anything more on this which might be asked.

Enclosed also are some notes which I did for Harold two years or more ago, outlining a proposed large inquiry into "Public Policy and Race". You asked me to put these ideas also into a memorandum, but I haven't had the heart to do it. The reason is that though I believe, in reading over these old notes, that there is nothing really I would take out, there are some new points I would want to develop and I can't really do this in one page, not when the subject lies so close to my heart. At any rate, the essential idea is in old notes, and if there is anyone who wishes to pursue this subject I would be a most eager co-pursuer. (This was not, incidentally, thought of as necessarily, or even desirably, an SRC project.)

Recently, and independently, Eric Lincoln has developed notions which have a similar purpose though projected on a larger scale. Perhaps he has been to see you; he has been to other

foundations in New York. He is looking for the kind of money which would make possible the establishment at Clark College of a curriculum and an institute dealing with matters of public policy and concerned with preparation of Negro leadership.

It is possible that Michael Straight might wish to give some thought also to the Washington Fellowship House, which I am told is in bad financial straits. I do not know this establishment myself, but other persons have spoken to me very highly regarding it. This is a Quaker House type affair but non-affiliated, I believe. They do work camps, children's programs, study groups, etc. Much of its effort is devoted to trying to bridge the gulf between the Negro population of the central city and the white population of Washington suburbs. Because of Straight's interest in Washington I thought it worth mentioning this as something he might want to look into.

Do you know Ed Randall of Friendly World Broadcasting? If you don't there isn't much point in trying to describe him; this is another of those people who has to be seen to be believed. I am, however, enclosing a little poop sheet about Friendly World. Ed closed a recent long letter to me with the following words:

" "I still think my suggestion about Ala., La., Miss. could make the difference.....A series of programs should be specially prepared for this area to establish our usefulness to a number of stations, approaching the area of integration with great care - not with caution, but with great care. Remember we want to be listened to even more than the station wants listeners. We want to get to everybody with some facts and ideas with which nearly all of them are unfamiliar. Then we can build a solid foundation for talking about "controversial" subjects in ways which will build audience for the station and listeners for us.

"This could be done for $10,000 a year. With such a modest budget we might very easily have the use of as much as $100,000 worth of time - not "free" time when nobody is listening, but good time, with large audiences. This would require preliminary exploration of the area to plan the kind of programs which would make the most appeal and discover how rapidly we could move into the area of our special interest. We have a number of users in this area now,with our regular offerings, which seems to me quite remarkable and which suggests how reasonable is my expectation of further development with personal attention.

"You have taken chances with larger sums than this, but never with one which had greater possibilities. The amount would cover the additional expenses for our operation, but we are not trying to make money out of it.....

"What I'm saying is that we can establish a relationship with the entire population which will put us just a shade ahead of where they are thinking and create the possibility of helpful actions that couldn't take place without a wider understanding of

the whole situation than can exist unless we devote ourselves to informing the entire population. I know you are not devoted to the idea that anything, no matter how good, can be rammed down the public throat. There just isn't any other way to do this - and even if you aren't as sure as I am that this is the way you can take a flyer at it without losing your shirt.

"That I know what I'm talking about will be suggested to you by the opening paragraph of the listing enclosed. You will see that we are not only competing for audience in Richmond but beating the socks off of CBS, NBC, and ABC not even in sight. I'm offering you this kind of broadcasting."

I don't know whether Harold would endorse this particular idea of his, and we haven't had time to think through it carefully ourselves, but I believe Harold would join me in endorsing the man.

Yesterday, I heard twice from Bill Foster; once by letter and once by phone. Dean O'Meara has agreed to sponsor a conference on civil rights legislation and to put forth as much as $2500.00, provided the conference is held some time this Spring and that its output is published in the Notre Dame Law Journal. Vernon, this seems to me too good to pass up. Bill and I are planning to get together later this month, hopefully with one or two others, to do some planning. As to expenses, I should think $2500.00 would cover the transporation and living costs. Probably we shall want to commission three or four papers (each on one aspect of the civil rights field) and there may also be printing costs. At any rate, the amount over $2500.00 should be modest at the most. As still another proposal, this one either to you or to the William C. Whitney Foundation, could the costs above $2500.00 be underwritten? (I assume that the money could be paid directly to Notre Dame.) I would, of course, expect to submit a more finished proposal than this, but I would like to have your preliminary reaction.

Paul Rilling will be in New York next Monday and Tuesday, on leave, and next Wednesday, working. I have asked him to give you a buzz while he is there.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

The women of the South - particularly the church women - have provided uniquely important moral leadership. Today, especially in those places of the Deep South where a climate of fear and resistance prevails, this role is even more vital. Enlightened courageous leadership is at a premium and frequently the church women have provided the only rallying point for constructive action.

The Fellowship of the Concerned - sponsored by the Southern Regional Council - is a loosely knit, informal organization which channels the efforts of churchwomen. Annually a two-day regional meeting is held on an interfaith and bi-racial basis. Approximately 200 women attend, each selected by her denomination or religious organization. This meeting is followed by state meetings and thereafter training and plans are filtered down to the community level.

An outgrowth of the Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, the Fellowship of the Concerned has accomplished remarkable results. Hundreds of newspaper editors have been visited by local churchwomen to discuss press treatment of racial news. Law enforcement officials have found themselves quietly censured or firmly supported, according to the performance of their responsibilities. Local school boards, courts, libraries, and churches have felt the influence of these alert and concerned women.

The guiding spirit is Mrs. M. E. Tilly, the Southern Regional Council's dedicated and remarkable Director of Women's Work. The Council pays Mrs. Tilly's salary, travel, and related expenses. The remainder of the budget of the Fellowship of the Concerned is quite small. Depending on resources, $4,000 to $6,000 is budgeted for the regional meeting, and $200 is provided for each of the state meetings.

For a number of years this program has been largely supported by the John Hay Whitney Foundation and the Phelps-Stokes Fund. Both reduced their support to $1,000 each in 1961 and will provide no assistance in future years. During 1961 the Council has had to absorb a deficit of approximately $6,500 for the Fellowship of the Concerned and in the coming year the program will have to be severely curtailed or receive support from new sources.

A grant of $5,000 would insure the continuation of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

The Virginia Council is the largest, best financed, and probably the most effective of the state Councils on Human Relations,* with more than 2,000 members. The current director is Rev. Heslip Lee, a Southern Baptist minister and a native of Georgia. Before assuming his present duties, Mr. Lee was a pastor in Springfield, Virginia.

The Council operates primarily through its 17 local units which vary considerably, ranging from large and established civic groups in northern Virginia to smaller, quiet groups in more conservative areas of the state. The Virginia Council is at that position in its development where a second professional staff member, preferably a Negro, would enable the Council to continue its momentum, take advantage of the rapidly growing potential of the organization, and bring to more areas of Virginia the Council's methods and contributions. In addition a Negro staff member would allow more detailed work with Negro leaders and committees. Thus at times of negotiation or in periods of crisis the Council might have immediate access to both groups of people involved.

A grant of $10,000 per year would make this possible. The grant should be for a three year period, after which the Virginia Council should be able to assume the expense.

* The Councils on Human Relations were established by the Southern Regional Council in 1954-55; first branches of SRC, they became in 1957 autonomous, though SRC has regularly contributed to them financially.

QUAKER HOUSE - ATLANTA, GEORGIA

In the Fall of 1959 the Atlanta Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends was able to raise - largely through foundation grants - sufficient funds to allow the establishment of Quaker House. While this is the site of the meeting of the Atlanta Society of Friends, Quaker House was planned as, and has become, a community center for meeting, study, and concern. Such a facility would be a valuable addition to any community, but it has been particularly important to Atlanta, the southern metropolis that frequently sets the pattern for the rest of the region.

On a long-term basis, the Meeting needs an additional $15,000 to meet the mortgage on its property and $5,000 to complete the furnishing of the facility. Faced with this, the Meeting is unable to sustain the programs of Quaker House, which has set itself a 1962 operating budget of $25,000.

Director of Program is John Yungblut, for 20 years an Episcopal minister, who, prior to joining Quaker House in November of 1960, conducted a program for the American Friends Service Committee in Louisiana and Mississippi. Among the programs offered have been seminars directed by Dr. Richard Hocking, Professor of Philosophy at Emory University; Dr. Claude Thompson of the Candler School of Theology, Emory University; The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.; Leslie W. Dunbar and Paul M. Rilling of the Southern Regional Council. Speakers for special occasions have ranged from Miss Lillian Smith to the President of the Atlanta NAACP. These seminars, as well as all events at Quaker House, are open to all persons interested. A program has been initiated to bring together the students from the various seminaries in the city, Negro and white, in the hopes that they will not only understand each other better but develope friendships that will carry over into adulthood. Prior to Atlanta's public school desegregation, Quaker House was able to bring the Negro students together with some of the white students with whom they would be going to school. On several occasions, white groups have requested and received permission to move their programs to Quaker House so that any persons in the community, regardless of race, might be able to participate.

Quaker House is largely local in its interests and influence.

On the other hand, because Atlanta is both a crossroads and a center of regional agencies, Quaker House does in important ways serve more than the locality. It is a place where meetings of persons from all over the country are held. It can and does, under Yungblut's direction, serve as a place for quiet, fruitful dialogue among the regional and national agencies located in the city. It speaks perhaps well of Atlanta - as a southern city - that this facility is allowed to exist in a white residential neighborhood. However, beyond allowing it to exist, the community

Quaker House - Atlanta, Georgia

seems not now prepared to support it. In time the community should contribute substantially toward the support of this effort or it does not deserve to have it. Meanwhile, for the next several years, Quaker House must have outside support. Given that time, it is likely that this worthy effort can become largely self-supporting on a local level.

A contribution of $5,000 per year for program for two years would do much to insure the continuation of Quaker House in Atlanta.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

The Southern Regional Council has agreed to undertake a two year project in the area of voter registration. Five other principal civil rights organizations* will participate, in itself an unprecedented event. The hoped-for budget is approximately $500,000 per year. Of this amount one-half, or $250,000 for each of two years has already been committed.

The direction of a project in this area and of this size will be a huge task for the Council. SRC undertook this responsibility only after serious deliberation and from an awareness of the importance such a project, successfully executed, could have to the whole area of civil rights in the South and the Nation.

The project will have its own staff, and its program and administrative costs will come from the basic grant. However, there remains the fact that the responsibility for the program, including the expenditure of funds that will equal and may well be in excess of all of the Council's current budget, will place heavy demands on the Council's present office. For instance, the project staff will need considerable research and fact finding assistance. The Council can provide this, but it will add to already heavy work-loads. The handling of funds and the related bookkeeping will be done by the Council, nearly doubling the work of the Secretary-Treasurer. The expenditure of funds will have to be supervised by SRC's Executive Director to avoid duplication and to insure that the Council's tax-exempt status is not jeopardized. However able the project staff, SRC's Executive Director and his assistant will be inevitably involved in many meetings, relationships, and decisions.

To meet these needs the Council must add a new person to its central staff to share the increased work-load. This increase in the general budget of the organization, other than that for research clearly related to voting, can not be met with project funds, since it is understood that all funds contributed to the voter registration effort will be spent specifically for that purpose.

Support for the voting project will have to come from those large foundations who can contribute substantially toward the half-million dollars a year required for it. However, a smaller foundation could make a contribution far out of proportion to the money involved by giving to the Southern Regional Council $15,000 per year for two years to enable adequate staff expansion and insure that the Council's full resources could be used for proper supervision and support of a vital effort.

*NAACP, NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, CORE, STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

January 17, 1962
Air Mail

Mr. Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Could I ask you - as a friend - for a word of advice on the enclosed? The date will be, not impossible, but very difficult for me. Do you know anything about this event? Should I strain hard to attend? Would it be enough for me to send someone else on the staff or one of our officers? Or do you see no reason for SRC to be represented at all?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. -2-

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE, *Executive Director*

MHB

January 18, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Your letter of January 17 will be brought to Mr. Eagle's attention when he returns to the city the first of next week.

Sincerely,

Brooke Harris

(Miss) Brooke Harris
Secretary to Mr. Eagle

TR ✓
TR ✓
MMB file

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

January 25, 1962

Mr. John R. Yungblut
Director
Quaker House
1384 Fairview Road, N.E.
Atlanta 6, Georgia

Dear Mr. Yungblut:

Over the months you have been very much in my mind. I have discussed Quaker House, its program and financial needs with various people and organizations, but there is no way of knowing whether any of this has resulted in a positive contribution for your coffers. My reasons for this were selfish, I suppose, because I wanted something constructive to report when I wrote to say that The New World Foundation itself cannot make a grant, for the reasons given in my October letter.

I shall continue to call attention to the fine work you are doing and hope that adequate funds will soon come your way.

With sincere good wishes,

bcc: Miss Katharine Taylor
Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar

February 8, 1962

Mr. Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Enclosed is a copy of Bob Cole's article. I think I told you that he was submitting this for magazine publication but had also requested me to accept it as an interim report on his work. For that purpose it seems to me quite adequate, and I hope Bob has good luck with the magazines.

I told him that if it is accepted for publication he should check with you about the use of the Foundation's name on page four; he will do so.

As we agreed over the phone we shall continue to meet Bob's expenses even after the grant has run out. There was left some $2700 when I talked with you. Bob has requisitioned since over $1000 for expenses and self. This will leave a balance of $1686.68. I shall inform you about this again in a couple of months. If you agree we can see Bob through the rest of this year and then have a final accounting with you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. 1

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

PA ✓
MMB - file

February 12, 1962

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for the material on Bob Cole's. After I have had a chance to read it, perhaps I will get in touch with him.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

February 14, 1962
Air Mail

Mr. Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation — file
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

I am enclosing two copies each of my Annual Report to the members and the Council's audit and financial statement for 1961. One copy of each is to accompany the request we have pending with you for a renewal of support and the other set is for your files - or whatever use you want to make of them.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. 6

February 27, 1962

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

I am enclosing a copy of a proposed By-Law change, which was in fact passed at the Council meeting in November. As we have not yet inserted it into the By-Laws, the enclosure is the only form in which I can send it to you now.

A word of explanation. Prior to this year Council membership was limited to 80, and the By-Laws required that at least five new persons be elected each year. This requirement of new blood was intended to assure a steady flow of new persons into the Council. You, of course, are able to see that it can facilitate another end as well.

Membership, as a result of last November's change, will reach 100 by 1964. We have a limit of 85 this year, 90 next, etc. The requirement that 10 new members be elected during each of these years, while total membership goes up only five a year, means that five of them will fill vacancies and five will increase membership, although it may [redacted] work out in various ways.

Last November, for example, membership happened to be only 79: there was one vacancy in the Class of 1962. One person (Father Gibson) was elected for a one-year term to fill this vacancy, nine other new persons were elected for full four-year terms, and only four members of the Class of 1961 had to be dropped (or, not re-elected) in order to put total membership at 85.

It really is very simple. Just take a lot of words to explain.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (By-Law change)

ML - fyi
ref. to MMJ.

February 26, 1962

Miss Brooke Harris
Secretary to Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New Y rk 27, New York

Dear Miss Harris:

We are pleased to send you, as requested, five additional copies of our December 1961 New South. If we can be of further service to you, please feel free to call on us.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Johnson
Secretary to Mr. Dunbar

MJ/s
Enclosures - 5.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE, *Executive Director*

February 23, 1962

Mr. Leslis W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We'd appreciate having five additional copies of the December, 1961 issue of New South.

Sorry I wrote today wrote

Sincerely,

Brooke Harris

(Miss) Brooke Harris
Secretary to Mr. Eagle

March 16, 1962

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

There is in the mail another letter of thanks for a gift a thousand times larger than your personal one.

Damn if I don't like yours better, though.

With all our best,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mfj

P. S. -- The SNCC fund-raising is not good, and I have been unhappy about it more than once. There is little I can do, except try.

P.S.S. -- Will be in New York next week and will call. If you have a little time Tuesday or Wednesday I'd like to slip up.

LWD

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

March 2, 1962

Dear Leslie,

Attached is our formal grant letter in which our actions speak louder than our words.

If it is satisfactory to you, we will send you a check in September. If, however, the need arises prior to that time, just let me know.

Meantime, to tide you over, it behooves me to send in my small annual contribution toward the good cause.

More power to your right arm!

$ 25.00 CR
3/5/62 RHA

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 16, 1962

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

We have your letter of March 2, 1962 informing us that the Board of Directors of the New World Foundation has voted $25,000 a year for the Educational Program of the Council during 1962 and 1963.

I need hardly repeat how much the support of the Foundation has meant to us. Your action now, in extending that aid for a two year period, is a particularly heartening and valued vote of trust.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

March 2, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Your letter of February 7 embodying a request for a renewal of our grant for the Educational Program of the Southern Regional Council was discussed by the Board of Directors of The New World Foundation at its meeting of February 23.

The Directors had also received and read your Review of Program Activities during 1961 and the audited financial report for the year ended 31 December 1961, prior to the meeting.

After careful review of the accomplishments of the Southern Regional Council during the past year and the need for continuing work in your area of activities, the Board decided to renew the grant in the amount of $25,000 a year for the calendar years 1962 and 1963.

I am pleased to carry out their instructions to notify you of this grant, and to send you good wishes for the achievement of your goals.

Sincerely,

V A Eagle

February 7, 1962

Mr. Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Air Mail

Dear Mr. Eagle:

This is to put before the Foundation a request for a grant of $25,000 in support of the general program of the Southern Regional Council.

We are deeply grateful for the Foundation's past contributions to our work. They have helped indispensably in the carrying out of programs and services which we believe have been of unique value, and which we hope have justified your confidence.

Within a short time you will receive copies of our 1961 audit as well as my Annual Report. From the latter you will see that 1961 was, besides being a year of leadership change within the Council, a period also of program enlargement. In particular, great time, energy, and thought were required in the development of a plan for a large-scale study and attack on the causes of low voter registration. This will be an endeavor in which the Council will enlist the cooperation of the other principal civil rights groups.

To mention this suggests one of the increasingly important functions of the Council. As we move into 1962, faced as we always are in a rapidly changing South with the need to adapt to new problems and needs, we have to construct programs which reflect new priorities and opportunities. Among these is the special obligation which rests on the Council, as a bi-racial body, to be a balance-wheel for the civil rights movement, and the several directions which it is now taking. To a degree not previously approached, the Council has become a resource of information and interpretation for the Negro communities of the South and their leadership.

To Mr. Vernon Eagle
February 6, 1962

While continuing undiminished our established field programs of quiet consultation and specialized advice to regional and local leadership - economic, educational, and political - we shall give carefully paced emphasis to the growth of bi-racial cooperation. This means steadily increasing support of the state Councils on Human Relations which are associated with us. This is a time for expansion of our staff services to them, because this is a time of pressing need, as well as opportunity, for the stability and the progressiveness of bi-racial cooperation.

The appearance in Washington of an Administration energetically defending civil rights presents a new task for the Council's research activities. As we see it, our role here is twofold. One part of it is to outline and give dimension to problems which are probable subjects for governmental action. We are, for example, engaged in publishing a short series of profiles of employment conditions facing southern Negroes; we have also in preparation an objective and thorough analysis of pupil placement plans, and their consequences. A second part of the role is to serve as the outside observer and friendly critic of the Administration's actions. Last year we published The Federal Executive and Civil Rights, a widely studied set of recommendations to the incoming Administration; this year we shall soon publish its sequel, an evaluation of the Administration's record and the concept of executive actions.

In addition to research, which continues to be the sub-structure of all our activities, we look forward to a wider and more attentive audience for New South, which has become, we believe, a magazine of real intellectual content and stimulus.

In order to carry out these and other efforts, the Council must raise for general operations from uncommitted sources approximately $85,000.

We express once again our gratitude for the New World Foundation's generous assistance in the past. It is our hope that we shall continue to enjoy your trust in the work we do in the exciting developments of the South.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

JM - fyi
MJ - file

March 16, 1962

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle — file
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

I must apologize for not responding sooner regarding the American Library Association proposal. I have been almost breathlessly busy making a deadline on our review of executive action. I hope this gets to you soon enough to be useful.

The proposal, as I told you over the phone, seems to me sound. I think there is considerable value, now and at all times, in discovering the facts. The value is doubled or tripled when the fact-finding is done by an august body, such as the A.L.A. I think there is at least as much value in follow-up of facts discovered, and a virtue of the proposal is the plan to do so by a conference and by wide distribution of the report.

You perhaps would be disappointed if I did not sound a sour note or two. (1) Is it worthwhile devoting much effort to ascertaining (page 2) the "reason for restricting... in the use of the library?"

This is usually pretty obvious. (2) I am not impressed by the inclusion of Negroes on the advisory committee (page 2), The insights of Negroes would be more likely tapped if they were brought into the fact-finding, perhaps in connection with the depth surveys mentioned on page 3, or if a Negro were study director. (3) I grow increasingly weary of the talk about methods of desegregation; this is a feeling not necessarily linked to anything except the observation over many months that all an institution has to do, in 9 cases out of 10, is to reach a decision and stick to it; the "methods" usually get forgotten and charitably ignored pretty quick. Consequently, the "evaluation of methods" at the conference (page 3) strikes me as offering an opportunity for everything to bog down into heavy words. (4) As usual, I have no comment about the proposed budget, though I find hard to believe that a report can be printed in quantity for $1,500.

I talked with H. Franklin Williams, Vice-President of the University of Miami and a member of our Executive Committee, regarding Dr. Archie McNeil. Dr. Williams thinks he is a Tennessean, about 40, a very able library technician, who in addition to serving Miami frequently teaches at Florida State. A few years ago he was sent (by the government? by Ford? Dr. Williams wasn't sure) to India to advise on and help set up a system of national libraries. Dr. Williams has some question as to McNeil's sensitivity to and interest in human beings. All this, of course, is confidential.

Finally, I suggest that you get in touch with Commissioner Sterling M. McMurrin of the U. S. Office of Education, or suggest to A.L.A. that it do so. As a result of criticism implied in the Commission on Civil Right's survey of federally-aided libraries (see Chapter 9 of Volume 2 of the Commission's 1961 Report if you have it), the Commissioner announced in late February that the Office was undertaking its own survey of libraries it is aiding.

For your or the A.L.A.'s possible interest, I am enclosing some file notes of ours: a list of at least some of the southern cities in which libraries were desegregated between 1954-61.

Best wishes, and apologies again for being late.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

Rec'd 3/7/67

Leslie -
Your comments please!
thanks
Vernon

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION
EXECUTIVE OFFICES: 50 EAST HURON STREET CHICAGO 11

A Proposal for a Study

Of Access to Libraries

Introduction

The Supreme Court decision of 1954 concerning school integration has had serious implications for all educational institutions. Libraries have long been faced with the problems of free and equal access to their buildings, resources and services.

The plight of the Southern Negro with regard to public library service was last thoroughly studied by Eliza Atkins Gleason as a student at the University of Chicago Graduate Library School as a Fellow of the American Library Association. This study was published in 1941 by the University of Chicago Press. Since then, there has been no thorough investigation, although there was a survey of southern libraries in 1953 under the auspices of the Southern Regional Council. Results of this survey were reported by Anna Holden in the New South for January, 1954.

We are concerned about the Negro and the restrictions still imposed on him in certain areas, but the problem is not limited to one minority group or to one geographical area. Economic as well as geographic and sociological reasons have been advanced for restriction in library use. Information on the effect and intensity of the problem of free access is all too sparse and subjective. All too often librarians, administrators, writers and journalists have had to rely upon news sources or on independent, spur-of-the-moment surveys to determine areas or extent of such library restrictions. As free access to libraries is imperative in our society, it is important to gain a knowledge of the extent and reasons for restricting an individual's access to a library and its resources. Artificial boundaries, racial distinctions, restrictions on certain categories of users (i. e., college students, high school students, etc.) are some of the factors to be considered.

Objectives of the Proposal

"Access to books and availability of information for all our people have never had more crucial importance for the security and well-being of our country." This statement from the ALA Goals for Action emphasizes the position of ALA on this vital issue. The theme is further stated as Goal Number Three: "Availability to all citizens of reference and bibliographical

services and research materials needed at various levels of enterprise in all communities" is essential to "achieve the standard of service that our society requires". In the Library Bill of Rights the basic policy is stated: "The rights of an individual to the use of a library should not be denied or abridged because of his race, religion, national origins, or political views." A professional and scientific study of the problem is urgently needed.

It would be the purpose of this proposed project to survey the fifty states to determine:

1. The extent and manner in which individuals and groups have been deprived of the use of any library's resources and services.

2. The reasons for restricting an individual or group in the use of a library.

3. The changes and progress which have been achieved during the past five years in making libraries accessible to all, and the method of accomplishment.

4. Regional differences in library resources and services.

Obviously, some libraries are constituted to serve a specific group such as a student body, a company's personnel, etc. This study, however, is not concerned with this type of limited access. Rather, it is directed to limitations imposed in the use of libraries designed to serve the public.

Organization and Procedure

A. Overall Responsibility

The Library Administration Division will appoint an advisory committee which will help determine basic policy decisions to guide the project director. The committee will also review the project's progress and be available to assist the director. The members of the advisory committee must represent various types of libraries, different geographical areas and possibly include lay members to represent different facets of the problem. The matter of Negro representation on the advisory committee should be considered, and would seem to be implicit in the purposes stated.

B. Administration

A director for the study will be appointed. He must be an outstanding sociologist or librarian-sociologist with experience in social surveys. He will

undertake the following:

1. A paper survey of public libraries and a basic sampling of college, university and school libraries. He will also survey state and regional library associations and related educational groups. Verification will be sought from minority groups, and associations concerned with their welfare, to cross-check results of the questionnaire.

2. A depth survey on a regional basis. This will include a questionnaire and a personal study of the area. The director may have to utilize individuals in the various areas to properly cover the areas to be studied.

3. A conference on "access to libraries" involving lay persons as well as library personnel. The purpose of such a conference would be to discuss information gathered, to make recommendations for improvement, and to define problems for further study. Evaluation of methods which have been successful in other areas should result.

4. Finally, a report of the study would be published and given wide distribution. It should be of special value to boards of trustees, librarians, and city officials in areas where problems exist. The inclusion of lay persons, both on the advisory committee and in the proposed conference (item 3 above) should tend to spread both concern and interest in achieving our purpose of free access.

   It is assumed that such a report would give full attention to legal problems and background of existing conditions, and changes which are in process, at the Federal, State and local level.

Time Schedule

1.	Orientation and Planning	2 months
2.	Implementation of study	6 months
3.	Evaluation	2 months
4.	Reporting	2 months

Budget

Line		
	Salaries	
1	Director	$ 15,000
2	Secretary	4,500
3	SS., etc.	1,950
	Total Lines 1-3	$ 21,450
	Operating Costs	
4	Travel Expenses	5,500
5	Equipment	1,000
6	Telephone, Telegraph, Supplies	1,000
7	Rent	3,600
8	Postage	1,350
9	Conference	2,500
	Total Lines 4-9	$ 14,950
	Publication Cost	
10	Questionnaires	600
11	Report	1,500
	Total Lines 10-11	$ 2,100
	Overhead Costs	
12	ALA Administration Funds	4,000
13	Contingency	2,500
	Total Lines 12-13	$ 6,500
	TOTAL COST LINES 1-13	$ 45,000

January, 1962

File: New World Fd., 1962

March 28, 1962

Mrs. Gilbert A. Harrison
3556 Macomb Street N.W.
Washington 16, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Harrison:

Mr. Vernon Eagle has asked that I send you a copy of the enclosed "Executive Support of Civil Rights."

Sincerely,

LWD:bp
enclosure

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

March 28, 1962

Whitney Norh Seymour, Esq.
Simpson, Thatcher & Bartlett
120 Broadway
New York 5, New York

Dear Mr. Seymour:

Mr. Vernon Eagle has asked that I send you a copy of the enclosed "Executive Support of Civil Rights."

Sincerely,

LWD:bp
enclosure

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

March 28, 1962

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorne Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

Vernon Eagle suggested that I send you a copy of the enclosed "Executive Support of Civil Rights."

Sincerely,

LWD:bp
enclosure

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

March 28, 1962

The Hon. Walter V. Schaefer
30 N. Michigan Avenue
Chicago 2, Illinois

Dear Judge Schaefer:

Mr. Vernon Eagle has asked that I send you a copy of the enclosed "Executive Support of Civil Rights."

Sincerely,

LWD:bp
enclosure

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

March 28, 1962

Richard Bentley, Esq.
Penney, Sherman, Bentley & Guthrie
120 S. LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Mr. Bentley:

Mr. Vernon Eagle has asked that I send you a copy of the enclosed "Executive Support of Civil Rights."

Sincerely,

LWD:bp
enclosure

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

March 28, 1962

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

Leslie Dunbar has requested that I send you the enclosed copies of "Executive Support of Civil Rights." Copies have been sent individually to the members of the New World Foundation Board.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enclosures

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
administrative secretary

April 2, 1962

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Many thanks for your good letter of March 27. In coming, after a hectic week, to reply to it I'm afraid that at first glance I read it wrong. Instead of sending copies of our report to you for transmittal to your Board, we sent a copy to each member. I hope this does not foul up anything you planned. I am sorry but last week I was juggling too many balls at one time.

Enclosed with this letter are four additional copies for you.

It was good seeing you in New York.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 4.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

March 27, 1962

Dear Leslie:

I was delighted to see that your "Executive Support of Civil Rights" received such excellent coverage in the New York Times. The report is up to your usual high standards.

If copies have not been sent to members of my Board, I should appreciate it if you could send me a half dozen copies to serve such purpose. I should also like to have three or four copies to be placed in strategic hands.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

May 1, 1962

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Mr. Banton has already been in touch with us and we have written to him a couple times at length indicating our willingness to be of any service that he can dream up. We suggested to him as cities that he might consider for his close study, Richmond, Charlotte, Dallas, Atlanta and Lexington, Kentucky.

Let me know if you need anything else on this.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

April 26, 1962

Dear Leslie,

Do you have any words of wisdom which I might pass on to Mr. Banton? He seems to be quite a fearless fellow, but I trust we would not want to send him to Jackson, Mississippi.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

April 26, 1962

Mr. Michael Banton
Political Science Section
Department of Economics and
Social Science
14N-214
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
77 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge 39, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Banton:

I have hesitated in replying to your letter of April 18 because I wanted to study the possibilities of assistance even though The New World Foundation cannot be helpful directly.

It seems to me that you are entirely correct in thinking that you should not limit your acquaintance with American police work to New England. I am certain that the South could provide a very interesting laboratory for you.

Would you be kind enough to give me an indication of exactly what kind of funds would be necessary for you to carry out your research, to permit me to get in touch with several other sources that might be helpful. It would also be helpful if you could send me a more specific curriculum vitae.

Sincerely,

bcc: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

POLITICAL SCIENCE SECTION

CAMBRIDGE 39, MASSACHUSETTS

April 18, 1962

New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Sir:

Mr. Hales, the Educational Counsellor of the British Embassy in Washington, has suggested that I write to you to inquire whether there is any likelihood of your Foundation being able to assist me in extending some of my past research.

Perhaps I should first explain the background to my letter. I am visiting M.I.T. as Associate Professor in the Political Science Section until January 1963. In more normal times I am a Lecturer in Social Anthropology at the University of Edinburgh. My research has been chiefly in the fields of West African urbanization and British race relations, but just over two years ago I started on a study of police work as an occupation. This is the first time the police in Britain have been the subject of a sociological study. Though nothing has yet been published I have been able to collect some interesting material from interviews and group discussions at the Scottish Police College and from accompanying police officers in the course of their normal duties at all hours of the day and night. A lot of this material can be examined in stencil reports which I have submitted to the police authorities in Scotland and of which I have copies. I am in touch with some Massachusetts police forces and am arranging to carry out comparable studies while I am here.

It would be rather a pity, I feel, if my acquaintance with American police work were to be limited to this region. I would very much like to make a study during the summer vacation of the policeman's role in a different sort of community. If I could do this somewhere in the South this would enable me to kill two birds with one stone. My main interest of course would be in the police but working in such a locality would help me to an understanding of patterns of race relations which would also be of interest. The picture of race relations that I might get in this way would probably be a truer one than that obtained by the ordinary overseas visitor who goes around to see community spokesmen.

One of my worries is that to do this work I should need some extra funds so that I could take my wife and children with me to some suitable locality and obtain furnished accommodations for us wherever I am doing the research. I would also like to obtain some funds for research expenses so that I could visit a number of police forces in the South and inquire into the utilization of Negro police officers. This is a topic in which there is a mounting interest in Britain now because of the recent influx of immigrants.

If you think there is a chance of your Foundation being able to assist me I should be much obliged to hear from you.

Yours faithfully,

Michael Banton

11n

May 9, 1962

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

What Schultz wants to do offers the possibility of being translated quickly into policy and practice. We need to get a clearer understanding of how Schultz plans to distribute his findings, but assuming that this is satisfactory, could you concur in $500 - $800 Contingency money going into this? I think it would be an interesting project and we would like to help with it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE, *Executive Director*

RECEIVED
AUG 2 1962

July 31, 1962

Mrs. Barbara Patterson
Administrative Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

Enclosed are several copies of the names and addresses of The New World Foundation Directors. You will note that The Hon. Walter V. Schaefer is no longer a member of the Board and that we have two new Directors, Mr. Charles G. Bolte and Mr. J. Anthony Lewis.

Sincerely,

Brooke Harris

(Miss) Brooke Harris
Secretary to Mr. Eagle

Richard Bentley, Esquire
Tenney, Sherman, Bentley & Guthrie
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Mr. Charles G. Bolte
Executive Vice President
The Viking Press Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Mrs. Gilbert A. Harrison
3556 Macomb Street, N. W.
Washington 16, D. C.

Mr. J. Anthony Lewis
107 Langley Hill Drive
McLean, Virginia

Whitney North Seymour, Esquire
Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett
120 Broadway
New York 5, New York

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Richard Bentley, Esquire
Tenney, Sherman, Bentley & Guthrie
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Mr. Charles G. Bolte
Executive Vice President
The Viking Press Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Mrs. Gilbert A. Harrison
3556 Macomb Street, N. W.
Washington 16, D. C.

Mr. J. Anthony Lewis
107 Langley Hill Drive
McLean, Virginia

Whitney North Seymour, Esquire
Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett
120 Broadway
New York 5, New York

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

File

August 20, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Vernon will be away until after Labor Day. Thanks for the Coles' report.

Sincerely,

Winifred G. Meskus

Winifred G. Meskus

September 13, 1962

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Vernon:

I acknowledge with many thanks, on behalf of the Council, receipt of the Foundation's check for $25,000 in payment of its grant for the calendar year 1962. We were awfully glad it came this early.

I expect to be in your city much of the week of September 24th, and will give you a call.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosure:
official receipt

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

September 10, 1962

Dear Leslie,

You will recall that last March I notified you formally that our Board of Directors had approved a grant of $50,000 payable in the calendar years 1962 and 1963.

It is now my happy duty to enclose the foundation's check for $25,000 for 1962, for the educational program of the Southern Regional Council.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Ck in safe
MA

September 16, 1962

Mr. Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Dr.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Vernon:

I thought you would like to have the enclosed preliminary report of Bob Coles. We may use some of this in a publication.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosure:
Children Under Desegregation

October 24, 1962

Mr. Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N. Y.

Dear Vernon:

Thank you for the reprint of the Christopher Jencks articles. You underestimate your influence. I read them as soon as I got back from New York.

I agree with you that this is not only a fresh but extremely good and intelligent analysis. My only quarrel with it is the last two paragraphs which seem to me to trail off disjointedly into what are either pregnant new ideas--and if so they should be kept in confinement until ready for delivery--or rather nebulous non-ideas. But the rest of the article is a beauty and I hope it gets read widely and by the right people.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

Grants to October 31, 1960, not included in the Five Year Report.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE, INC., The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N.Y.

In October, 1960 a grant of $20,000, payable over a two year period, was made to continue support of the Leader Exchange Program. The purpose of this program is to strengthen the lines of communication between professional, business and civic leaders of the United States and the Union of South Africa.

BAYLOR UNIVERSITY, Center for Foreign Service Studies, Waco, Texas.

BACKGROUND On World Politics is an inter-disciplinary digest of data bearing on world politics from periodicals specializing in military, scientific, economic, political and social developments. It is published quarterly by the Director of the Center for Foreign Service Studies.

In October, 1960 a grant of $5,000, payable over a two year period, was made to allow the editors to expand and improve the content of this digest and increase its circulation with a view to its becoming self-supporting.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, The Center for Programs in Government and Administration, Chicago, Illinois.

In March, 1960 a grant of $4,000 was made toward support of the Institute in Executive Development for Psychiatric Administrators.

FARMERS AND WORLD AFFAIRS, INC., 1201 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

During the three summer months of 1959, twelve American farmers and their wives went to India as guests of India's Farmers' Forum. Selected in cooperation with their various national and state farm organizations, they extended invitations for Indian farmers to visit the United States.

In October, 1960 a grant of $10,000 was made toward the costs of arranging for farmers and their wives to come from India to the United States during the summer of 1961, and to help defray their expenses while here.

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, 1 East 67th Street, New York 21, New York.

In May, 1960 a grant of $7,500 was made toward the expenses of Educators from Germany who are visiting in the United States to study teaching methods and curriculum planning which would be useful to German elementary and secondary schools.

INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS FOUNDATION, INC., 2000 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

In November, 1959 a grant of $3,500 was made toward the costs of a survey of international schools in Asia and the Middle East.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A., Africa Committee, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York.

In October, 1960 a grant of $7,500 was made toward the costs of a series of multiracial leadership conferences to be held at the Mindolo Ecumenical Centre, Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS, 84 State Street, Boston 9, Massachusetts.

In October, 1959 a grant of $10,000 was made toward the costs of a study of the imaginative development of new educational practices and programs in independent schools. A further grant of $6,000 was authorized in October, 1960 to support the publication and distribution of the report of this study, "New Approaches to Education."

Also in October, 1960 a grant of $7,000 was made for the use of the Council's Educational Practices Committee to prepare and distribute a series of monographs on particular educational practices.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS, 226 West 47th Street, New York 36, New York.

In May, 1960 a grant of $12,000 was made to underwrite an exploratory study, under the direction of Evelyn Hersey, of the current opportunities for United States settlements to help in training urban development workers from other countries.

NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS, 6 East 82nd Street, New York 28, New York.

In October, 1960 an additional grant of $10,000 was made to continue support of the counseling, referral and advisory services of NSSFNS offered to high school students.

NORTH CENTRAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS, Foreign Relations Project of the Commission on Research and Service, 259 East Erie Street, Chicago 11, Illinois.

In October, 1959 a grant of $2,500 was approved to underwrite a residential seminar (based on American Assembly technique) for Illinois high school teachers and administrators, on the subject of The United States And Africa.

In November, 1959, $500 was authorized toward the costs of the Foreign Relations Project pamphlet on the United Nations.

NOTRE DAME LAW SCHOOL, Notre Dame, Indiana.

In December, 1959 a grant of $5,000 was made toward the costs of printing and distributing a special edition of the Notre Dame Law Review. This special edition carried the papers presented at a Symposium on the Problems and Responsibilities of Desegregation, with an analysis of the legal aspects of the subject and a review of the more significant literature in the area.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC., St. Helena Island, Frogmore, South Carolina.

In March, 1960 a grant of $3,000 was made toward the costs of a study of educational programs in human relations and civil rights in rural areas of the South and for publication of the conclusions reached.

PHELPS-STOKES FUND, 297 Park Avenue South, New York 10, New York.

In October, 1960 a grant of $12,000 was made toward support of a study by the eminent African educator, K. A. Busia, of the sociology of education in Africa.

RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF MAN, 162 East 78th Street, New York 21, New York.

In October, 1960 a grant of $4,560 was made to support a study of the effect of health on interpersonal relationships in diplomatic negotiations.

THE ROCKLAND FOUNDATION, INC., Old Greenbush Road, West Nyack, New York.

For the past three years a group of writers, faculty members, and representatives of business and professional men and women have met with teen-age children on Saturdays to encourage interest in creative thinking and in learning. Members of this "Community Resources Pool" want young people "to have an idea of what it is really like to be a scientist, architect, engineer, or writer."

In May, 1960 a grant of $13,000 was made to develop this idea, as a pilot project, within the public school system in Rockland County, and to outline on the basis of this experience the possible adaptation of such programs by other communities.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

In May, 1960 a grant of $5,000 was made to replenish the fund for special education programs which cannot be anticipated in the regular budget.

December 1960

Institute for International Order 2,000

Foreign Policy Association 10,000

Mon 8

PA
SM file

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

Grants from November 1, 1960 to
March 8, 1961, not included in
the Five Year Report.

COUNCIL ON SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION, N. Y., $7,500 for support of an interprofessional Conference on Professional Training in the United States for Students from Other Countries.

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION-WORLD AFFAIRS CENTER, N. Y., $10,000 for general support in 1962.

GRINNELL COLLEGE, Grinnell, Iowa, $7,500 for support of Grinnell's program to send recent graduates to teaching positions in underdeveloped countries.

INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ORDER, N. Y., $1,500 for support of a planning Conference on Peace Research, held in association with Colorado State University Research Foundation.

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, N. Y., $10,000 for support of the Student Exchange Program with Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC., Atlanta, Georgia, $25,000 for support of the educational program.

THE SOCIETY FOR APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY, Ithaca, N. Y., $1,500 for support of a conference on Major Issues in Modern Society.

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION, Philadelphia, Pa., $7,500 for support of a conference on Youth Service Abroad.

November 30, 1962

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Vernon:

The proposal sent you by the Alabama Council was, in my absence, discussed with others here in the office during a stage of its drafting. It represents, I think, a worthwhile effort, and one which I hope the Alabama Council can undertake. I can, however, understand well your hesitancy, and do not urge that you overcome it. The proposal bears resemblance to one facet of our R.B.F. project, and perhaps we can be of some help to the objective the Alabama Council seeks.

We would, of course, be delighted if New World ever decided to get back into the state council field. If you do, we would--again of course--have some suggestions.

I am still hoping that you may be coming down.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

November 21, 1962

Dear Leslie,

This is the request from the Alabama Council on Human Relations to which I referred in our telephone conversation. I would rather not reply to them officially.

Please let me have your reactions.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER, SECRETARY-TREASURER
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date November 14, 1962

To: LWD From: PR

Subject:

You should know that the Alabama Council has submitted a request for assistance to Field and New World. The emphasis is on approaches to leadership, etc.. Anthony and I checked over the proposal in your absence and Jimerson is sending us a copy of the final version.

November 9, 1962

TO: New World Foundation
Mr. Vernon Eagle, Executive Director
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

FROM: Alabama Council on Human Relations
Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

RE: A Proposed Leadership Project

The varying response of southern states to the desegregation requirements of federal court decisions has ranged from the dignified adjustments of Virginia and Georgia to the raucous and destructive responses of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi. The most important single factor in determining the response of a southern state or community seems to be the posture of civic, economic, and political leadership. Where leadership decides upon peaceful adjustment in order to prevent violence and upheaval, this process is accepted. Where leadership is vacillating or obstructive, chaos is probable.

Since the Supreme Court decision of 1954, there has been little or no constructive dialogue concerning desegregation pressures within the state of Alabama. Political and economic leadership has been generally silent or militantly resistant. With a few exceptions, the press has trumpeted the massvie resistance line. There has been virtually no preparation of leadership or of the public to adjust to the inevitable. The Governor Elect of Alabama has praised Governor Barnett's actions in the Oxford, Mississippi, case and promised in his turn to go to jail if necessary to prevent desegregation in Alabama.

The time of decision is approaching. Applications are pending to the University of Alabama by Negro students for the second semester of the current school year. Litigation may well bring a federal district court decision ordering school desegregation in Birmingham by September of 1963. How will Alabama respond?

During the past twelve months, for the first time since the 1954 decision, there have been some few signs of an awakening on the part of some leadership elements. Lunch counters were desegregated last summer in Mobile and Huntsville. The Birmingham News and other Alabama papers were critical of the last ditch tactics of Governor Barnett recently; leading Birmingham businessmen have been involved in an effort to resolve Negro pressures without major demonstrations.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations feels it important that a major effort be instituted to inform business and civic leadership of the state of pending litigation and of the decisions that will face the state in the near future. Some materials are available and others can be developed which will illustrate the constructive experiences of other southern states, the economic stake in maintaining order and stability, the terrible costs of violence. This information is not reaching the leaders of the state of Alabama through normal state and local channels. A way must be found to reach such leadership through special channels. We propose the procedure of direct mailing as practical, if limited in impact.

The Alabama Council requests assistance in the amount of $6,000 during the year of 1963 for the purpose of purchasing, developing, printing, and mailing a variety of constructive materials on these matters to a limited number of business, civic, religious, and political leaders throughout the state of Alabama. Where possible, these materials would carry the imprint of respected organizations or would be reprinted from accepted magazines. They need not always, although they would on some occasions, bear the imprint of the Alabama Council.

It is our belief that some effort must be made in the short time remaining to reach the leadership of the state and to encourage the process

of re-examination of defiance, which is beginning. We believe that the stakes are high and that an investment here would be disproportionately beneficial to the entire Deep South. The course of Alabama will inevitably interact on future decisions in Mississippi and South Carolina.

We have prepared no specific budget, feeling that flexibility is important and that the breakdown of costs will depend on how many materials must be prepared and how many can be purchased in their present form. We anticipate that some $1,200 would be expended on postage alone; the bulk of the remainder would be expended on purchase, printing or reprinting, and occasionally the preparation of materials, with a smaller portion expended on secretarial help and overhead costs to the Alabama Council. In at least some cases, materials can be obtained without cost, from other interested organizations. We believe that quite a bit can be done with this modest amount of funds.

Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

TAV
PTR

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

3/2/62

Les:

This type of fund raising disturbs me.

Vernon

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

SNCC WORKERS CAN GET 30 YEARS

Enterprise-Journal

The One Newspaper in the World Most Interested in this Community

Monday, Feb. 19, 1962

Zellner, McDew Arrested, Held in Baton Rouge Jail

By CHARLES B. GORDON
Enterprise-Journal Reporter

A white man and a Negro were arrested in Baton Rouge Saturday night while trying to deliver integration literature and pictures to a Negro inmate of the Baton Rouge jail.

All three are veterans of the McComb racial troubles of the past several months.

ZELLNER, McDEW

The white man is John Robert Zellner, 22, of Century, Fla. He was the only white man in the demonstration that followed the walkout of more than 100 students from the Burglund Negro High School here Oct. 4.

The Negro arrested with him is Charles F. McDew, 26, Massilon, Ohio.

McDew is the chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee ("Snick") group that led McComb integration activities before CORE — the Congress of Racial Equality Inc — moved in with its "freedom riders" in November.

Zellner also is identifiable as a SNCC field worker from Atlanta headquarters.

Both are at liberty on $1,000 appeal bonds from sentences imposed Oct 31 in McComb city court on charges of disturbing the peace in the Oct. 4 demonstration.

DIAMOND IN JAIL

The Negro they attempted to reach with their literature and pictures in the Baton Rouge jail is Dion Diamond, 20, of Petersburg, Va.

Baton Rouge officers arrested Diamond Feb. 1 after he tried to

JOHN R. ZELLNER
Figured in McCmb case

all-Negro Southern University, Baton Rouge.

He is awaiting trial on anarchy, peace disturbance, vagrancy and trespassing charges.

Diamond, McDew, Robert F. Moses and other Negroes taught a short-lived school for the striking Burglund students after the Oct. 4 walkout.

Later, most of the students entered the high school department of Campbell College in Jackson. Others returned to their classes at Burglund.

$7,000 BONDS

Zellner and McDew were booked Saturday in Baton Rouge on charges of criminal anarchy and vagrancy. Their bonds were set at $7,000 each.

Deputies said the two went to the sheriff's office and attempted

CHARLES V. McDEW
Local chairman for SNCC

the literature and pictures delivered to Diamond.

SNCC CHAIRMAN Charles McDew and SNCC Field Secretary Robert Zellner were arrested on Saturday, February 17, as they were trying to leave the East Baton Rouge Parrish Jail after visiting Dion Diamond, a SNCC Field Secretary who has been in the jail since February 1.

McDew and Zellner asked the jailer if they could bring some fruit and books to Diamond. The jailer told them that they could, but when they returned to the jail with their purchases they were arrested by East Baton Rouge District Attorney S. Pitcher. When McDew called the Atlanta SNCC office from the jail, he and Zellner had only been charged with "vagrancy," but when a Baton Rouge Lawyer checked the jail, he found that they had also been charged with "criminal anarchy", or attempting "to advocate, teach, and practice the overthrow of the government by unlawful means." Their bail was set at $7000 apiece.

Meanwhile, Diamond's bail was raised to $12000. He had been charged with vagrancy, tresspassing, and two counts of disturbing the peace when he was first arrested on February 1 when he stepped from a taxi on to the campus of Southern University in Baton Rouge, but criminal anarchy charges were added to those against him.

The combined bails for the three SNCC workers now in jail in Baton Rouge total $26000. SNCC has protested the arrests to the United States Justice Department and to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and has asked the Justice Department to provide SNCC with a Federal Marshall for an escort to the jail to visit the three SNCC staff members.

SNCC needs funds now more than ever. Money for bail must be raised if SNCC is to continue to work in hard core areas of the South.

SNCC also needs your help in urging the U. S. Justice Department to act in Baton Rouge andiin other areas of the South where SNCC workers are daily intimidated and brutalized by local law enforcement officials.

SNCC needs you to help support its programs in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and other hard core states. SNCC staff members live on subsistence pay while they work toward making the American dream a reality.

SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO: ⇨ The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
197½ Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia - Telephone 688-0331

Cr. ref

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

TAX
Welfare
MJ-file

January 24, 1963

RECEIVED
JAN 28 1963

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Siceloff:

After your letter of January 10 arrived, I polled my Directors by mail as to their vote for a grant of $2,000 toward the costs of a conference concerning Federal programs for rural areas and the extent of their availability to Negroes in the South. I pointed out that a member of the staff of the Southern Regional Council would write a comprehensive report of the conference which would be distributed by the Southern Regional Council throughout the South, so that the results of the conference would not be merely local in nature.

With this assurance that the results of the conference have the possibility of far-reaching effect, the majority of the members of the Board of Directors voted affirmatively.

I am pleased to enclose the foundation's check for $2,000. We shall be glad to have an accounting of the funds after the conference, and a copy of the report when it is published.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

VE

cc: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

April 30, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Only to you would we say that VAE might be here. He may just have walked in when you call.

Cordially,

Winifred G. Meskus

Winifred G. Meskus

April 25, 1963

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

I am going to be in your town May 6-8. I seem to recall that you will be back by that time. I would love to have a chance for another leisurely and rambling talk with you, if a man just back from abroad would have the time. May I call you when I get in?

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

May 16, 1963

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

I got your letter of May 9, and on top of it a card from Wilton. The idea of the connection at Emory for Bob Coles apparently strikes a responsive cord with Wilton.

I do think this is worth digging into, and I am grateful to you for taking it up with Wilton. I have to say, more or less to keep the record straight, that I altogether do not know how Bob himself would react to the idea. As you and I both recognized two years ago, this is a pretty unique guy who doesn't take very well to bridles which other people don't even feel. You and I both followed hunches two years ago; I believe our hunches were beautifully right, and I hope you do too. At any rate, we have allowed Bob virtually complete freedom, and he has shown that working alone, in his own fairly unorthodox ways, he can produce.

The point of all this is that I think we have to face the question of whether any University would give him the kind of independence which we do, and secondly, whether he can work with anything much less.

I think a lot of us will agree that the field in which Bob is working is an important one, and that no one else is doing anything similar. When you add to that the fact that he is producing, I think there is great value in his continuing, and I like his idea of expanding his field of interest to include children of migratory laborers. So I hope something can be done.

Bob told me that Viola Bernard spoke from the floor in St. Louis in commendation of his paper. In fact, she defended him from someone else's criticism. This, I would hope, means that the lady would remember Bob, and be favorably disposed toward him. If you have any suggestion as to how I could make use of this fact, I would be grateful to have it.

It was awfully good seeing you and having a chance to enjoy Mrs. Meskus's ministrations when the shadows got in the right place.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Wilton Dillon

13 May, 1963

Dear Les,

In the wake of Birmingham, I suppose Atlanta suffers the sin of pride in contrast. This is mainly to let you know that, in response to the copy of the letter Vernon sent to you May 9, I have already written to Dr. Bernard Holland to raise the question of whether Dr. Coles could be absorbed into the Emory program for the next year. I think there is no research program as such, but Coles' work seems sufficiently avant guard that at least it should interest the ingenious Dr. Holland. Best to my ol' Georgetown buddy, P. Anthony.

Regards, Wilton

Dillon, Ripon Lodge
Rippon, W. Va.

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

May 9, 1963

Dear Leslie,

The more I've thought about the possibility of Emory for Bob Coles, the more sense it seems to make. The program in the Medical School which is financing Wilton Dillon's operation may well have funds that would be applicable to cover Coles as well.

Wilton can be reached for the next month or so at the following address:

c/o Mrs. H. Byron Harris
Ripon Lodge
Rippon, West Virginia

If you want to call him, the number is Charles Town, West Virginia, 9F022.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

P.S. Would you please send me six more copies of your Annual Report.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

Rec'd 6/25/63

June 24, 1963

Dear Leslie,

What happened to Bob Coles? I hope some rich aunt died and left him the money but if not?

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Lwl ✓ fyi

July 2, 1963

Miss Brooke G. Harris
Secretary to Mr. Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Miss Harris:

As requested in your letter of June 28, I am sending to you under separate cover seven copies of the following:

1. "Separate But Equal Lives," New South, September 1962;

2. "Southern Children Under Desegregation," by Bob Coles.

If I can be of any further assistance to you, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE, *Executive Director*

June 28, 1963

Mrs. Mildred Johnson
Secretary to Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

With reference to Mr. Dunbar's June 26th letter to Mr. Eagle, would you be kind enough to send us seven copies each, of items 1 and 3 on page 2 of that letter. When item 4 is released, we'll need eight copies, please.

Sincerely,

Brooke G. Harris

Brooke G. Harris
Secretary to Mr. Eagle

RESERVATION - July 22, 23, 24

Dinkler Plaza - JA 4-2461

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

July 10, 1963

Dear Leslie,

I realize you are on vacation, but while it is on my mind I thought I would let you know that I expect to come down to Atlanta in the early evening of July 22.

Among other things, I would like to at least check in with the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, as described in the attached letter. Would you by any chance be involved?

Other than that, I would like to audit the Southern Student Leadership Institute and have a chance to spend some time with you.

Best regards,

Vernon

July 22-24

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attd
9/51

7/15/63

SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS
SUITE 592 · 795 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

June 28, 1963

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

I believe you are already aware of the fact that the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools and members of the Danforth Foundation staff have been discussing for several months a rather extensive project which would deal with the future of education for Negro youth. In order that we may discuss this matter more fully, a meeting has been planned to be held in Atlanta on July 23 and 24. We are planning to hold our first session at 9:00 a.m. at the Hilton Inn directly across from the Atlanta Airport and will plan to adjourn just prior to lunch on Wednesday, July 24.

We feel that this is a very important meeting and may prove to be a milestone in the development of future plans for the educational programs for Negroes. It gives me great pleasure to extend this invitation to you, particularly since this is my first formal action as the new Executive Director of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. It is our hope that you can be with us.

Please let me know as soon as possible whether or not you can attend and if there is anything that we might do to assist you in making your plans for the meeting. The Hilton Inn has been asked to hold rooms for conference participants. Since we do not know the times of arrival and other travel information, it would probably be best if you would make your reservation directly with the Hilton Inn. You should address your request to The Hilton Inn, 1031 Virginia Avenue, Atlanta 20, Georgia.

Very sincerely yours,

Frank G. Dickey

Frank G. Dickey
Executive Director

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

D

July 12, 1963

Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to Mr. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

Thank you for sending me a copy of Professor Erikson's letter with respect to Bob Coles.

Sincerely,

Vernon Eagle

Lwl - fyi

June 27, 1963

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

Enclosed are two (2) letters in support of Dr. Robert Coles. Before Mr. Dunbar left on vacation, he asked me to see that copies got to you to be used as supplements to the proposal which was mailed you on yesterday.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures - 2.

Ltr. from Ed. Ladd + Chas. Perkins both of Emory Univ.

Re-ref - B.C.

June 26, 1963

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

This is a proposal to the New World Foundation for support of the Council's Research in Pupil Adjustment project.

On September 5, 1961 the New World Foundation granted to us $7,500 for one-year support of the Project. The Project was continued for a second (September 1, 1962 - August 31, 1963) with the aid of a grant of $10,625 from the General Education Board; this was a terminal grant.

The Project has made possible the psychiatric research of Dr. M. Robert Coles. You have Dr. Coles's vitae and references on file, and we do not, therefore, enclose them.

In our opinion, Dr. Coles has been remarkably successful in achieving the objectives of the Project. During 1961-1962 he engaged in regular, weekly conversations with all the Negro children involved in Atlanta school desegregation, and regular, monthly conversations with all the similarly placed Negro children of New Orleans. In both Atlanta and New Orleans he saw, on a regular basis, an equivalent number of white children, and in both cities he saw regularly some of the families of the white and Negro children. During 1962-1963 he has continued his conversations with

with these persons, and with a group of the newly desegregating children in both cities. You will recall that desegregation in Atlanta is from the top down, and in New Orleans it is from the bottom up. This fact means that Dr. Coles has been able to study the effects both on adolescents and on quite young children. This has permitted him, we think, to discover much more than has so far been known about what desegregation means to the emotional and educational development of the persons most directly engaged, and this is, of course, the purpose of the Project.

Since 1954 one of the decisive chapters of American history has unfolded around the schoolhouses of the South. Unfortunately, the interplay of passion and politics and law has absorbed not only the attention but the concern of the public. There has been little comprehension of, indeed little sensitivity to, the needs and experience of the children involved in this epic controversy. In fact, though the questions are large and hard, there has been as yet little regard for the distinctly educational issues of desegregation.

As a step in the re-directing of interest and thought toward the children, and their educational and emotional problems, we have had in progress this study of the reactions of Negro and white children to the experience of desegregation. The objective is to come to know these youth, and to learn in diagnostic depth what they undergo and how they react. This is not a sociological study, but a study of personal involvement, change, and growth.

Dr. Coles is preparing a book for which Atlantic Little-Brown has an option. He has already, however, completed and published the following writings:

1. "Separate But Equal Lives," New South, September 1962;

2. "In the South These Children Prophesy," Atlantic Monthly, May 1963;

3. "Southern Children Under Desegregation," paper presented to the American Psychiatric Association, May 6, 1963;

4. The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study, a pamphlet now at the press, to be published jointly by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League.

A One copy each of the first and third items are enclosed; we shall be glad to forward additional copies on request, and the fourth item you will receive as soon as released.

During the course of his work, Dr. Coles has also visited every southern state, as a means of learning insights, through discussions with children in desegregated schools, and discussions with other residents, particularly beleaguered liberals, which facilite his interpreting the Atlanta and New Orleans experiences. He has taught, without compensation, a class in the Division of Teacher Education of Emory University, primarily as a means of gaining understanding of the teachers and would-be teachers who are facing or will face desegregation problems. He has also held extensive conversations with workers of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in order better to understand the motivations of Negro youth; some of the results of these conversations have been published as chapter 10 in Youth: Change and Challenge, edited by Erik Erikson. For the last year, he has held regular conversations with a few extreme segregationists in New Orleans, and will publish in due time regarding them.

What we hope to learn through the Project is a better comprehension of how people react to community tensions. The case of the school children is one aspect of this problem. It is our hope that the Project can be continued for two more years, and that during that time Dr. Coles, while continuing relationships with the youth with whom he has been working these past two years, and while completing certain writings, may also take up a second area of problems. Specifically, we have planned with Dr. Coles that he should study, using much the same methods as he has in Atlanta and New Orleans, the children of migratory workers. To this end, he has already visited twice the great migrant camp at Belle Glade, Florida, and has established working relations with the Public Health Service. He would like to accompany some migrant families up the seaboard and back this next year, and repeat the trip a second year. (To do so will moderately increase Project travel costs.)

I may say that the Council is particularly interested in this, because of a growing awareness that we have been as guilty as the rest of American society in ignoring the migrants.

For support of the Project during the two years September 1, 1963 - August 31, 1965, $30,000 will be required as per the attached budget. This amount will make possible a deservedly larger fee for Dr. Coles as well as additional travel. The expenses of the Project through May 31, 1963 have been $21,968.62. As you will note, this amount exceeds the special grants to the Project, and indicates an average monthly expenditure of $998.00. We have felt justified in drawing from our general research budget to supplement the special grants, because of our very high regard for the value of this study; the Southern Regional Council has, therefore, not only not taken in this case a customary overhead allowance for the Project, but has actually added to it. We hopefully request the New World Foundation to renew its support of the Project, as of September 1, 1963 in whatever amount it can provide, and for whatever period.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

ONE-YEAR
BUDGET

1963 - 1964

Fee	$10,000.00
Travel	3,000.00
Miscellaneous	50.00
SRC Overhead @ 15%	1,950.00
Total:	$15,000.00

6/26/63

Rec'd 6/27/63

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA 22, GEORGIA

File

Department of Psychology
June 25, 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Les:

I hope the enclosed letter regarding Bob Coles will be helpful. If you find the emphasis somehow inappropriate I would be glad to re-write a letter saying essentially the same thing or some of the same things.

Cordially,

Charlie

Charles C. Perkins Jr., Chairman
Department of Psychology

Copy of letter to Mr. Eagle attached 6/27/63

CCP/gs

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA 22, GEORGIA

Department of Psychology
June 25, 1963

To whom it may concern:

I know of Dr. Robert Coles' work in studying the problems of transfer children in the Atlanta schools and elsewhere. I have read the paper he read before the American Psychiatric Association this spring and some of his other writings. In my opinion Dr. Coles has a superb underatanding of the problems and emotional factors involved in race relations generally, and the problem of desegregation in the schools specifically. He has both the objectivity of a scientist and the personal skills required for work in a touchy area of this sort. In addition I feel that he has rare ability to communicate his findings to technical and non-technical audiences. Thus he plays three important roles at the same time; namely a researcher who obtains new objective information, an educator who disseminates important information to many others, and a friend of persons who find themselves in a difficult situation and in need of encouragement and clarification of their own problems. I believe the sort of work Dr. Coles has done is of great importance and that he is uniquely equipped for this task.

Sincerely yours,

Charles C. Perkins Jr.

Charles C. Perkins Jr., Chairman
Department of Psychology

CCP/gs

les

If this isn't exactly right, let me know, and I'll do it over.

EA

Copy to the of Eagle 6/27

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA 22, GEORGIA

Division of Teacher Education

June 17, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is in response to your request for a comment about Dr. Robert Coles.

As you know, Dr. Coles has served as a part-time visiting lecturer on the faculty of this Division during the academic years 1961-62 and 1962-63. His duties have consisted in conducting a seminar group of students preparing for teaching who are studying the mental hygiene aspects of classroom practices and procedures, as well as lecturing occasionally on his findings in regard to integration in various southern cities. We have all, I feel safe in saying, been honored that Dr. Coles has been willing to work with us and have been enriched by the insights he has brought to us. I personally have been impressed by his knowledgeability in the field and the incisiveness of his observations and thinking about the emotional problems and effects of desegregation. Some of the teachers in previously all-white schools which have received Negro students have spoken to me most enthusiastically about the help he has given them in regard to the over-all problem of successful integration.

In view of the astonishing dearth of careful and thoughtful research work in this whole field of desegregation, it is my impression that Dr. Coles has played a unique and very important role, and I look forward to the eventual publication of his full results. Anything which you or anyone else can do to make it possible for Dr. Coles to continue his work for another year would, I am confident, be very much in the interest both of the public and of the world of scholarship.

Yours sincerely,

Edward T. Ladd

Edward T. Ladd
Director

ETL:hs

Lind fyi

July 10, 1963

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eggle:

I'm enclosing a letter which we have just received from Professor Erik Erikson endorsing the work of Bob Coles. This, too, is a supplement to the proposal which we have submitted to your office re Bob's work with the Council.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

C O P Y C O P Y

ERIK H. ERIKSON 272 WIDENER HARVARD UNIVERSITY CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

JULY 1ST

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

I regret very much that your letter took its time in catching up with my travels. I have returned here only a few days ago.

Yes, I am acquainted with Dr. Coles and with his work. At this stage of the game individuals such as Dr. Coles who let themselves be guided by original feeling as well as by professional knowledge, are indispensible. In particular, Dr. Coles' insight into children and young people can clarify and substantiate the irreversible consequences of discrimination and of strife, while pointing to the available avenues of hope. At the same time, his records of contemporary events are invaluable.

Please give my very best to Mr. Dabbs.

With all good wishes,

/s/ ERIK H. ERIKSON
Professor of Human Development
and Lecturer on Psychiatry.

ERIK H. ERIKSON 272 WIDENER HARVARD UNIVERSITY CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

Cotuit, July 1st

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

I regret very much that your letter took its time in catching up with my travels. I have returned here only a few days ago.

Yes, I am acquainted with Dr. Coles and with his work. At this stage of the game individuals such as Dr Coles who let themselves be guided by original feelings as well as by professional knowledge, are indispensible. In particular, Dr. Coles' insight into children and young people can ~~make~~ clarify and substantiate the irreversible consequences of discrimination and of strife, while pointing to the available avenues of hope. At the same time, his records of contemporary events are invaluable.

Please give my very best to Mr. Dabbs.

With all good wishes,

Erik H Erikson

Professor of Human Development and Lecturer on Psychiatry.

August 12, 1963

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation, Inc.
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

On behalf of the Council, I acknowledge with sincerest gratitude your letter of July 22, 1963 and the accompanying check for $25,000, representing the final payment of the New World Foundation's current grant in support of the educational program of the Council. Our official receipt is enclosed.

The association we have had during the years with New World has been, we feel, something considerably more than the usual one between grantor and grantee. We would like, therefore, to express again our appreciation for your counsel, your encouragement, and your constant commitment to the same ends which we are pursuing.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

July 22, 1963

Dear Leslie,

You will recall our letter of March 2, 1962 in which I informed you that the Board of Directors of The New World Foundation had authorized a grant in the amount of $25,000 a year for the calendar years 1962 and 1963, for general support of the Educational Program of the Southern Regional Council.

It now gives me a great deal of pleasure to enclose our check in the amount of $25,000 which represents the final payment of this grant.

We wish you every success.

Sincerely,

Vernon

#25,000.00 CK 7/23/63 RHA

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

August 12, 1963

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Dan Pollitt wrote the enclosed letter, at my request, regarding his experience at the MILE Institute. As you may know, Dan teaches law at the University of North Carolina; he practices in Washington only during the summers.

I also asked Phil Weightman for a letter. Will send on when it arrives.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure: copy of ltr. to Lwd from Daniel Pollitt of July 31, 1963

August 14, 1963

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Your query about Will's proposal is one which perhaps we could have some dialogue about. This is to start.

I am personally and every other way committed to the success of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen under Will's new direction, and am involved in the hopes for it. I spent a lot of time last Spring working to help get this underway, and I endorsed the Fund's request to Field as strongly as I could. I had a lot of talk with Harold also, as he was working on the Taconic end.

I mention all this just by way of indicating to you how fully I support the program.

On the other hand, Vernon, I have the sneaking idea that the program is going to succeed better if it has some degree, at least, of denominational support and commitment. I had been hoping, therefore, that Will could finish out his budget, on top of the Field and Taconic money, with contributions from denominations and other church-connected bodies Will is working hard to this end, and is, I believe, mildly optimistic. While I think that getting this kind of church-tainted

money is a lesser priority than that the program be fully funded, getting it would be highly worthwhile. Perhaps, if you can seriously consider Will's proposal, you might want to discuss with him what success he is having with the denominations.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE, *Executive Director*

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1963

August 9, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Mr. Eagle has asked for your comments on the attached proposal from The Reverend Will Campbell.

Sincerely,

Brooke

Secretary to Mr. Eagle

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

john w. thomas
chairman
j. oscar lee
executive director

Southern Project
P.O. Box 1083
July 29, 1963

Mr. Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Vernon:

The enclosed is, I think, self-explanatory. We have received a three year grant of $15,000 per year from the Field Foundation and at least a one year grant of $12,500 from the Taconic Foundation. This is sufficient to begin the operation on September 1 but not enough to meet the budget.

This is to request a grant from the New World Foundation of $5,000 per year for three consecutive years. We are asking some of the denominations for the remaining funds so that they may be involved at more than the interest level.

The Reverend Charles Jones, Community Church, Chapel Hill, North Carolina is President of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen. He is presently in England and asked that I send this on to you. The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen is tax exempt and incorporated in North Carolina.

I will be glad to answer any questions you have regarding this proposal. Let me know when you want to make another visit to the alleged state of Mississippi.

Cordially yours,

Will Campbell

Will D. Campbell
Director Southern Office

WDC/blg

Enclosure

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, assoc. executive director
alfred s. kramer, staff consultant • elbert jean, field director, southern project
a unit of the division of christian life and work

A PROPOSAL

FOR THE FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN
(COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN)

July 29, 1963

THE NEED

Since the Supreme Court Decisions outlawing segregation in transportation and public schools, Negroes in Southern U.S.A. have become increasingly aware of and insistent on having their rights. The tempo of protest and the number of people involved has increased until now massive, well organized and well financed movements have come into existence and are doing a masterful and effective job of channeling the seething caldron of unrest which has smoldered under the smooth scar of polite Southern race relations into positive and effective action. The few people cautiously and timidly protesting in a few cities has grown to thousands of people openly, courageously, persistently demonstrating, picketing, boycotting in most large cities and many small towns. The Negroes of the South are now engaged in a revolution.

Like any revolution, this one has in it two elements--those in revolt and those being revolted against. In relation to the over-all Southern population, the number in active participation is small. Those who must live in the new life emerging from the struggle between the revolutionists and the resistors are, because they are seemingly uninvolved, being ignored. There is a growing need for those "caught in the middle" to be helped to understand the meaning of this revolution and accept its consequences with some grace. They are being told its meaning in terms of the Constitution and the Supreme Court, law and order, but this is difficult for them both to understand and accept.

The South is a land of Bibles, revival meetings, biblical literature, and the language it is most accustomed to is a religious one. While some churches are more and more placing the racial problem on a "moral" and "religious" footing, for the most part these are the more sophisticated and highly educated groups and they do not represent the religion of the masses, --rural Southern, fundamentalist, popular and pietistic which prevails in the city as well as town and country. While we have no desire to perpetuate an irrelevant religious piosity, we believe people immersed in it can be faced with the moral dimensions and imperatives of the situation in the language with which they are most familiar and by which they are most easily moved.

For example, Birmingham has recently had massive effective demonstrations by Negroes, There was some constructive action by religionists but the general mass of white people in Birmingham were not challenged with the religious dimensions of the situation. What would have happened if the

city had been blanketed with a "sermon" by way of radio or printed tract, --a "sermon" carefully couched in the religious language and imagery of the people which dealt radically with their problem? This we would have done.

There seems little doubt now that institutionalized pulpits of "the religion of the people" cannot by their very nature do what must be done. Any hope of influencing this segment of society lies in the by-passing of the institution and going directly to the people. This is not a suggestion for a moderate ministry to the moderates. Nor is it an effort to get harmony in a community in the usual sense of getting the parties in conflict to "communicate" with one another or say a prayer together in the same room. It is an effort to go directly to the mass uninvolved and ignored Southern whites with a radical moral appeal in language and thought-forms with which they are familiar and which motivate them.

THE PROPOSAL

The FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN has a history of several decades of involving individual Christians in various social crises which have developed during that period.

The FELLOWSHIP, after several months of exploration of the expressed needs of Christians living in the South who are concerned with life in the community, has found that there is not a present need for a massive membership drive to enlist people to join still another organization. We have found instead that there is widespread concern that the existing religious institutions find self-renewal and there is the feeling that the current problem of race offers the best opportunity in many years for the Church to discover its nature, its mission and its message.

In order to encourage this process, the FELLOWSHIP is amending its by-laws and forming THE COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN. This will be a group of no less than 30 and no more than 100 men and women, Negro and white about the South who see in the tragedy of race an opportunity for renewal within the Church and a chance to proclaim the Christian Gospel in a specific situation and at the local level.

The "Members" of the COMMITTEE will serve as a sort of extended staff in that they will be working in their own states and communities in areas of tension, relating the Christian message to the situation, gathering and reporting various sorts of information to the central office. Such information as which groups are active in a specific situation, what the issues are, what forces are working for resolving of the problems, what type services other organizations might be able to render, what kinds of relief service is needed and by whom it is being administered will be available in the central office on each crisis situation as rapidly as it develops and a "MEMBER" can get to the scene. This will be shared with denominational groups and civil rights organizations as it is requested and in cases where they do not have available staff of their own.

THE COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN has elected as PREACHER AT LARGE The Reverend Will D. Campbell. He will be the official Executive Secretary. The central office will be in Nashville, Tennessee. Mr. Campbell will, working through and from his office, continue to carry on the work he has done in the past--speaking, visiting communities where tense or violent situations exist, counseling with ministers, convening groups to help work in such situations to bring peace with justice to a community by exploring the relevance of the Christian message to that situation, writing, serving as a resource to denominational and church related groups, etc.

The COMMITTEE intends to produce and make available sermons, and other type programs for radio use. Some of the sermons and addresses will be made by Mr. Campbell and other "members" and an effort will also be made to enlist well-known and respected preachers, teachers, Christian laymen, etc. to do some of them. Working through the numerous ministerial alliances which have free time given to their association for daily devotionals by radio stations, the COMMITTEE hopes to use this medium in county seat towns throughout the deep south where the relevance of the Gospel to the racial crisis is seldom heard discussed. Such programs will be couched in the language of "the religion of the people" using words with which they are familiar to communicate theological relevance to what they generally consider none of the business of the church.

A "tract ministry" to the laity in these areas is also planned, using whatever means of distribution we can devise--stuffing mail boxes along the RFD, street distribution, boxholder mailings, any means which does not depend upon the usual channels for distribution.

A mailing list of several thousand clergymen and laymen known to be concerned will be maintained and pertinent materials having to do with race and church renewal will be sent them. The possibility of a quarterly journal is presently under consideration.

THE COMMITTEE, by being a group concerned primarily with Christian morality and not civil rights, per se, will be available and will accept the role of "third party" or mediator in critical and violent situations. The PREACHER AT LARGE has had opportunities to play this role in the past, in one situation as advisor to a city Mayor for a six week period. He will be encouraged to continue to serve in this manner.

THE COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN desires to be a prophetic voice in the wilderness of social revolution. It will do so, without apology, in the name of God and with the Christian message of God in Christ reconciling the world to himself and all men to one another as its authority. It desires to be an instrument in the process of the renewal of the Church and of Christianizing the "religion of the people." The "members" are not peripheral to the institutional church, nor do they wish to compete with existing denominational programs. In short, they are an experiment and endeavor in ecumenical Christianity in an unstructured and unorganizational manner and at the level of the community rather than the institution.

B U D G E T

Salaries and Related Cost	$15,400.00
Office Rent	1,600.00
Telephone and Telegraph	2,000.00
Postal and Freight	1,500.00
Travel (Executive and Administrative Assistant)	6,000.00
Travel and Expenses (Committee Members in their areas)	4,500.00
Office Supplies	1,000.00
Printing and Distribution	2,500.00
Office Furniture and Equipment (One year only)	1,600.00
Radio Productions	1,000.00
Contingencies	800.00
TOTAL	$37,900.00

August 19, 1963

Miss Brooke Harris
Secretary to Mr. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear ~~Miss Harris~~ Brooke:

Thank you for forwarding to me the letter from the Houston Council. I am glad to know that Mr. Eagle thinks this is supportable under the Contingency Fund, and we shall keep that in mind. At the present, we prefer not to help them in this way. We probably shall grant the Houston Council approximately the same for next year as we did for this year from our funds for grants-in-aid to the state councils. Unless they get into a bad jam or come up with some specially bright ideas, we think this should be all that they get through us.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

LWD:

Have promised Houston Council I would recommend continued aid for 1964 at the present level of $2,600, with no assurance of support after 1964. Think this should remain as our total commitment with the possible exception that if they get into serious trouble later this year or next we might consider extra help from such source as contingency funds.

PA

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE, *Executive Director*

TA advice please

August 9, 1963

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

With reference to the attached request from The Houston Council on Human Relations, Mr. Eagle says this is not one we can support but to send a copy to you "to see if he thinks it warrants support from contingency funds."

Mr. Eagle has asked for almost all the copies of Dr. Coles' pamphlet. At your convenience, would you send us ten more copies?

Sending today
Mary

Sincerely,

Brooke

Secretary to Mr. Eagle

THE HOUSTON COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

2605 FANNIN STREET
HOUSTON 4, TEXAS
JACKSON 4-5664

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Executive Secretary
*BENJAMIN GOSSETT

August 1, 1963

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Air-Mail

Dear Mr. Eagle:

The Houston Council on Human Relations is a six year old volunteer educational organization which is improving a climate of good will between minority and majority groups in Houston. For the past two years, Mrs. George (Ethel) Dumbauld has served as the Executive Secretary and the only staff person.

Due to the increase in tension in our city the Council found it necessary to hire Mr. Charles Kelly as Executive Director. This has been done knowing the financial support will come from our broad community support. However, the year 1963-64 is crucial and we must underwrite the salary of our new Director as well as the previous budget.

We are requesting, therefore, a grant of $1,000.00 from the New World Foundation for the year October 1963 through September 1964. Enclosed is information about the Council and a list of our Board of Directors. We can furnish any other information you may need. *

Thank you in advance for considering our request.

Most sincerely,

GE Dodd

George E. Dodd, M.D.
Acting President

GED:ecd
Enclosures

* Only enclosure was reprint of parts of newspaper clippings

August 21, 1963

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

We are sending under separate cover twenty-five (25) copies of Coles.

Our initial distribution included our press list; a large group of southern school superintendents; about 100 human relations, etc., agencies; SRC members; state human relations council offices; our so-called "research" and "all-purpose" lists (about 400 individual names compiled over the years); a number (about 50) education agencies; contributors and potential contributors; and a tailor-made list of Congressmen and administration officials. If you have any other suggestions for distribution, please let me know.

ADL sent it to the press; there was probably some duplication here, but not so much: our press list includes the national organizations and, above that, mostly southern papers.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

August 26, 1963

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

When you were here, you asked -- in a burst of reckless bravery, no doubt -- that I give you a picture of SRC's finances. Here it is.

(1) Current situation

A copy of the mid-year audit is enclosed. I don't recommend it for your study, and I think all the germane matters about it will be brought out in what I say below. But I send it for your files. I am also enclosing a copy of this year's budget, so you won't have to get yours out of the file.

We are all right on projects, except Bob Coles. The Southern Leadership Project (RBF) has a bit more money than it can intelligently spend between now and May 31, 1964, when it ends, but Dave has concurred in our request that we be permitted to carry the Project beyond then, until the money runs out.

Disbursements for the first six months 1963 on general operations ran about $7,000 under the budgeted rate. This may not be enough, however; for several bothersome reasons, which I needn't go into, expenses for the second half year are larger. I hope to keep with the budgeted figure of $178,481.

Income for 1963 in hand or certain is now $156,249. (This includes RBF and VEP overhead, not transferred as of the mid-year audit.) Pretty certain is another $4,700. This makes a total of $160,949 against a budget of $178,481, or a shortage of about $17,500.

I am not counting any money that isn't certain or almost certain. Luck alone, if nothing else, should bring in a thousand or a little more in individual or labor union contributions. Our tough problem is, therefore, about $15,000. Last year Taconic came to our rescue in a similar situation, but for special reasons that do not now exist. This year I am first trying all the foundations and labor unions which in the past decade have given to SRC, but are not now doing so.

If you were to analyze the mid-year audit more carefully than you should, you would find that cash assets (not counting our reserve fund at the Trust Company of Georgia) exceed cash liabilities by approximately $20,000. About $7,000 of this represents the savings in expenditures during the first six months, and therefore doesn't count. But we do have some $12-13000 breathing-room money. It would be very hard, almost impossible, to operate without this, considering the irregular schedule on which grants are paid: Taconic, for example, will not pay this year until very late.

To sum up, we have needed for the last couple of years one more largish grant, of $15-20000, to take off the pressure of scrounging for these last dollars; or else a few assured smaller grants.

(2) Longer-run situation

Our level of expenditures for general operations has been pretty constant for the past several years. This means that program has not been expanded. The only direction in which I would favor enlarging is -- and this we urgently need -- the addition of a second field person, to assist Paul Anthony. This would cost, with travel, $12-15000.

We, of course, as you know better than I, cannot expect our chief contributors to continue indefinitely.

In particular, the Rockefeller Foundation does not, I am fearfully sure, plan to continue after 1965; that's $50,000-a-year.

RBF is a special case. The Southern Leadership Project consists of program actions that we ought to do because we are the Southern Regional Council. When this Project ends, it will not be merely the cessation of a special program, as will be the case, for example, with VEP; it will be a curtailment of our main-line activities. I have not yet talked with Dave about the chances of renewal, or, which would be better from our standpoint, an equal grant for general operations. We are in the fifth year of RBF grant-making, and I don't know how the feeling there will be about continuation. The amount has been $40,000-a-year.

On the other side of the coin, SRC has a responsibility for continually re-examining itself and its usefulness. I honestly believe that we are now in our most useful period. But what will be our role two years from now? Five years? Etc.? We have been engaged all summer in a self-evaluation of our programs, and a look-ahead at what we should be doing the next two years. The study appears to me pretty good, though it contains no earth-shattering recommendations. It should be processed far enough by late September to send you a copy, if you would like to see it; it will not be official, however, until presented to the Annual Meeting in late November. I repeat that this will not be a long range forecast: it looks ahead only to the next couple years.

All the best,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

October 9, 1963

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Could there have been a sweeter phone call than yours of Monday? You will be hearing from me before too long.

In the meantime, would you or Frank mind looking over the enclosed letters? Martha is a well established free lance photographer. She is a Tennessean by rearing, and by some chicanery I have never been able to understand, she does have a South Carolina tag on her car. Would you have any thoughts that I might pass on to her?

On that other thing we talked about over the telephone. There is no question as to where my loyalties and affections lie. I suppose there is a matter of a specific kind of relationship which the man concerned and I have had for a long time, which has been a tremendously satisfying one for me, but nevertheless, one which I was not sure, and am not sure, permits me to go into some matters.

Moreover, as I said to you, I think there is probably nothing I could say to him which he doesn't already have an insight for. Ugh!

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

October 11, 1963

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

This is to put before the Foundation a request for renewal of its support to the educational program of the Southern Regional Council.

At its meeting of February 23, 1962 the Board of Directors of the New World Foundation granted us $25,000 for each of the years 1962 and 1963. This aid has been indispensable to us, as was the Foundation's assistance of earlier years.

We have endeavored to keep you regularly informed regarding our activities. These were last summarized in our annual report for 1962. Perhaps at this time we could best suggest the scope of our programs by indicating briefly some highlights of 1963, as well as some of our work in progress and planned.

Some Activities of 1963

1. Since the first of the year we have published the following: Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey; The City Government and Minority Groups (with the Potomac Institute under sponsorship of The International City Managers' Association); The Civil Rights Crisis: A Synopsis of Recent Developments (issued in three parts:

April 1963 - June 24, 1963, June 24 - July 24, 1963, July 24 - August 28, 1963); J. Kenneth Morland, Southern Schools: Token Desegregation and Beyond; Robert Coles, The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study; Vivian W. Henderson, The Economic Status of Negroes: in the Nation and in the South. In addition 8 short Leadership Reports have been issued and New South published monthly. Copies of each have been sent to you.

2. Our special report, Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey illustrated the effect which timing and careful topic selection can have. Although not given a press release, this report was read in the highest circles of the national administration, was vigorously and promptly acted on by the government, produced a dialogue -- and some controversy -- between us and the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity which still continues, and, most important, seems clearly to have influenced policy emphases. Its findings have recently been confirmed and re-stated by a Charles Silberman article in Fortune, September, 1963. The responsiveness of the federal government to SRC studies is suggested also by the experience of another report, issued in December 1962: A Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina. During 1963 this report was reviewed by and discussed with officials of the Department of Agriculture and was debated in Congress. Within recent weeks, for the first time, one Negro county committeeman has been appointed by the Farmers Home Administration in at least nine South Carolina counties. To anyone familiar with the close knit rulership of Black Belt counties, this is an important event.

3. Our largest single program during 1963 was the Voter Education Project. Although separately financed, it has involved all of our resources. SRC's unique fitness to serve as an honest broker among the civil rights agencies and local action groups is being daily tested and, we hope, strengthened.

4. During the spring and summer of 1963 we worked intensively with citizens' groups in several southern cities facing school desegregation for the first time, especially in Mobile and Huntsville (Ala.), and, to a lesser degree, in Jacksonville (Fla.).

5. SRC is not only a series of programs, but is an institution providing services not elsewhere available. The institutional nature of the Council is manifested in numerous ways, of which the following three are examples. There is hardly a day when news reporters are not in our office, using our materials or discussing their stories. Government agencies and local bi-racial committees turn to us constantly for information. So far in 1963, we have been the local sponsor for 173 foreign visitors, sent by Washington agencies. This does not include foreign newspapermen, or visitors received here but sponsored by other Atlanta-based organizations.

The above is the merest sketch of activities during 1963. Some things in progress include a ten-year political history of the school desegregation decision, to be published as a book by a commercial publisher; an analysis and interpretation of the direct action movement since February 1960; and a concerted effort to enlarge the membership of the state Councils on Human Relations. During most of 1963 we have also been engaged in a self-study of our programs and of our plans for the next two or three years. This has eventuated in a document which, after yet further revision, will be submitted for approval to the whole Council at its meeting in late November.

Enclosed with this letter are six (6) copies each of our annual report for 1962 and our mid-year audit for 1963. Our budget for 1964 has not yet been drafted. It is contemplated, however, that expenditures for general operations will be about 10% higher than in 1963, and expenditures for special projects (not including the Voter Education Project) somewhat lower; six copies of our 1963 budget are also enclosed.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 18.

October 14, 1963

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Is this (enclosed) the conference you were asking me about when I was in your office? From what I have been able to learn, planning has not yet got very far.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

October 21, 1963

Dear Leslie,

The memo, "One Man One Vote Jobs and Food" was not the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee conference that I was asking about.

What I had in mind was the University-centered/College-centered training programs for the SNCC kids who were involved in voter registration programs. I understand they held several last year but fewer than they had hoped due to lack of funds.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

file
cr. ref.

VJ
PA for info
MJ-file

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

November 1, 1963

The Reverend Will D. Campbell
Executive Director
The Committee of Southern Churchmen
P. O. Box 2316
Nashville 14, Tennessee

Dear Will:

This is an informal note to let you know that the Board of Directors has favorably considered your request for financial support for the work of The Committee of Southern Churchmen under your direction.

They have authorized a grant in the amount of $5,000, renewable for an additional two years if the necessary funds for the operation of your program are not available from other sources. This means in fact that we would like to see the additional funds supplied from the various church organizations, if possible, but most of all we would like to help insure the security of your operations which we feel can make a considerable contribution.

In your last letter of October 11 you indicated that the proposed changes in the charter of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen were to take place shortly. Would you kindly confirm that this has in fact taken place.

As yet, we have not received a copy of the letter from the Internal Revenue Department with respect to the tax exempt status

of The Committee of Southern Churchmen. Would you be kind enough to see to it that I get a copy.

Kindest regards,

Vernon

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

S B ✓
P A ✓
V J ✓
MJ-file

Foundations 1963

November 1, 1963

Dana L. Farnsworth, M.D.
Director
University Health Services
Harvard University
75 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Dana:

The Board of Directors of The New World Foundation has given careful consideration to the request outlined in your letter of September 30 for financial support for the educational research activities of Dr. M. Robert Coles.

The Directors decided that Dr. Coles' work is centrally concerned with our interest in the areas of education and furthering of better race relations and intergroup relations. We are particularly concerned that Dr. Coles is working with the emotional and educational problems of deprived children.

In order to permit Dr. Coles to continue his work, the Board of Directors approved a grant to Harvard University in the amount of $30,000 payable over a two-year period.

If this arrangement is satisfactory to you, would you be kind enough to let me know when and how you would like the funds transmitted.

It is a great pleasure for us to

cooperate with you in support of this exceptionally worthwhile program.

Kindest regards,

cc: M. Robert Coles, M.D.
Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

November 1, 1963

Dear Leslie,

Attached is a copy of a letter from Judith Wragg Chase which is self-explanatory.

Nancy has asked me to look into this. I wonder if you have anybody in Charleston, South Carolina who could give you a reading on the advisability of spending money to keep the Old Slave Mart Museum alive.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MIRIAM BELLANGEE WILSON, FOUNDER
LOUISE WRAGG GRAVES, DIRECTOR
JUDITH WRAGG CHASE, CURATOR

Wilson's rel

NEGRO CRAFTS OF ANTE-BELLUM DAYS
ART GALLERY · GIFT SHOP
TELEPHONE RAYMOND 2 0079

Old Slave Mart Museum

ESTABLISHED 1937
6 CHALMERS STREET
Charleston, South Carolina

30 years ago
need bankers

October 24, 1963

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
N.Y. 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Eagle,

Mrs. Gilbert Harrison has just suggested that I write you and enclose some literature about the small museum that my sister and I are trying to save. She tells me she expects to see you next week and will "fill you in" on some of the details, but thinks it would be useful for you to have a little background on our project first. She also advised me to outline some of our needs and problems.

There seems to be little doubt that most people feel we have a worthwhile project and that eventually we will be able to get financial help from some large Foundation. Our main problem is the immediate one.

We are caught in a vicious circle. Now that we have been declared Tax-Exempt by the Federal Government we should begin an intense fund drive. Our plans for this are all laid and we expect to get help from several sources:

a. The local community; both white and negro citizens.
b. Out-of-state individuals interested in furthering Negro development, racial relations, or in a craft museum.
c. Foundations

However, such a fund drive will take both time and money, neither of which we have to spare at the moment. Hence the circle: To get more money we need time, and to gain time we need money(to pay for assistance). And so it repeats itself.

For three years my sister and I have worked full time (some 60 hours a week apiece) without pay, with some additional volunteer help from other members of our family. However, although we have some fifteen thousand visitors a year, the small admissions charge and the few booklets and contemporary art sold in the Museum Gift Shop are insufficient for our needs. We have had to make up the difference out of our own pockets. WE cannot continue to do this much longer. Unless we receive some financial help promptly we will be unable to continue this project, and all our efforts to date will have been in vain.

We must have promptly a minimum of $500.00 and preferably $5000.00 for these immediate needs:

a. To hire a part time bookkeeper and museum custodian, so as to free us for more promotional work.

b. To pay for the printing of small leaflets, or letters of appeal.
c. To pay for some professional public relations assistance in preparing a proper "formal presentation" to be used in applying for funds from one of the large foundations.

I believe this will give you all the necessary information, but if there are any further details you would like to have supplied, please let me know.

Since we have a rather limited number of the enclosed newspaper clippings, I would appreciate it if they could eventually be returned to us after you are through with them. The article in the "Preservation Progress" you may keep, as well as the mimeograph, of course.

Sincerely,

Judith Wragg Chase

Judith Wragg Chase

P.S. Mrs. Harrison mentioned that she would like to refer to this material when she got to New York, so dont try to hurry in returning the clippings to me, just so I get them back eventually!

New Orleans Jd.

November 13, 1963

Mrs. St. Julien Childs
82 Pitts Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Childs:

You were very helpful to me when I called last week. I hope you will be able to send me a note about Negro interest in the use of the Museum.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

file

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

file

November 19, 1963

Dear Leslie,

Thank you for your spadework on the Old Slave Mart Museum. I'm afraid this is one we will have to pass up.

Dave tells me that they have been in to RBF several times in the past.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

November 14, 1963

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Enclosed is the letter from Charleston about the Old Slave Mart Museum. Mrs. Childs does not quite cover what I asked; i.e., to what extent the Museum now is used by Negro Charlestonians. I think it is reasonable to infer from this that it is not used much now. Her letter, however, makes some interesting points.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

November 7, 1963

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

On behalf of the Council, I acknowledge with deepest gratitude your letter of November 1, 1963, informing us that the New World Foundation has granted us $30,000 for each of the years 1964 and 1965.

I am sure that the officers of the Council would want me to convey a very special word of appreciation to you and your Board of Directors: for your renewed support, for increasing it by 20% without being asked, and, most of all, for your expression of confidence and commendation.

Our relationship with the New World Foundation has long since passed beyond the simple one of grantor and grantee. We hope that you will always look to us whenever we can be of assistance, and that we may continue to come to you for advice and counsel.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

November 7 1963

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation, Inc.
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Words fail me.

The enclosed letter tries to say nicely how nice -- as Maggie Long would say -- we think the New World Foundation is. But your own check, and your personal letter, can only be called the Eagleistic touch.

Thank you also for sending along a copy of your letter to Dr. Farnsworth. This is a very happy resolution.

I thought your letter to Will Campbell was masterful.

It's hard to know what to say about the old Slave Mart Museum; a little bit out of our line. However, I'm told by a Charlestonian lady, who knows everybody and everything that the Museum is a good civic asset, a very pleasant place, and that it obviously doesn't make a profit. The founder, Miss Wilson, is remembered as a "scholar" with a deep interest in, and an expertise in, Negro craftsmanship of pre-Civil War days. I am told that the only current local handicrafts for sale at the Museum seem to be reed baskets, but these are sold elsewhere in Charleston and

vicinity as well. I have inquired about the use made of the Museum by Charleston Negroes, particularly Negro school children, and I'm supposed to be getting a letter about that, and shall forward it to you when I do.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

VERNON AINSWORTH EAGLE

November 1, 1963

Dear Leslie,

If The New World Foundation can increase its contribution by twenty per cent, it behooves me to follow suit. I hereby enclose my check.

More power to your right arm!

Best regards,

Vernon

$30.00 CR
11/4/63
RHA

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

November 1, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

The Board of Directors of The New World Foundation gave careful consideration to your request for renewal of its support to the Education Program of the Southern Regional Council.

The Board has followed the activities of the Council with deep concern and feels that now even more than ever we should continue our support of your program. Accordingly, the Directors authorized a grant of $30,000 for each of the years 1964 and 1965.

It is our opinion that the Southern Regional Council is the most effective organization working for better race relations in the South.

Kindest regards,

Vernon Eagle

PRESERVATION PROGRESS

PRESERVATION SOCIETY OF CHARLESTON, INC., BOX 521, CHARLESTON, S. C.

Vol VIII No. 4 — Eleanor P. Hart, Editor — Anne Thomas, Asst. — November 1963

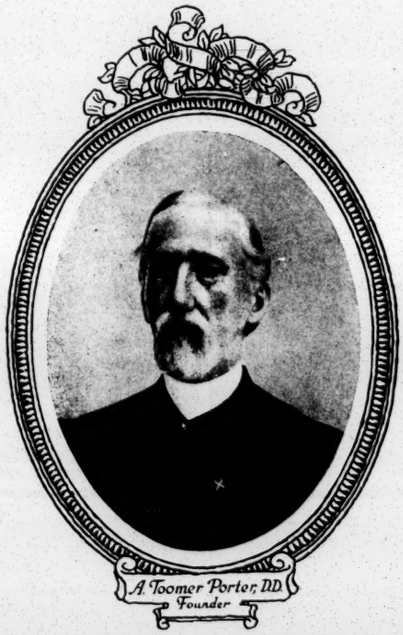
HE HAS DONE A MIGHTY WORK!

DR. PORTER'S MILITARY ACADEMY

By JUNE M. ROBEY

The first impression given by the Porter Park is one of spaciousness. The avenue, bordered with large shade trees, leads the eye immediately to handsome New England Hall.

Wherever you walk within the walls of Porter, this same feeling of openness pervades. In an area encompassing a square city block, there are many trees, even for a campus. There are large stretches of green lawn that are almost like meadows. This lovely setting is enhanced by the old buildings of mellow brick, of solid military design. All but two of the buildings were part of the old Federal Arsenal. The Arsenal was built about 1820 according to the News & Courier archives.



PORTER M.A. YEAR BOOK - 1919

Let us visit individually these old buildings, whose adaptation to the use of the school make them monuments to Dr. Porter's ingenuity. Now threatened with razing by "progress", at the hands of the Medical College, they deserve a better fate. They should become a part of this latest use, the new medical group.

The first building, just inside the gate, is the Hoffman Library. It was build for the school, donated by Dr. Hoffman, a wealthy friend of Dr. Porter. Tradition says that Dr. Hoffman also designed the library. It is a quaint and unusual little structure, consisting of one large two story circular room, with four projecting wings. Each wing is one story high. The roof and wings are decorated with battlements, and the library resembles a truncated turret. Constructed in 1897, it is worth saving for its charm.

Continuing down the avenue, the next building is Colcock Hall, formerly Butler Hall. When the Arsenal occupied the grounds, shot was made in this building, It now houses offices and classrooms. Colcock Hall, and all the buildings, are in desparate need of restoration. Notable on all of them are the beautiful long windows, recessed on the exterior in brick arches. Compare these beautifully proportioned symetrical barracks of 1820 to the type construction done today on military posts, and with our Medical Hospitals and commercial buildings!

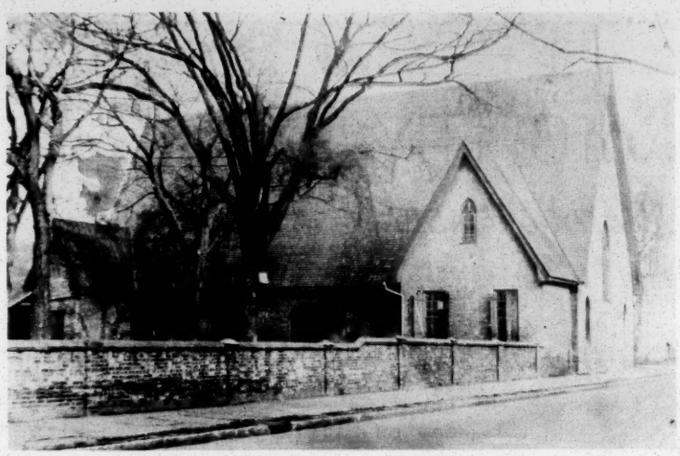
The next building along the drive is Porter Hall, traditionally the residence of Porter's President. It has also been here since Arsenal days, and has probably served as officers quarters since its construction. Close to Porter Hall is a samll quaint round structure which originally housed the cistern collecting water for the entire force at the Arsenal. It was used by the school to store the boys' artillery.

Directly across from the old cistern is a modern square lump known as Summerall Hall. About the best thing that can be said for Summerall Hall is that the Medical College will probably do worse. Not only is its architecture glaringly incongruous to the styles of the old Arsenal, but it was placed in a dreadful position, halfway across New England Hall, the focal center of the avenue. New England Hall is a truly handsome edifice; the avenue was obviously placed to carry the eye to it immediately.

New England Hall is the tallest and largest structure of the campus. It has three stories, all of the others have two. The Hall also has a charming small cupola on top, originally a look-out tower. The avenue continues thru New England Hall's sallyport, and behind it are two charming houses, identical in design...of two story brick with Charleston piazzas. They serve as faculty houses, and like Porter Hall, have always been officer's quarters. The mess hall adjoins New England Hall, appearing to be an attractive addition to it; and this completes the central avenue group.

On the corner of Ashley and Bee Streets, stands St. Timothy's Chapel. It is hard to believe that the chapel was originally a horse-drawn artillery shed, with high arched doors to accommodate the rolling caissons. Dr. Porter

added the interesting, steep peaked roof to the artillery shed chapel and the stained glass windows in the arches. Over the altar there is a beautiful stained glass window picturing St. Timothy, the patron saint of children. The chapel and window were dedicated as a memorial to Dr. Porter's son, who died in his youth. The picturesque appearance of the chapel, besides its religious significance, should assure its retention.



FROM AN OLD POST CARD

ST. TIMOTHY'S CHAPEL

In the north-west corner of the campus, facing President Street, stands a charming Charleston singlge house of brick. It is completely screened from the campus by trees and shrubbery, while separated from the street by the Porter wall. It is empty now, but was rented by the Academy for many years as a source of income. This was built by E. B. White and rented for many years by Dr. Pringle, until she was told to move.

At one time there were many more buildings than those in the present group. A map and pictures in the annual catalogue of the school for 1896 show the following buildings which were part of the original arsenal: Old England Hall, similar in design to New England Hall, which stood in the south-east corner; Angur Hall, adjoining the chapel; a gymnasium; artesian baths; Hunt Hall; a round sentry box known as the Guard Room; all are gone.

The story of the arsenal's conversion into a church school is a fascinating one. It is really the story of the Rev. A. Toomer Porter, who founded the school. He was a member of a wealthy family. They owned two plantations near Georgetown. Mr. Porter was ordained in 1852, then called first to the Church of the Holy Communion. When the War between the States began, the Rev. Mr. Porter became chaplain of the Washington Light Infantry and saw active service with his troop.

In 1864 his eldest son, John Toomer Porter, died of yellow fever, at nine years of age. Dr. Porter's grief was deep and unabated, for the bond between father and son had been unusually strong. It was his custom to go to his son's grave in Magnolia Cemetery every year on the anniversary of the child's death. On the third anniversary, as Dr. Porter knelt by the little boy's grave and prayed for submission to God's Will, the realization swept over him that his son was not an object for grief. The child was happy with his Father in heaven; he would never know want or pain or suffering. But his friends, the little boys of his age.....theirs was truly a pitiable condition. Born to the best of families, with the happiest of prospects, they now had nothing. The cruel era of Reconstruction gripped the South in a vise; Confederate soldiers' widows had no money, no pensions; their land was taken away from them and their children were all but starving.

Here, Dr. Porter realized, was his work, his memorial to his son. He would educate these children, and give them the knowledge that gentlemen should have. Dr. Porter spent four hours there in close communion with God; he came away from his child's grave with the conviction, which never forsook him, that his work and his school were the direct wish of God.

Dr. Porter set about his work immediately. He had no buildings, no funds. His own personal fortune and land were lost in the War. All that he had was faith. Two months later, on December 9, 1867, he opened the Holy Communion Church Institute, with Mr. John Gadsden as principal. The first year had 425 boys and 125 girls enrolled. Many boarded in his own home, for he accepted children from all parts of the State. The girls were excluded from the school after the first year, for Dr. Porter saw that the boys' need was greater. He accepted the boys at whatever tuition they could pay, and if they were unable to pay Dr. Porter accepted them anyway. For many boys, he somehow paid their way through college and theological school. Through the influence of his friends, Dr. Porter arranged scholarships for many more.

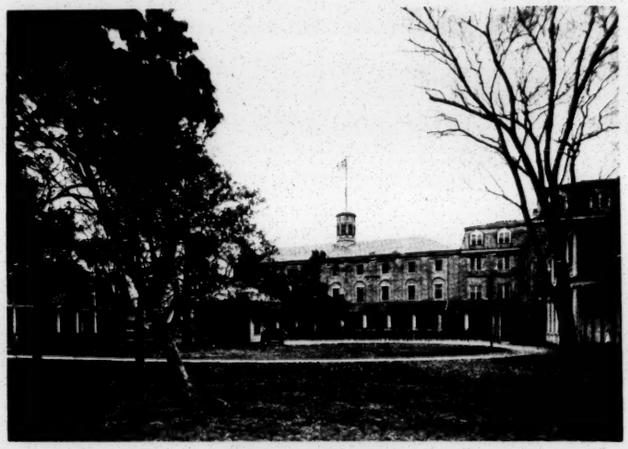
There was no budget for the Holy Communion Church Institute, which existed only through contributions, many from Dr. Porter's wealthy friends. With the faith that his work would be done somehow, Dr. Porter struggled on through hardships impossible to detail in a short article. His book, Led On, Step by Step, gives an excellent description. For example, one year he opened the school without enough money to buy food for the boarding students. The same day, a wagon-load of groceries was delivered by an anonymous donor, he had sent enough to feed the school for a year. Some time later Dr. Porter discovered that the anonymous benefactor was an Irish Catholic from New York. This gentleman did not even know Dr. Porter, but had heard of his work and wanted to help.

In order to bring in more funds, Dr. Porter traveled to the North and to England several times, preaching and asking for donations for his school. Often he would go to a city and walk from house to house knocking on doors, explaining his work and requesting donations. Dr. Porter tells in hisbook what an ordeal this was, and how he would often stand in a loorway and pray for the strength to knock again, and to bear the often-recurring brusque dismissal. Anyone who has ever solicited money for a charitable cause can readily sympaize with this.

But year after year the school reopened, in the face of the skepticism of those who called him a fool and worse. Some of his former friends refused to believe in him, and this hurt Dr. Porter, deeply. However, if the school did not thrive, it did survive; two graduating classes, then five, then ten. The need for more space had been apparent for some time. At the end of 1878 there came a slight chance to obtain new quarters.

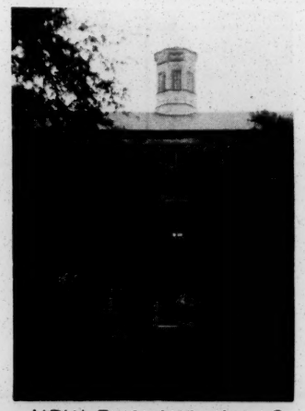
Corps of Cadets on Parade (Alumni Hall and Hampton Hall at left)

Gathering for the Annual Competative Drills



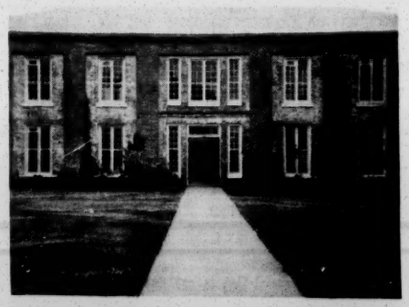
The Quadrangle

The three pictures above are from the Porter Military Academy Year Book of 1919

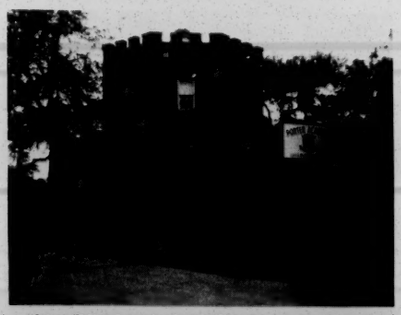


NEW ENGLAND HALL•

•PORTER HALL (PRESIDENT'S QTRS)



COLCOCK HALL•



HOFFMAN LIBRARY c. 1893

• Designed by Charleston Architect
E. B. WHITE
Circa 1844

PHOTOS BY HART

A Mighty Work

The Holy Communion Church Institute was conducted in a building next to Holy Communion Church and in the Porter home. One block down Ashley Avenue stood the old Federal Arsenal. It had been evacuated and was standing empty. Several of Dr. Porter's friends suggested that he journey to Washington and ask for the property from the government to use for his school. Dr. Porter accepted this advice and traveled North again. The first person whom he met in Washington was Gen. William Sherman, well know in South Carolina and Georgia. Dr. Porter however, had a pleasant experience with Gen. Sherman, and one worth relating.

At the time of Sherman's infamous march, Dr. Porter and his family were in Columbia. Dr. Porter was a chaplain and Confederate officer. When Sherman's soldiers came, they began to burn everything in sight, and many of them were roaring drunk. Lt. Mcqueen, a member of Sherman's staff, was horrified at this scandelous behavior. He took a small band of sober soldiers, formed a guard atound a small portion of the city to keep the rioters out. Dr. Porter, whose house stood within this section, was impressed with the lieutenant's courtesy and good principles. Dr. Porter's book very touchingly relatesthe terrible plight of those women and children of Columbia, who were burned out of their homes. He and a friend went out and brought as many of their friends as they could to the safe portion of the city guarded by Lt. Mcqueen. In return for his protection, Dr. Porter gave the Northern officer a letter of safe conduct. It related his kindness to the Porters, in case Mcqueen should be captured by Confederate troops. When Lt. Mcqueen was later taken prisoner, Dr. Porter was contacted and went immediately to escort him to the Federal lines. There he met Gen. Sherman, who was Lt. Mcqueen's uncle. Gen. Sherman was devoted to the young officer and extremely grateful to Dr. Porter. Sherman promised that were it ever in his power he would perform any service that Dr.Porter wished.

The first person whom Dr. Porter met in Washington, fourteen years later, was Gen. Sherman! This is just one of the dramatic circumstances which kept recurring in Dr. Porter's life. These must be ascribed either to extraordinary coincidence or to direct Divine Intervention. Upon hearing the reason for Dr. Porter's trip, Gen. Sherman immediately promised to use his considerable influence to have the arsenal land transferred to the school. Through Sherman's efforts, and with the aid of Sen. Butler and Gen. Wade Hampton of South Carolina, the property was transferred by an Act of Congress on December 17, 1879, to Dr. Porter for ninety-nine years, on the condition that it be used only for educational purposes. Later, the Board of Trustees secured the property for an indefinite period by an unconditional fee-simple title. The following year the school moved to the arsenal grounds.

At the opening ceremonies of the new campus, Dr. Porter said:

> "The finger and the voice of God have driven me forward. Whatever you may think, my conviction is as strong this night, as it was thirty years ago, yes, stronger, for I did not know then what experience has taught me since, that 'If thou hast faith as a grain of mustard seed' you know the rest."

In 1886 the Board of Trustees voted, in the absence of Dr. Porter, to change the name of the school from the Holy Communion Church Institute to Porter Military Academy.

Dr. Porter died in 1902, on Easter day, at his residence on the Porter Park campus. He was seventy-five years old and had directed his school for thirty-five years. In summing up the school's work in a speech made on the thirtieth anniversary of the Institute, he said:

> "I have been permitted to carry on this great school for thirty years, have given a more or less finished education to over three thousand boys, fully twenty-five hundred of these gratuitously or for a mere pittance, have sent over two hundred boys to college and have educated one hundred and fifty sons of clergymen gratuitously; have furnished twenty-two men to the ministry, with several canidates for Holy Orders at this moment preparing for the ministry; have acquired a whole block of property from the United States government; have erected seven houses on the grounds, and have rented them out, as the investment of a small permanent endowment fund; have raised and expended in Christian education nearly one million of dollars; have labored and suffered, met with ingratitude, and with the warmest love and gratitude of others, and close up after thirty years with a deficiency of five thousand dollars staring me in the face."

The News & Courier published a beautiful article about him, closing with the statement that he was,

> " 'led on' by a Hand invisible and a Voice inaudible, he has done a mighty work. He has not lived in vain."

This is the story of the School's founding; its subsequent record in educating boys and building character has become part of the history of our state. It has followed the principles inspired by Dr. Porter. It has graduated a number of outstanding men and many good men.

The school will go on, though somewhere else; the Medical College has now bought the old arsenal land. What will become of the buildings? They compose what is undoubtedly one of the oldest military installation groups in the United States. They should be preserved from the point of history and of architecture. They make a marvelous nucleus with their simple classic lines.

Although it would be ideal to have the campus remain as it is, with its rolling stretches of lawn, that cannot be. But there is room enough and land enough for the Medical College to build whatever facilities it needs incorporating the group of old buildings. They could be completely modernized inside at less than it would cost to replace them and the new buildings could be built to harmonize with them on the exterior.

There is no absolute law which states that medical centers at all times and in all places must be utilitarian and ugly. Who knows, the sight of a few trees and a graceful scene through a window might have a beneficial effect on the patients' morale. It would certainly up-

lift the morale of its neighbors and the lovers of our city.

Whether or not the Porter buildings are preserved, alas, will probably depend on how many people loudly protest their destruction. Those of us who feel that such treasures are worth saving can take an example from Dr. Porter's indifference to obstacles, his perseverance in the face of impossible problems. If a sufficient number of members of the Preservation Society care enough to write to the newspaper, and to the Medical College, the old arsenal buildings will not be lost forever.

Editor's Note:

The Book "Architects of Charleston", by Miss Ravenel has four large handsome photographs of the main buildings of Porters. These are in her delightful chapter on E. B. White. Mr. White was one of South Carolina's most gifted and versatile architect-engineers.

White was born at Chapel Hill in the Parish of St. John. He came of good South Carolina stock. West Point provided his education. White first planned forts. He did surveying, being burdened at that time with young Fremont, who was later "Path Finder to California".

Around 1838, White started his architectual work with the Market Hall on Meeting Street. He did the Porter Buildings or rather arsenal buildings around 1844 according to Miss Ravenel. A study of their simple classic lines, the sparse but effective detail show his ability to relate his building to its use.

Our city is still so rich in White work that it cannot all be listed; The Huguenot Church, Grace Church, Centenary Church, and Old Calvary, gone alas, but not forgotten. The law office for Petigru on St. Michael's Alley. The portico of the Charleston College, the steeple of St. Philip's, the old high school on Society Street. Can historic Charleston afford the unnecessary loss of more of White's gifted work?

Let us hope that the powers that be, that doctors being educated men will look twice, think twice. We refer them to pages 181 to 200 in Miss Ravenel's book.

White did many churches about the state, court houses and schools. He was born in 1806 and died in 1882. The S.C.Electric and Gas Company glories in one of his last buildings at 141 Meeting Street, built about 1876.

In his long day, White was the architect of South Carolina. His letters and the stories about him are delightful.

SOUTH CAROLINA HAS NO MONEY

Lack of a salaried caretaker has forced the closing of Rose Hill Plantation near Columbia, S.C.. No State funds were appropriated for custodial care of the 134 year old mansion, once the home of South Carolina's Secession Gov. William H.Gist, according to State Forester Charles H.Flory. This is one of seven historical areas under State supervision, and is situated on a knoll between the Tyger and Enoree Rivers.

- Preservation News, National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, D.C....March 1963.

THE MISSES POAR DRIVE TO CHURCH

By Josephine Pinckney

Out from the tall plantation gate
Issue the Misses Poar in state.
Neatly darned are their black silk mitts,
And straight each stately sister sits.
Their carriage-dresses, brushed and steamed,
Cover their decent limbs; they seemed
No finer, really, before the War
When money was free in the house of Poar.
The negro coachman in beaver hat,
Slightly nibbled by moth and rat,
Smooths his frock-coat of greenish hue,-
But fitting as trim as when it was new-
With which he stiffens his spine of pride
By tightly buttoning himself inside
To drive in this elegant equipage
A yoke of oxen of doubtful age.
(They've had no horses since sixty-four
When the Yankees stopped at the house of Poar.)

The ladies move to the square front pew,
Their Christian meekness in ample view,
And follow the youthful parson's word
With reverence meet for a legate of God
Up to the moment when he prates
Of the President of the United States;
Then, knowing full well that Heaven can't
Expect them to pray for General Grant,
They bury their noses' patrician hook
In dear Great-grand-papa's prayer-book,
Wherein are found urbane petitions
To guard the Crown against seditions
And rest King Charles the Martyr's soul.
Not that they hold King Charles so dear,
Although their blood is Cavalier,
But it suits their piety, on the whole,
Better to pray for the Restoration
Than the overseer of a patch-work nation.

MY DEAR LADIES:

Daniel in the Lions' Den took no more chances than I am taking now...making this suggestion to not one, but two editors.

But, of course, my experience has been with masculine editors whose hearts are made of concrete, so to speak....the result of too much advice and suggestions.

In the firm conviction that feminine editors must be much more soft-hearted than the male variety .. I am passing on this suggestion below, made by my secretary when I told her I thought most people over 60 would have great difficulty in reading your interesting and very worthwhile publication.....because of the smallness of the type:

> "Since the Preservation Society monthly publication is apparently done on a varityper ... I would suggest a type such as the sample I attach ... which is one of the type faces available to the varityper machine.
>
> "You will notice that it takes no more space than the script type which was used on the January issue... but does cover more space than the types used in the March and May issues. But it is very easily read."

Sincerely yours,
H. S. Richardson

See the happy outcome at the bottom of page 13. -Ed.

GLEANINGS FROM THE CONFEDERATE MUSEUM

The Ladies Do It

By GORDON LANGLEY HALL

The best way to acquire the right mood for visiting the delightful Confederate Museum is to meander quietly up through the market itself. There the pace bespeaks another more gracious era. I loved the motley smells of dampness, vegetables fresh from the country, coffee, pancakes and flaming fire-buckets. Even the uninteresting green walls cannot break the spell.

Inside the museum itself the intriguing air of mystery continues. The pathetic little piles of clothing produced during The War could probably provide material for dozens of books if only they could talk.

Take the War Gloves for instance.....We are told, according to a label on one of the glass display cases, that "the Blockade shut out kid and finer gloves, so the ladies were compelled to wear home-made ones." It was deemed to a lady's credit to wear gloves she had knitted herself.

Mrs. A. G. Heriot of Georgetown could hardly have dreamed while making a pair with her own particular "serrated design like the edge of an English bread saw" that they would finish up in a museum. She had the tiniest hands.

During Confederate days, the men seemed to have been as handy with a needle as the ladies. Several needle cases that went with their owners to the scene of battle are to be seen. A handsome red needle-book and white silk gloves "made and owned by Lieutenant Colonel Edward p. Lawton" are worthy of inspection. He was killed while an acting Brigadier-General at the Battle of Fredericksburg.

The ladies also made their own home-spun gowns, a subject upon which Carrie Bell Sinclair (1862) leaves her impression for us to ponder over in verse:

"Oh! yes I am a Southern girl
And glory in the name
And boast it with far greater pride
Than glittering wealth or fame
My homespun dress is plain,
I know,
My hat's palmetto too,
But then it shows what Southern girls
For Southern rights will do
Hurrah! Hurrah!
For the Sunny South so
dear!
Three cheers for the homespun dress
Our Southern ladies wear."

They also made their own shoes and so did their maids. The most interesting pair at the museum are the two pairs cut out of a white canvas store awning by a mistress and her cook. The mistress' could pass for a pair of twentieth century tennis shoes. The cook's has a neat pair of wooden heels and look wide and comfortable. I wish that our cooks would wear them today, then they might have less trouble with their feet.

Two enormous pairs of shoes from the Commisary Department, Charleston, issued to Confederate soldiers, 1861-5, have wooden soles and heels like Dutch clogs. The makers were advised to put the bristle part of the leather on the outside. This technique was copied by the British for their Desert Rat boots during the Rommel campaign in World War II. Without the wooden soles they can still be purchased in Charleston shoe stores and are very comfortable for any men prone to corns.

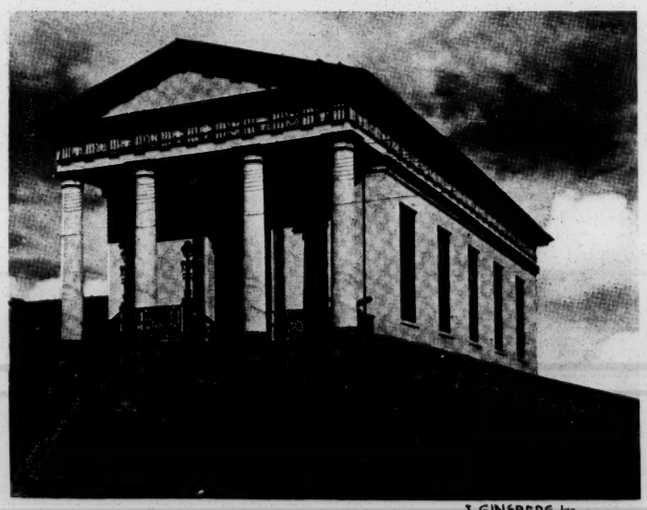
The men seem to have had very large feet in the 1860's. The curator at the museum drew my attention to those on the statue of General Wade Hampton; the saddle cloth General Hampton used the day he rode at the head of his followers as Governor of South Carolina is also on view.

However, the uniforms all seem to have fitted very small men and are in curious contrast to the boots. The excellent state of preservation of these garments is surprising.

A number of tiny children's garments survive also, some made of carefully washed flour and sugar sacks. Fancy dresses were made out of flags. They are most attractive.

Charleston ladies seem to have been very inventive during the war. I liked the Confederate breast-pin made by one of them from dried melon seeds. The seeds have dried black like basalt. The gauntlet used by Charles Kiddell was made by his sisters from buckskin knee breeches worn by their great-grandfather in colonial days.

Most tantalizing item in the entire museum is the Confederate stocking just "set up" and still on its four steel needles. Was the owner-to-be killed in action? Did the War end? It is infuriating not to know!



I. GINSBERG, Inc.

The CONFEDERATE MUSEUM
and Public Market
circa 1838
E. B. WHITE Architect

MIRIAM BELLANGEE WILSON - YANKEE DOODLE DANDY

Pioneer Preservationist of Charleston History

By Judith Wragg Chase

Late in the year 1920 there appeared in Charleston a "Yankee" from the Mid-West intent on spending her two week's Christmas vacation with friends. Miriam B. Wilson's interest in the South stemmed from the fact that her own grandfather was a Virginian. He had moved to Ohio because of his opposition to Slavery. Because she found so few answers to her many questions about this aspect of history, Miss Wilson decided to extend her visit in order to answer them for herself.....This extension lasted for almost forty years, until her death in 1959! During that entire time Miriam devoted her life to research into the history of Charleston, particularly as it applied to Slavery.

Miriam B. Wilson's distinctive figure became a familiar sight to Charlestonians. They came to know her as the Curator of the Old Slave Mart Museum which she opened in 1937 in Ryan's Slave Exchange Building. Many people were aware of her interest in the history of Slavery, but not many people appreciated how extensive was her knowledge of Charleston history. Few realized how valuable her contributions were to the cause of Preservation in this, her adopted city. It is high time they did.

Miss Wilson had some friends and admirers in Charleston. But her fame was spread throughout the whole world by the thousands of visitors who came yearly to her Museum from every State in the United States and dozens of foreign countries. However, like most people of positive personality Miriam was not without her detractors as well. Some of these spread tales about her which were as untrue as they were unfair. Unfortunately, as Mr. Sam'l Stoney remarked recently, "anyone who has had to try using tradition as a substitute for attestable facts knows that in far less than half a century the greatest nonsense can be invented and believed." So it is that the majority of people in Charleston either have a very erroneous impression of this dedicated and courageous woman, or at best have no idea what a remarkable woman Miss Wilson was.

Miriam Bellangee Wilson was born in Ohio on Oc. 18, 1878. By the time she arrived in Charleston at the age of 41 she had already had a remarkable career. Miss Wilson gave up her aspirations to become a doctor in order to care for her invalid mother, a musician of note. She supported them both in various ways. As a young woman she had held a license as a ship's pilot on the Great lakes, Miriam later had homesteaded a plot of ground in Missouri. To qualify for ownership she had to build her own log cabin and live in it, as well as planting and tending crops. In order to move to Charleston Miss Wilson gave up a lucrative and successful position in Toledo as head of the Women's Division of the U. S. Employment Service. While working in this capacity she made a report which was considered the most definitive one ever submitted on Women wage earners. Her interest in business women was never to flag. For many years after her arrival in Charleston Miriam traveled around the country organizing professional and business women's clubs. Among those she founded were the Woman's City Club of Washington, D. C. and clubs in Hagerstown Md. and other cities of the Eastern Seaboard. As a member of the Business Woman's Club of Charlston Miss Wilson was head of the Legislative Committee.

Intellectual curiosity about the Negroes, stimulated by her work in the Employment Service, was to be the seed that led to her life's work....The study of Slave History and the arts and crafts of the Negro race.

On settling down in Charleston, Miss Wilson began immediately to devote herself to research, barely managing to support herself with a number of ventures, all of which were the natural results of her interest in the past. The first of these was the publication of a series of booklets called "The Blue and Grey Historical Series" which included the first edition of her now famous "STreet STrolls". This has been declared the best Charleston guide book ever published. The first edition gives grateful acknowledgment to Miss Laura M. Bragg, Miss Eola Willis and Miss Alice Huger Smith for their help in making the book possible. However, Miss Wilson's own files and notes attest to the fact that she verified every fact for herself, wherever possible. Two enormous card file systems list historical data alphabetically. with the source of information neatly noted on each card. Year after year this research went on. Dozens of notebooks are filled with excerpts from old copies of Charleston Newspapers; with information gleaned from Charleston Yearbooks of days past; or quotations from authoritative books. Old maps were studied and notes taken on the differences in the arrangements of our streets, of alleys which have since been torn down or moved. Legends were carefully separated from verifiable fact, but noted to give color to her factual material.

This early edition was only a small booklet and contained no illustrations. It was financed by advertisements, laboriously sold by the author to pay for the printing. Later on, the fame of the book so spread that Miss Wilson was able to eliminate advertising altogether, and printed the book on slick paper, with many fine illustrations from splendid old photographs. By the time of her death it had gone through its

eighth edition and several revisions. Each time it was revised, new historical data was added and errors were corrected. For instance, in the first edition Miss Wilson describes the Old Slave Mart (at that time used as a garage) and mentions that the "Slave Auction Block stood on the West Side of the Room". In late years her continued research convinced her that there had been, in fact, no auction block. The sales took place on the balcony of the building. The slaves were not even present. They had been previously interviewed in the small booths or "Stalls" on the second floor. They remained in the Barracoon in back of the Mart while the auctioneer put them up for sale by number.

A serious illness and operation in 1931 left Miss Wilson both weakened and impoverished. Nevertheless with her indominitable will she went ahead, against the doctor's orders, and opened a small business -- a candy shop she called the "Colonial Belle Goodies", located at 52 Meeting Street. She started it with a capital of $7.50! Miss Wilson was so poor that she could not afford running water and carried it in pails from neighboring houses, to make the candies and cookies she sold. These "Confections" were also the outcome of her indefatigable research into Charleston's past, for the recipes for them had been uncovered in old editions of the Charleston Newspapers, or discovered in old letters or cookbooks she had come across in her studies. Many of these had to be "translated" into modern cooking terms.

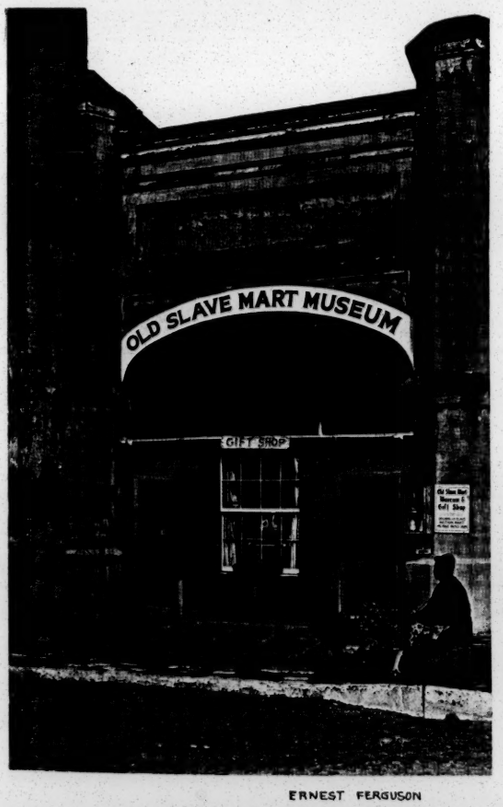
A sample receipt reads: "take Wine Cinnimon, the white of an egg and flower to make it into a thin batter and put it into an iron mould and bake it over charcoal"; others called for "a gourd full of sugar". These were painstakingly reworked into usable formulas by trial and error. Among the most popular of these "Goodies" were such now famous confections as "Peach Leather", "Benne Wafers", "Benne Brittle", "Monkey Meat Cakes", and "Ground Nut Cakes", now so popular with tourists.

It is said that Miss Wilson was the first to make these commercially for the enjoyment of visitors, and their popularity has spread Charleston's fame near and far. As a matter of fact, it was Miss Wilson's interest in Negro Slavery which first led to the discovery of these receipts. She had become particularly interested in the Benne Seed which had been brought from Africa by the slaves. They thought that it brought good luck to the crops if planted near by. An African strain of sesame seed, it has been grown in South Carolina ever since slavery days. It was introduced into our food by our Negro cooks. In Africa today this nutlike seed is still in use, and still called variously "Benne", "Bene", or "Bennie".

For many years Miss Wilson noticed that tourists would often come to stand and stare at the "Old Slave Market" on Chalmers Street. However, she regretted that, like herself on her arrival in Charleston, most non-Southerners were filled with many erroneous ideas about slavery. They gleaned these from such books as Uncle Tom's Cabin. She feared that many were prompted by a somewhat macabre interest and determined to try to subsitute the fascination of factual history for myth and legend. Particularly Miss Wilson wanted to present to them the documentary evidence, gathered by years of research, that had convinced her that the South was not as much to blame for slavery as many people thought.

Unfortunately, the subject of slavery was one which had become "tabu" in Southern Society. It was the "family skeleton" which most people preferred to hide in the closet. Many of us found ourselves embarrassed when confronted with accusations we knew to be untrue, but which were too difficult and involved to defend in casual conversation. We therefore carefully avoided the subject and tried to make our Northern visitors forget this aspect of our history and concentrate on pleasanter subjects. There were many non-controversial things of which we could be justly proud..... the lovely gardens, the beautiful architecture and gracious living of the past.....the crinolines and chandeliers....the courage of the Confederacy. Why bring up unpleasant subjects like Slavery?

This is why many opposed Miss Wilson's decision to purchase the old "Ryan's Slave Exchange" and open it to tourists as "The Old Slave Mart Museum". They feared she would play on the Northerner's prejudice against the South and would spread lies and calumnies against the Southern Slaveholder.



ERNEST FERGUSON

Its art gallery features works by contemporary Negro artists

However, Mirian Wilson was not one to be turned aside from something she felt was right. She went ahead and purchased the building with a small down payment, saved from her "Slave Recipes" business, but not before she had carefully checked out its authenticity. Doubt had often been cast on the statement that the building had been used for the sale of slaves, although it was generally acknowledged as an old and notable building which had been built in 1820 as a fire engine house.

It is interesting to note the slanderous tales that grew out of this extraordinary woman's courageous action. Many have survived until this day. When the present operators of the Museum under took to carry on Miss Wilson's work, after her death, they heard many calumnies repeated.

The most popular one was that the building had never been used as a slave auction house, yet Miss Wilson copied from old news papers literally hundreds of advertisements for slaves sold at auction at "Ryan's Mart on Chalmers Street". Many of these have recently been checked out in the microfilms of the old "Couriers" at the Charleston Library Society. They have been found to be authentic, both as to dates and wording. The Old Slave Mart Museum has several copies of handbills advertising sales of "gangs of Negroes" at the Mart in Chalmers Street. Further research into the records of the Meynes and Conveyance Office, the newspapers, and old yearbookds of the City of Charleston, proved beyond a doubt that the "Mart" mentioned was in fact number 6, Chalmers Street, or Ryan's Mart. Today Charleston's most respected historians have concurred with Miss Wilson's statement that this is the only building left standing, where slaves are known to have been sold.

Never a slave auction block

Until Miss Wilson uncovered it few people knew, and many do not now realize, that Charleston never had a public slave auction block. It was the exception rather than the rule to sell slaves promiscuously on the streets. The practice of selling slaves (as well as cattle, horses, and household goods) on the streets around the Custom House or the Old Exchange Building was shortlived. It was in open defiance of a city ordinance which required that slaves be sold in a "Mart" licensed by the city. This ordinance had been passed early in the city's history in order to protect the slaves from abuses, such as the custom of making them run from the Exchange building to Vendue Range and back to "see if they were winded". It also protected the buyers, who paid as high as $5000 for a highly skilled slave by the time of the Civil War. The city assured the buyer of a year's "Warranty" that the slave would be as described by the seller. If found otherwise, the new owner could sell the slave as being "unsound" and the former owner was forced to pay the difference in price. The abuse of this ordinance (against selling slaves on the street) was so flagrant in the early 1850's that it constituted a traffic problem and the city put a stop to it with a $500 fine. This was when Thomas Ryan opened his Mart on Chalmers Street.

Another story which is still given credence today is that the building itself was nothing more than a "false front" hiding an empty lot. This is totally untrue, as the Old Slave Mart has in its possession receipts for the restoration work done at the time Miss Wilson opened the Museum. It proved that the changes were minor, and done mainly as a safety factor, or to preserve the building from deterioration.

For some time Miriam Wilson studied old records, pictures, and descriptions of the way the building had stood originally. She restored it as accurately as possible. After the Civil War, the building had served a number of uses. During World War I it had been occupied by the U. S. Army, which had used it for offices, and later it became a garage. A concrete floor had been put in during this time and Miss Wilson left it in place. She rebuilt the balcony, which was unsafe, and replaced some timbers in the second floor. This floor had been added to the original firehouse by Thomas Ryan when he opened his auction house, but it had fallen into disrepair. To preserve its authenticity she used "pit sawn" timbers of heart pine. These had been taken from old buildings of the same period which were being torn down.

For years Miss Wilson had made a careful study of old building methods and materials. She often photographed the details of construction used in those that had fallen into the hands of wreckers. Miriam used this knowledge to good advantage, since she could not afford a professional architect for her restoration work. Wherever possible Miriam tried to use the methods of 1860 in restoring the old Slave Mart.....mortised joints, pegged beams, etc. The brick walls were left in their original state, and the very interesting roof construction was preserved. The tiles on the exterior of the roof had been destroued in the earthquake of 1886 and were not replaced. The shutters and door frames outside were painted an "indigo" blue because of the Negro superstition that this would "strain out the evil spirits". Miss Wilson's research indicates that this superstition may have some foundation in science. It has been uncovered that houses in North Africa are painted blue to keep away the flies, and this is the reason so many kitchens are painted that color....If one keeps away flies, one keeps away sickness, and "strains out the evil spirits"!

Perhaps the most vicious of the rumors that spread about this "Yankee" lady and her "bad" influence in the community grew out of the fear that she would be unfair to the Southerner. Although by this time Miss Wilson had lived in Charleston for seventeen years she was still apparently "suspect" as an "outsider". Be that as it may, the story gained credence that Miriam used to go out and buy raw meat from a butcher shop so that she could smear the blood on the floor and show it to tourists as the "block of the slaves"! Anyone who knows the care with which Miss Wilson checked out every fact of history knows that such an accusation is ridiculous. No doubt she did make mistakes. Miriam mentioned that every year she learned something new, and whenever she found she had been wrong she willingly corrected her errors, both in the several books she authored, and in the lectures she gave at the Museum; but certainly Miriam Wilson never deliberately deceived anyone.

Objective history

Miss Wilson's whole life was dedicated to presenting an objective, factual, history of Slavery. To this end she did constant research, digging into books and city archives available here in Charleston, poking around the ruins of old buildings to learn a bit more about construction methods, or to preserve a bit of slave craft for her museum. Every summer Miriam closed the Museum and scoured the South in search of exhibits for the museum or new information about Slave days. Her travels took her to almost every state in the South. Miriam also studied at the Library of Congress, the Universities of Virginia and of North Carolina, at Harvard and Yale. At the latter University Miss Wilson obtained access to the famous Ul-

rich Phillips collection, the greatest collection of original documents concerning Slavery in the world. Many of these she copied on an intricate photostat machine she had purchased, developing the negatives and prints herself.

Miriam was, in fact, an expert craftsman in her own right. Gradually over the years she purchased efficient power tools for a workshop and made many of the furnishings needed for the museum....Miss Wilson build her own showcases, or repaired them; made picture frames for documents or examples of weaving; put in her own electrical system with fluorescent lights over the exhibit cases. Miss Wilson printed each label and sign laboriously, letter by letter, with an old fashioned rubber printing set.

Negro talent

Gradually, as Miriam Wilson delved deeper into the true facts of Slavery in America, she became more and more impressed with the artistic talents of the Negro Race. Miss Wilson began to see how much beautiful Charleston owes to its Negro craftsmen, both of the past and the present....the slave and the free. She began more and more to explore the Negro's craftsmanship, the apprentice system by which skills brought over from Africa were applied to civilized uses on the plantations. Miriam went even further back into the Negro's cultural roots in Africa, studying the Swahili language in order to further her work!

At the time of her death, Miriam had been working for several years on a novel which, according to her own description, was to be "a factual, historical novel. It would trace the life of a small Negro boy from his early days in tribal Africa, through his sale to slave Traders and ending with his life in America. "It was," she said, "to show the background in Africa, as well as that under slavery, to show the advancement of the Negro under slavery, the crime against the Negro and the Nation in freeing him without proper guidance, and the exploitation of the Negro by the unscrupulous whites during Reconstruction days."

Miss Wilson hoped in this novel to present the conclusions that she had reached during her years of interest in this subject. This thesis was that neither the Negro nor the White men should be ashamed of slavery in our past. Many abuses certainly took place, and slavery is undeniably an evil. We are happy it's past, but out of this evil came some good. Miss Wilson felt that the African had benefitted enormously by contact with European culture; and that conversely the White people had benefitted by contact with African culture. She agreed that the greatest offenders in the history of slavery were those venal men who promoted the trade for financial gain...the governments of Europe and the slave traders of Africa and New England. Trapped in the unfortunate social consequences of this trade, the slave owners and the slaves conducted themselves better than could be expected in the circumstances. Her most bitter denunciations were reserved, however, for the manner in which the slaves were emancipated. As she says in her "Condensed History of Slavery", published in 1946, "The crime against the Negro was not the bringing them to this country as slaves. The real crime was freeing the Negro in 1863, without his having been taught to be self supporting."

Today we have many evidences of this indominitable woman's impact on this, her adopted home town. Her "Map of Old Charleston" with its collection of "Charleston Firsts" on the back is still in great demand. It is regarded as the best of its kind as a guide to Charleston. Her "Street Strolls" has never been replaced with a better guide book and is fast becoming a collector's item. Her notes and file systems are available as useful references for historians and authors. Her collection of old photographs of buildings since destroyed are an invaluable record of our past. Her "Slave Recipes" are still popular. Miss Wilson sold the formulas shortly before her death and they are now made at Onslow's and sold at the Old Slave Mart Museum. Her "Condensed History of Slavery" is the only one of its kind in print.

In 1944, when she was almost 70 years old, Miriam Wilson volunteered to serve in the defense of her country. By pretending she was only 51 years old she managed to receive a commission in the Aircraft Warning Service Reserve, and got a testimonial to her "loyal and faithful service". She also received in that year a commission as a "Seaman First Class" in the U. S. Coast Guard Reserve and was on duty with the Coast Guard here in Charleston for the duration of the War!

Throughout all these long years, Miriam Wilson lived a frugal life, spending her last years in a small room at the Confederate Home. Every cent she could spare from the earnings of her small gift shop and admissions to the museum, through the sale of her "Confections" and the various publications she had authored, was all turned back into the support and expansion of the museum, for the purchase of new exhibits and improvements of the displays.

Vision and courage

It is in recognition of this woman's remarkable vision and courage in the face of almost insuperable obstacles that the Miriam B. Wilson Foundation has recently been chartered to carry on the debts of the Old Slave Mart Museum then through an error in her Will it was almost lost to posterity....It probably would have been torn down to make way for another parking lot, the fate of so many old buildings. For three years it has been reprieved through the efforts of Mrs. Reed Graves and her sister Mrs. Richard Chase. The income from the gift shop and admissions to the Museum is barely enough to pay the rent and overhead. There is no money left over for salaries or for the purchase of the building and exhibits from Miss Wilson's heirs. It is hoped that through the efforts of the Foundation the necessary money will be raised. Certainly, of all the many things that captured the interest and attention of this determined woman, Miriam B. Wilson's greatest contribution to Charleston, and to the world, was the preservation of an important and much neglected chapter in American History....the true and descent History of Slavery. It should not be lost now, after her long and courageous struggle.

Note: The Miriam B. Wilson Foundation, was chartered as a non-profit, educational corporation. It hopes to receive support from the community by increased patronage of the museum, the gift shop, and art gallery which help to maintain it. It solicits donations, either of money or gifts, and loans of slave-made articles, documents, or other memorabilia.

END

HISTORIC CHARLESTON FOUNDATION AND 56 SOCIETY ST.

BRING US ANOTHER GOOD CHARLESTONIAN

By Sally Simons Daniels

"Almost any period furniture looks well in a single house ----- I looked all over the country, from one end to the other, to find a house which could take all the different period things I had. A Charleston single house is perfect." We were chatting quietly over a cup of tea, and Mr. Gordon Langley Hall was expressing his knowledgeble views on the necessities of a home.

There are people who inherit nice things, and there are those who have the talent to see through the neglect of years and find a treasure - And there are those, like Mr. Hall who possess the first two and also have a very rare third talent - the ability to arrange a beautiful room. This is far more valuable than the other two.

The house is a fine museum, and it is not. It is obvious when you are greeted by Mr. Hall and welcomed inside, that this is primarily a home. The single house lends itself to elegance or simplicity, but mostly to being a home - this is certainly true at 56 Society Street.

This was the home of Dr. Joseph Johnson, built in 1840 - this is, of course, in Ansonborough and Mr. Hall (his magnificent furnishings aside for a moment) has done a superb job of restoration, including the paving for the carriage way in the courtyard and the garden that he has just started. For one who is used to a very small downtown lot, the size of the yard is indeed enviable - A great deal of the fine taste so evident throughout, is that of Miss Isabel Lydia Whitney, Mr. Hall's cousin who helped him plan the house to be their joint home. Tragically, Cousin Isabel passed away just before they were to move from New York.

Restoration started from a complete derelict in June 1962 - the architect, Mr. Read Barnes. Mr. Hall moved in October of that year and the home was opened graciously for the tourist season in the spring of '63.

To prove his point about the versatility of a single house, Mr. Hall has furnished each room in a different period. The French talent for elegant interiors was beautifully expressed in the drawing room in which we were seated. The French and Venetian furniture was complimented by unusual appointments.

The dining room is Queen Anne with many lovely English and Philadelphia pieces. An amusing note is the portrait, (Philadelphia 1824) of two little boys, one with a black eye, hanging over the mantle. Like a good many Charlestonians, Mr. Hall admires fine porcelain, and displays it beautifully for visitors to enjoy. In the dining room among other pieces he has an old Ming Dynasty goddess of mercy. The only architectural change that was made in the house was the cutting of a large French door in the north wall of the dining room. This brings the piazza and garden into view and lightens the room.

One of the reasons Mr. Hall chose a single house is shown in his use of the stair well. From the first to the third story, the walls are covered in one of the finest collections of American primitives and embroideries to be seen in a private home. There are also some other interesting pictures to be viewed while climbing the stairs.

The living room upstairs is as thoroughly English as fine Chippendale and Hepplewhite can make it. Many pieces in the house were personally retrieved from some forgotten junk area and restored by the loving hand of Miss Whitney. The mantle pieces came down from New York and some had to be painstakingly stripped down.

The second floor bedroom is right out of an ante bellum romance. This was to have been Miss Whitney's and she planned it even down to designing the wall paper. It is all Southern-with Empire and early Victorian. A New Orlean's poster bed, somethings of General Lee's, a silver bouquet holder, a hair wreath, and a silk bedspread made in the family mills.

Mr. Hall has inherited things from both sides of the Atlantic. He took an equal interest in restoring an old family home in England some years ago and returns frequently. He has also published quite a few books on American and English subjects. He is now working on one on Oceola. He has written about Princess Margaret and Baby Doe. But he likes best the one about an ancestor, "The Gypsy Condessa".

Any community would be fortunate to have a man of such varied talents in its midst, but to Charleston, his contributions have been uniquely suited. To a place proud of its homes, No. 56 Society Street, is a gracious and unusually rich example.

END

Mr. Hall's Housekeeper Irene

The Drawing Room

PHOTOS BY ROLF

The Queen Anne Dining Room

Letters To The Editor

Some like it hot, some like it cold!

New York, N.Y.....Via Western Union

Mr. J. Mitchell Graham
Chairman, County Council
Charleston, S. C.

Referring to the proposed restoration of the Old Citadel if converted to excellent cooperative apartments I should be interested and probably many others also.

M. Dudley Kenna
Member, Preservation Society.

Dear Mrs. Hart,

Your President sent me a p.c. to contact your City Council and I sent the above. What an excellent "report"! It compares most favourably with the Antequarian Society of Chicago's annual report---and twice as many members.

Greetings! M. Kenna

---

24 New Street
Charleston, S. C.

I dislike to raise a voice of criticism of people who are doing such a splendid work as you and your husband are, but I feel that I must register a protest against a practice in Preservation Progress which has happened several times now. It is the way the words are broken up in the printing. Take the splendid newsletter which came today and the article "Your Cup Runneth Over" by Henry F. Davis. In the second column, on the first page, line 5 the line ends with "sc-" and the rest of the word is on the next line "ores", I was always taught that a word of one syllable was not to be divided and that there should always be a vowel in the division. Do have your editor look out for this and excuse my pedantry.

Sincerely, Maragret S. Middleton

ANSWERED: A point well taken...BUT...to save space we attempt to "justify" each line.

Rhode Island

I am fascinated with your delightful paper. It makes one feel very important to know so many of the people mentioned in the articles - to say nothing about those who actually wrote them - Wrote them so very well too - And the illustrations - Walter, I mean Bill - (I am awfully confused since I learned Bill's name is Walter, not William as I thought) and goodness I am beginning to sound like Elspeth-

But seriously it is all very interesting and very worth while and a gallant effort to save the beauty and meaning of Charleston. I was very touched about your Mother giving the Society such a handsome start - Mary's fine article about Mr. Simons was interesting too. What a clever family the Pringles are - to say nothing of Bill.

Afectionately, Margaret
(Mrs.Will Carter)

Grosse Point, Mich.

Dear Captain Hart,

I read your letter in the (5/28/63) Charleston News and Courier. Good for you! Keep prodding the Citizens along until they wake up and take an interest in their Lovely City.

So seldom, this day and age, do people realize how fortunate they are - or were - until something they love, or value, is gone.

If only Charleston people realized what a wealth of historic treasures they have all about them, or how lucky they are to be living in such a lovely environment.

I have missed Charleston ever since I left it. I hope some day to come back. Put me down for a membership in the Preservation Society. I'll be happy to pay my dues for such a worthy cause.

I wrote Mr. J. Mitchell Graham. It will be a pity for the bulldozers to destroy so valuable landmarks. It is the old historic buildings, the beautiful churches, narrow streets and wonderful people that make Charleston the charming, unique City it is..... I love it.

Sincerely, /s/ Barbara L. McInnes Erkfitz

National Trust for Historic Preservation
Washington, D.C.

Do you have glossy photographs of the fine collection of befores and afters of the houses in Stoll's Alley, featured in your November "Preservation Progress"? We would like to use them in a future issue of one of the National Trust publications, and we could eventually return the prints, if necessary.

Have colored slides been made of these same views? If so, may we obtain a set of them? They would become a part of the National Trust audio-visual library, which is primarily used by staff members in making speeches across the country, Our slides are also loaned occasionally to other groups and individuals.

With appreciation, I am,

Sincerely Yours
Terry B.Morton
Dept.of Information

ANSWERED: We have neither glossy photos nor colored slides. No money to make them.

The P.E.Mulligan Store
Cazenovia, N.Y.

Thank you so much for sending me your Charlestown publication with the delightful story about Hervey Allen and the Sacred Cow. You have a real gift for narrative -- and your story of a day in Madison County with the Hervey Allen family, and how Hervey sought to choose under your guidance a milk-producer and a family pet combined -- all this made a lively tale and brought memories to me.

I remember the young Walter Harts and the Hervey Allen family of those pleasant bygone days very well. Only this morning Mrs. Allen was in the store. She is always the same stead-

fast and wise and witty woman who helped so much to make 'Anthony Adverse' a "world book".

Your whole publication and historical review is a delight, with a significance and background which is new and of great interest to me.

Sincerely, Agnes Mulligan

Headquarters, 3d Infantry Division
Wurzburg, Germany.

For several months a recent Citadel graduate member of my division and I have shared a subscription to the New and Courier. Although it has been years since I have stayed in Charleston I surprise myself with memories and recollections of its fine old places.

Our paper comes late but your plea for 16 Mill and 145 Rutledge was well done. I hope it is successful. I have a mislaid copy of "This Is Charleston" and intend to dig it out and refresh myself. I need a copy of a map of below Broad, particularly of Ansonborough. Would the Society for Preservation of these homes have any material on these areas?

My family is with me in lovely Wurzburg (rebuilt after devastating fires) and we are getting to see some beautiful things and places. No telling where we will settle on retirement (I am almost eligible but have no intention of doing so for about 10 more years) but I keep wishing I owned a piece of Charleston. Right now I am too busy running the largest law firm in Southern Franconia to worry over it.

Best regards to all our Charleston kin.
H.W.Carroll Furman
Lt.Col., Division Staff Judge Advocate

P.S.
Recently saw a N & C photo of Mrs. Elizabeth O'Neill Verner. I have two of her etchings (St. Phillip's and St. Michael's) with us.

---

19 Archdale St., Charleston, S.C.

I thought you might be interested in this picture as it reminds me of the Old Citadel. Perhaps someday a good use(and something good looking) may be found for this old building before a despotic County Council has it pulled down - Perhaps the re-discovery of the tunnel by Civil Defense may save it for the future.

Please thank Capt. Hart for his wonderful letter in Tuesday's paper - Fighting words always arouse interst and usually carries conviction - I enclose for your scrapbook, or something!

I see the pretty paneled house at 54 Queen Street now being restored. It's really a doll's house but could be perfect!

Love reading your Preservation magazine.
Sincerely
Jennie Porcher

New York, N.Y.

I trust that you and Captain Hart enjoyed a very pleasant summer. My summer months were spend mostly in New Hampshire, close to the Ocean and delightful. I met a very charming "Bostonian", Mrs. Foster Stearns, who, with her late husband knew the world-- and Washington -- State Department and Congress. Mrs. Stearns is very active in the historical and restoration committees and societies of N. H. and I spoke to her of the grand work you were doing with your Preservation Society. Like the small child who first saw an elephant, Mrs. Stearns said: "I do not believe it!" So, would you very kindly send her your "Progress Report" commencing if you have back numbers, last year. I am enclosing check for $10. which should, I think pay my 1963-4 dues as well, as the subsciption for Mrs. Stearns. But, please let me know if ten is not enough. And, by the way, I really would like a flat in the Old Citadel, if it is made into such.

Dick joins me in all kind of greetings to you and Captain Hart and I am,

Sincerely, Mary Kenna

Exeter, N.H.

Your letter was postmarked Oct. 6, and only arrived a day or two ago. I can't imagine where it has been! But when I read it I thought what an amusing and interesting friend Miss Kenna has. The Newsletters arrived and have been thoroughly read by me and bring back all our loved visits to Charleston.

At the time we were last there, my husband was in Congress, so we got rather V.I.P. treatment and saw a lot of your industries, etc., which were rather over my head. But I am a Colonial Dame and had a few tea parties of my own. How can anyone help loving your city?

Yesterday on a beach picnic I took the Letters along and they aroused interest, because we up here are doing something like your project at "Strawbery Banke," in Portsmouth. It has to be spelled that way because that is how it appears on the very earliest map of our coast. The sailors, who had been living on salt fish and hardtack for months, saw strawberries on shore and put it right down on the record.

Thank you so much for your part in my pleasure. In returning the three letters, I enclosed a Strawbery Banke brochure, to show you that we are sharing your efforts to preserve the past. I am very grateful to Miss Kenna.

Sincerely, Martha Stearns

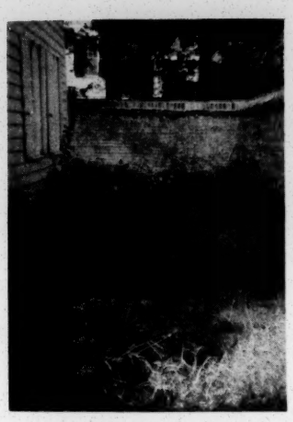
TO OUR MEMBERS

1. Dr. Linton, President of the Society, suggested publishing some of the letters to the Editor. The Executive Committee feels this will add to the interest of the paper, and will promote an exchange of varied ideas. The Editor, in an unusually agreeable mood, has complied.

2. Our next issue will make its debut in larger type. This has its dangers as you will be able to read it! Any errors found are not to be attributed to the Editors, living or dead, but to the clarity of the machine the Society is acquiring!

- Ed

INSIDE THE LINING HOUSE



The Garden To Day

The Lining House restoration is now an accomplished fact, due to the generosity of Charleston people, and friends of our old City. The Doubting Thomases were few but let them now come and look. The hall is always open, and a little tact will open the other closed doors. The color scheme is largely the choice of Margaret Howard. People keep telling Captain Hart what superb taste he had, and he will just snatch the credit from our Margaret.

The E.H. Pringle office is our favorite; but then we happen to be McColl's sister, and made the uneven curtains. However uneven, they do set off the grey and white office with Mr. Pringle's home-like furnishings.

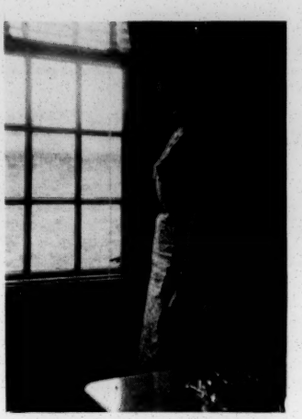
Pictures of the Horres office on the east side of the first floor did not turn out well. Reluctantly we mention here that Captain Hart is our photographer, and our husband. He has declined to do these pictures over again.

The office of Gibbs and Gibbs covers the entire 2d floor. Thanks to Dorothy Gibbs it is one of great charm.

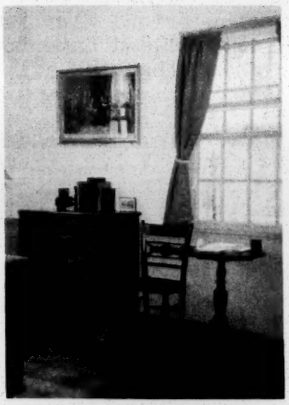
The Preservation Society uses the quaint little room on the west side of the 3d floor. It is the room with the big fireplace and great chimney. Margaret Howard gave us the desk, and Captain Hart repaired it. The chair and typewriter were rustled from Joe Young's office by his wife Liz.

All of our happy tenants love being in the Lining House. "Never is heard a discouraging word, where the heat and the air conditioning run!" When they do not run Captain Hart runs to Bailey. Some tenants claim he walks all the way to Bailey's in a week. But this is not so. Bailey just takes a week to come at the beginning of each season.

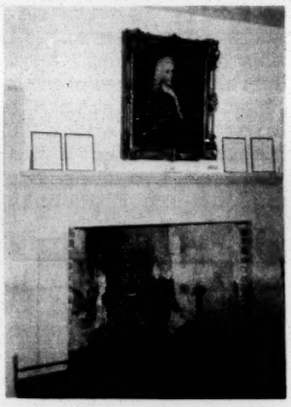
The Garden is our next excitement. The plans from Mr. Umberto Innocenti are here! Let me stress again this is due to Margaret Howard. The plans have great style, simplicity, but not dullness. The handling of so small a space has to be just perfect. The plan must be suitable and practical to keep the Garden looking just-so. This is a gift from Mr. Innocenti. A wonderful present of skill, art, and time. The Garden Clubs will give us the plants, the soil, and will do the planting.



Mrs. Leland, Secretary
E.H. Pringle & Co.



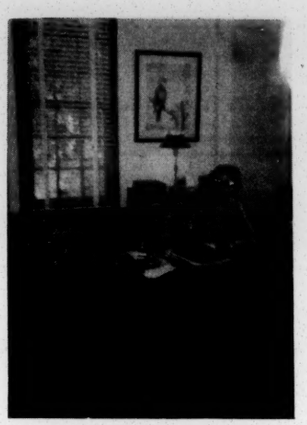
E.H. Pringle & Co.



Portrait
Judge Robert Pringle
b. 1702 d. 1776

Mr. McColl Pringle

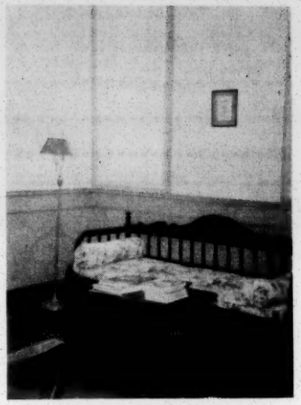
Front Hall



Mrs. Sams, Secretary
Gibbs & Gibbs

Captain Hart has lined up the men to do the drainage, the pipes for watering, and lay the bricks according to Innocenti. It will not be cheap. Nothing about the Lining House has been a cheap job, but rather good permanent work.

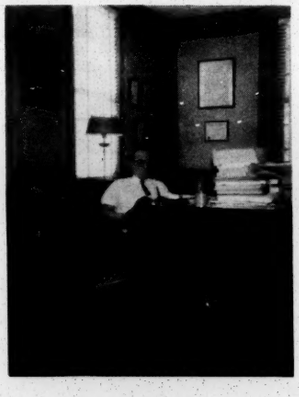
The restoration of the Lining House is no longer a dream. It is once more a house of handsome dignity on a major corner of our city streets. It has said to all who see or hear: "I show you that an old house, run down far more than most, can again be an ornament to the city. I serve as useful a purpose in 1963 as I did nearly 250 years ago !"



Reception Room
Gibbs & Gibbs

The Lining House is providing office space for three tenants and the Society today. It is self supporting !

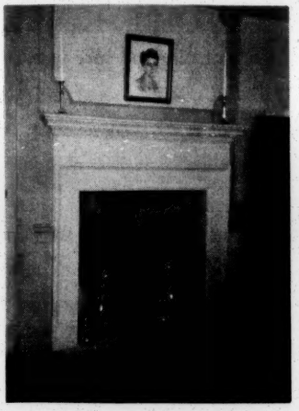
Now that the house is no longer a matter of faith, but a fact, it should not be difficult to raise the money needed to pay off the small mortgage. Gifts of money earmarked for the Garden will be accepted, I promise you. Also, we want chairs and tables for the third floor.



Mr. C. B. Gibbs, Sr.

Instead of making a drive we are asking you to match the check you gave at the beginning of this great Lining House adventure of the Preservation Society. They will pay off the mortgage and complete the Garden. A little money left over for our depleted treasury wouldn't do us any harm, at all, at all ! So please get that check off to Box 521 today !

- Ed



Mr. Gibbs Fireplace

LINING HOUSE - OPERATIONS 1963

	Rent Recd	Expenses	Net Income
Jan to Apr	0	901	(-) 901
May to Oct	2256	1558	698
Nov to Dec	752	519	233 (Est)
Total	3008	2978	$ 30

Expenses include: Heat, Cooling, Light, Water, Minor repairs, Mortgage payments (on $6000), Taxes, Insurance, Janitor, and Supplies.

Expenses do NOT include: Capital outlay for such as Venetian blinds, Lamps, Restoration costs.

We expect the 1964 estimated net (cash) income of some $1400 will start the accumulation of enough money to cover future outside painting, interior re-decorating, roof repairs and other non-routine expenses.

W. T. Hart, Jr.

Mrs. Horres
Horres Realty

Preservation Society Office
Mrs. Dameron, Secretary

Mail to: The Preservation Society, Box 521, Charleston, S.C.

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION TAX EXEMPT

I would like to join the Society so that I may help preserve the architecture of Charleston. Enclosed is my check for annual dues.

Name.....( ) $ 2 Regular Member

Address.....( ) 10 Sustaining Mem.

.....( ) 50 Life Member

Please CHANGE my ADDRESS

From OLD.....

.....

To New.....

.....

Name _____

(Please print)

Meeting Notice

Time: 8 P.M.

Place: Gibbes Art Gallery.....135 Meeting St.

Program: UNDERGROUND WIRING

Speaker: Mr. Harold A. Petit
Vice President, SoCaEl & Gas Co.

ABOUT THE SPEAKER

Our first meeting of the year will feature Mr. Harold Petit of the South Carolina Electric and Gas Company. Mr. Petit has a distinguished business and community service background.

Mr. Petit has been asked to discuss for us the feasibility of putting power lines underground in the Historic Charleston area. He Has Had His Engineering Staff looking into the possibilities!

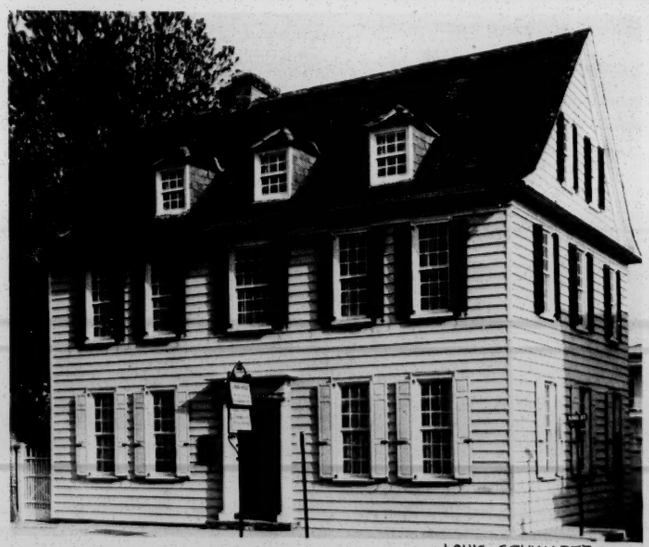
SoCa El & Gas company headquarters luxuriate in a delightful building on Meeting Street. The architect was E. B. White, about 1876. Charleston is appreciated by its utility company.

Dr. Linton has expressed the hope that Mr. Petit will have a large audience and one sympathetic to other power company aims, which include customer satisfaction, and economy of operation for the same customer. This is where the rub will come because underground wiring is somewhat more expensive. WHAT will be the dénouement?

Come to the meeting! Your ideas may bury a wire!

"Continuing innovation in design and products is contributing to progress in underground installation of electric service in residential areas.

Ralph J. Cordiner
Jan. 12, 1962. Chairman of the Board, General Electric Co."



LOUIS SCHWARTZ

Ready For Another 250 Years

Childs 82 P. HST. Charleston S.C.

PRESERVATION PROGRESS
PRESERVATION SOCIETY OF CHARLESTON, INC., BOX 521, CHARLESTON, S. C.

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
c/o Sou. Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3
Georgia

RETURN REQUESTED

See p. 7-10

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N. Word Ed.
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PRESERVATION PROGRESS

PRESERVATION SOCIETY OF CHARLESTON, INC., BOX 521, CHARLESTON, S. C.

LINING HOUSE 1715

Vol VIII No. 3 Eleanor P. Hart, Editor Anne Thomas, Asst. May 1963

A Long Shadow

By MARY PRINGLE FENHAGEN

I read with interest Mr. Melandez's sketch of Mr. Albert Simons in your recent issue. I Looked with delight at the photographs of his buildings and restorations. I would like to add another facet.

Although I have lived away from Charleston for many years, the fact that I married an architect caused our paths to cross occasionally on the national scene. Therefore, it is of Mr. Simons as he was known outside of Charleston that I would like to speak.

In an architects office, draughtsmen come and go. The good ones go sooner. Mr. Laurence Fowler, long the dean of good taste and good architecture in Baltimore, had many draughtsmen over the years. Mr. Simons brief stint in his office is still remembered by Mr. Fowler with great pleasure.

The annual meeting of the American Institute of Architects is the forum of professionals in the United States. Mr. Simons worked thru the years on many of its committees to raise the professional levels in this country. It was always fun to run into Albert at meetings - be it Washington, Boston, Williamsburg, or Detroit. There he was the champion for the preservation of our architectural heritage. To the Architects at large, Mr. Simons became Mr. Charleston. Of course, architects both here and abroad are familiar with our churches and homes.

In 1927, the American Institute turned to him to bring out volume one of the projected series Octagon Library, Early American Architecture. Through that volume with its excellent measured drawings, photographs and text, Mr. Simons spread nationally a graphic picture of Charleston to the members of the Institute and other interested students of architecture. Incidentally, Mr. Simons book was the only volume published. A lot of work was done on New Orleans by New Orleans' architects for volume two, but it never got to press.

The American Institute of Architects recognized Mr. Simons abilities by making him a Fellow in 1934, citing at that time his particular contributions to preservation. His hard work and general abilities were noted in 1942. He was elected to be one of the directors of the Institute, a most coveted honor. Later the Institute asked Mr. Simons to serve on its jury of Fellows. This jury selected men to be honored as Fellows from the country at large.

Many distinguished Americans knew Mr. Simons. They became acquainted with him at the meetings of the American Institute of Architects. When they visited Charleston they would stop at his office for a word of advice. "What shall we see, Albert, and how do we get there?" Kind Mr. Simons would invariably put on his hat and end his working day. There is nothing Albert enjoys more than taking a fellow enthusiast on a special tour. I am now going to detail some of the friends, good friends, made for Charleston by the Simons generous giving of themselves. These friendships have been important for many of us who know nothing of them. Strangers who might have remained birds of passage, instead, stayed to add their contributions to Charleston.

As early as 1923, Mr. and Mrs. William Emerson came to Charleston to attend a meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Institute of Architecture. The Emersons became fast friends of the Simons. They sent the Simons many contributions, through the years, for preserving Charleston. One of these gifts bought the option on the Heyward Washington House.

Viewing the house after its restoration, Mrs. Emerson was so pleased. She sent another check to fill "a few empty spots," as she put it, with handsome pieces of furniture. Mr. Emerson financed the measured drawings and the majority of the photographs in the excellent book, Plantations of the Carolina Low Country, text by Mr. Samuel Stoney, editing by Mr. Simons and Mr. Lapham. This composite of talents produced a book which enables native sons to know their countryside better, and also carries its image to distant parts.

In 1928 or 1929, Mr. and Mrs. Victor Morawetz of New York City stopped in Charleston. They planned a brief visit, but then, they had not planned to lose their hearts to Charleston and the late delightful Alfred Huger. The Morawetzs bought Fenwick Hall, a desolate ruin. They made it again into one of the loveliest homes in the country under the direction of Mr. Albert Simons and Mr. Stuart Dawson. The Morawetzs made many Charleston friends. They enjoyed their life here so greatly that they

often lingered till the middle of July. Their home was the scene of gay gatherings of friends. In fact the Morawetzs became so fond of all things Charleston, that they wished to share them with their New York friends. They invited the Charleston Spiritual Society to come to New York as their guests to give a private concert for the Morawetz friends in New York. I need hardly add it was a gala occasion for all.

In addition to restoring Fenwick Hall, the Morawetzs did the Pink House on Chalmers St. - 41 and 46 King St., the latter was threatening to become a filling station. Also, 14 Legare St., 13 East Battery and 30 Meeting St. felt their loving hand. They bought Seabrook Beach and a large part of the island to preserve the virgin forest. Mr. Morawetz left immense benefactions to the Medical Society of South Carolina for Roper Hospital in his will in 1938. Mrs. Morawetz left $15,000 to the Preservation Society when she died in 1956. This was the nucleus used to purchase the Lining House.

John Mead Howells of New York, a distinguished architect, retired and bought the lovely old John Stuart House on Tradd St. Of course he found much in common with Mr. Simons. Mr. and Mrs. Howells enjoyed giving parties at the Dock Street Theatre, a building Mr. Simons had reason to know rather well. Week-end afternoons would frequently find Mr. Howells and Mr. Simons roaming thru the streets admiring the pitch of a tile roof, here, or a wrought iron gate swinging by one hinge, there. Mr. Howells contributed an introduction to Plantations of the Carolina Low Country. His last paragraph says:

> "With this volume Messrs. Simons and Lapham have another well accomplished task to their credit. I hope that they find part of their reward in the help they have given to other members of their profession, and in recognition by a wider non-professional audience, of their presentation of these records of their native section."

Mr. Robert Whitelaw, director at this time of the Gibbes Art Gallery, conceived the idea of a survey of all the valuable buildings left in Charleston. Mr. Whitelaw managed to obtain the necessary funds for his purpose. He asked Mr. Howells, Mr. Sam Stoney, Miss Alice Smith, Mr. Albert Simons to be the jury of four to evaluate our architectual heritage. Miss Helen McCormack made written and photographic reports on 1168 buildings. Their results have been published for us in the wonderfully useful little booklet called This is Charleston. This booklet is still a local bible and is reprinted every few years by the Art Gallery, and other organizations interested in preservation. It is a pictorial survey. It seeks to save old buildings by classifying them as nationally important, valuable to the city, etc. It was such a bright new thot that architects in New Orleans, and in far London held it up to their townsmen. They tried to get them to undertake a similiar survey.

Many more warm friends charmed by Mr. Simons have taken root in our midst. His deeds like little drops of water and little grains of sand make a mighty ocean and a pleasant land. There is an architect's widow in Baltimore remembering the roses Albert picked from his garden and mailed to her so that she could smell them months before they bloomed in more northern air. The scent of these roses and the kindness waiting brings here south, though too rarely. An architect down for the Ball in prohibition times was handed a small flask by Mr. Simons with the remark, "I know you are a long way from home supplies, and I want your joy to be unconfined." So, many warm little stories float thru the air with the name of Albert Simons.

The students of his course in Fine Arts at The College of Charleston between World War I and II have long since scattered. Things they learned from Mr. Simons have undoubtedly borne fruit in other climes. One of his students has written thus.

> "For those of us who took his course in the early years of his teaching, when classes were small, there was a close personal tie between teacher and pupil. The class discussions became a permanent part of our lives. Paintings, sculpture and buildings, met again on our travels and visits to art museums were welcomed as old friends."

In the bleak war years of 1944 and 45, the Dean of Liverpool staged a special Thanksgiving Day service at his cathedral for the American forces. Major Simons was assigned the unusual task of preparing a litany for the occasion. The happy results formed a lasting friendship with the Dean.

Physically Albert Simons is not tall, but he is casting a long shadow.

THE END

Note by Editor..Mr. Simons is a genuinely modest gentleman. He consented to our series of articles only to further preservation. We believe records of the past are important. We hope they will encourage younger architects to note the influence they can wield. We hope they will encourage you and me to see how much the individual can do for his city thru simple friendship and loving effort.

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A SENSE OF THE PAST

By GWEN KELLEY

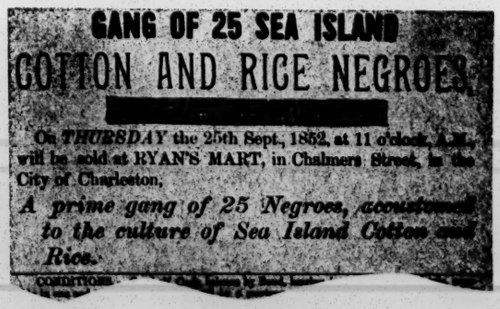
The Miriam B. Wilson Foundation is small and struggling. It is fiercely dedicated to the aims of its progenitor. One begins to feel its spirit standing in the strength of the old stone building at 6 Chalmers Street, beneath the rugged beams of heart-of-pine. The Old Slave Mart becomes much more than a monument to an era in our history; it is a tribute to the woman who has made it such and to those who are devoted to carrying on her work.

JORDAN - NEWS & COURIER

6 Chalmers Street

To understand more fully the value of the work of Miss Miriam Bellangee Wilson, we must first become aware of the history of the building. She devoted the last years of her lifetime to it. Only then can we appreciate the accomplishments of her indomitable spirit and of those who follow in her footsteps.

The building, located on the old cobblestone lane we now know as Chalmers Street, was originally a fire house. It was operated by a private insurance company, as was the custom of the early nineteenth century. The fire house was built in 1820, and is an excellent example of the construction of its time. Its massive timbers offer quite a contrast to much of the work of today! The second floor and balcony were added later. This was probably by Alderman Thomas Ryan who, as we know from records, used the building as a place of public auction.



GANG OF 25 SEA ISLAND

COTTON AND RICE NEGROES

On *THURSDAY* the 25th Sept., 1852, at 11 o'clock, A.M., will be sold at RYAN'S MART, in Chalmers Street, in the City of Charleston,

A prime gang of 25 Negroes, accustomed to the culture of Sea Island Cotton and Rice.

"Handbill of 1852"

From newspaper files, a handbill of 1852, and other sources we learn that the mart was used not only for the selling of slaves but also household goods, real estate, and on at least one occasion, a steamer! Thomas Ryan's property at this site included not only the present building, but the area in the back to Queen Street. There were located the now-demolished cookhouse and the "Barracoon."

The "Barracoon" (From an old photo)

The Barracoon, familiar to many Charlestonians, was torn down in 1951. It was a four-story brick double house, plain but imposing. The exact date of its erection is unknown, but it is certainly some years before the 1820 of the auction mart. Its name is derived from the Spanish "barracao", denoting an open shed where goods are offered for sale. Definitely the source of the words "barracks". It was used even in that sense in the early 1850's, for it was there that Ryan quartered the slaves to be sold.

The cluster of the three buildings made a flourishing business. The Barracoon, in back, housed Negroes to be sold at auction. It was also a lodging place for slaves who were visiting Charleston with their masters, or spending some months in Charleston as apprentices to some already skilled craftsman. Between the Barracoon and the mart was located the cookhouse and a yard area which afforded some space for recreation. With a little imagination and what Henry James calls "A sense of the past", we begin to see a picture quite different from the one afforded by the name "Ryan's Jail", a later name for the Barracoon. We can visualize a certain privacy for the Negro. A building where life was decent and not just a great tenement where he was locked up and treated cruelly. It was in later years, during the Civil War, that the building was used as a jail, and then for deserting soldiers and other miscreants. Certainly common sense will tell us that the Negroes housed there, as merchandise, would be well treated for sales purposes alone, if not for the sake of humanity.

To the front of the auction mart itself, we find in the yards on the north side were shown carriages, horses, etc. for sale.

Downstairs in the mart were offices for different auctioneers using the Ryan facilities. Also there was a gathering place for buyers and sellers to congregate. Pubilic auctions were held from the balcony upstairs. Here the auctioneers called out the various lots on sale, and the buyers bid by number from the courtyard below.

HART

"The balcony upstairs"

BRADHAM ADV.

"on the second floor were stalls..."

On the second floor were stalls where prospective buyers could inspect slaves offered for sale. This again gives the lie to the popular image of the slave tied in chains standing before the public and subject to every indignity. At Ryan's slave mart, the slaves to be sold were, as far as we know, not even present on the day of the auction! Wherever possible, families were sold together. We may read in the descriptive handbills of any notable abilities or defects of the slave to give a fair picture to the buyer. These handbills can be seen at the Charleston Museum today.

Thus we have a record of a business---a sad and unfortunate one, yes---but still a business and not, as some may say, a mere exercise in cruelty.

In fact, the Old Slave Mart Museum, offers proof of an attempt to avoid cruelty and to conduct the selling of slaves within the law. The City of Charleston abolished the selling of slaves at the Workhouse on Magazine Street due to complaints about foul conditions there. The bad practice of selling slaves on the streets, on corners, etc. sprung up. A city ordinance was passed that expressly forbid this type of selling. It authorized the buying of a lot and the building of a slave mart. Thus, in 1856, after the passing of this ordinance, Thomas Ryan advertised the availabilty of his property. The old fire house and the present building was called Ryan's Exchange. It was bought and used as the City Slave Mart. It is the only building left standing in Charleston where slaves are known to have been sold.

These are the facts discovered by Miss Mirian B. Wilson prior to purchasing the property to establish a museum there in 1937. It is sad that doubts were cast upon the authenticity of the slave mart in the face of the overwhelming proofs uncovered by her painstaking research.

From 1937 until her death Miss Wilson devoted her time and meager funds to the restoration of the building and to founding a museum. It is the only one of its kind in our country devoted to Negro crafts and to giving a true picture of plantation life. Where wood needed to be replaced, Miss Wilson saw that it was done with wood of the period, using the construction methods of the time - witness the pegged fittings of the staircase. She scoured the south for examples of Negro craft work as well as choice samples of brick and plaster work of the era. The bright blue of the outside trim of the Slave Mart is a carry-over in this country of the native African belief that blue doors, and the like, would protect the house from evil spirits.

We have all too few relics today of the African traditions.

JORDAN - NEWS & COURIER

"The popular basket work..."

The popular basketwork of the sea-island Negroes is one of the last crafts to live. Slave-made furniture is now a collector's item. Many of the priceless skills of weaving, metalwork, etc. have been irrevocably lost. Thus the few samples in this small museum are rare and worthy of our attention. Visitors there today, both Negro and white, must realize that here, and here alone, may we see examples of the heritage of the South.

BRADHAM ADV.

"the heritage of the South..."

Miss Wilson's aims, and those of her foundation, were objective. This is no memorial to any one race; it is the hard won preservation of American history.

Sadly enough, this fine memorial has narrowly escaped destruction. We urge the reader's help in continuation of this project. The building, upon the death of Miss Wilson, could not be accepted by the legatee, the Charleston Museum, due to a technicality. It then reverted to the residual heirs, the Church of St. Luke and St. Paul. The Church was financially unable to operate the property. However, the church felt the strong moral obligation to perpetuate the aims of Miss Wilson. To keep the museum open, the building was leased to Mrs. Louise A. Graves and Mrs. Judith Wragg Chase. These friends of Miss Wilson's are determined to do all possible to continue Miss Wilson's work.

BRADHAM ADV.

"a small gift shop..."

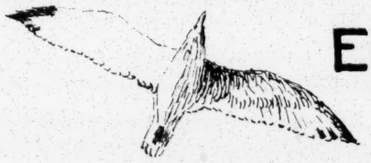
For two years Mrs. Chase and Mrs. Graves have run the Museum. They operated, there, a small gift shop. It is a charming shop. All the wares are in exquisite taste, no trite souvenirs. The art gallery is devoted to contemporary arts and crafts. Mrs. Graves and Mrs. Chase have added new exhibits to the Museum and keep the building itself in excellent order. This has been truly a labor of love. All profits must go into the support of the Museum, rent, etc.

This cannot continue indefinitely. To save the building, the Miriam B. Wilson Foundation has been established. It has recently been chartered by the state as an eleemosynary and educational institution. It is dedicated to furthering knowledge of Negro culture and plantation history. Mrs. Graves and Mrs. Chase rent the property with an option to buy. It is the aim of the Foundation to purchase the property. This security is necessary for future maintenance of the Museum.

The members of the Board of Trustees are: Mrs. E. Q. Sylvester of Cleveland, Ohio, President; Mrs. Reed Graves, Vice-president; Mrs. Richard Chase, Secretary; Mr. Robert A. Talbot, Treasurer; Dr. Thomas Scarborough; Mrs. George Clowes; Mr. Read Barnes; and Captain W. T. Hart.

The Campaign for Friends of the Foundation is being conducted at present. We urge you to support this cause. The Miriam B. Wilson Foundation would welcome statements saying that you are in sympathy with their aims. It would like contributions. The members already include, Mrs. Albert Simons, Mr. Buist Rivers, Sr., and Mr. and Mrs. Malcolm Havens, among others.

It would be wonderful if we could all be sparked by the brightly-burning flame ignited by Miss Wilson. She lived out her years in the Confederate Home while paying off the mortage on this, her dream, her heart's desire. Far from a personal one, it was a generous and wide aim, the heritage of us all. This little museum gives us a sense of the past - It is the past in its most painful aspect. Yet, strangely enough, this past has knitted all of our people together in common suffering, common sin, common love...humanity, in short, is one.



ELSPETH VIEWS

Winging her way gayly thru the sky, Elspeth flew into view. She was dazzling white in the bright spring sunshine. Gracefully she circles, then floated to a perfect three point landing, as the aviators say. All three points were on my garden goddess amid her white azaleas.
"Beautiful day, 'tho not in May," Elspeth greeted with unusual courtesy.
Then she preened her handsome new Easter feathers. She seemed, like Narcisus, to be in love with her image in our little pool.
However, as I feared for my fishes, I hastily broke up the love match. "Mind the cat, Elspeth," I warned.
"Cat!" Elspeth screamed, "Cat!"
"Just a passing stranger, I lied, but perhaps we had better go in to the study to our work."
"Oh, dear, oh dear!" Elspeth fretted. "I'm all of a tremble! I doubt very much if I can do a job for you now. It's a shame, but every bit of viewing I had in mind has quite fled. We artists can't stand these shocks, and produce too."
"Come now, Elspeth, I really didn't see a cat. I just thot you'd be safe in here away from any possible danger or distraction, such as gazing at your beautiful spring plumage!"
"I am beautiful this spring," beamed Elspeth, spreading her wings alluringly. "George Campsen says he's never seen a gull to compare with me!"
"Elspeth," I interrupted quickly, "We want you to view for the Preservation Society, not to have a viewing of your modest charms."

"If I must, I must," Elspeth responded ungraciously, "But do hurry. The dates I have waiting! I'm always so much in demand. Where shall I start?"
"Elspeth, tell us some of the happy things!"
"That's easy this issue," Elspeth chirped. "Betty Woodward's mansion, the old county library, is a great success. The tour had all Charleston wishing to live in it. I hear money grows on the magnolias in the garden."
"Not exactly, Elspeth, but the tour did make close to one thousand dollars. Mrs. Henry Edmunds runs things like a cadillac. Mrs. Woodward, Mrs. Valk and Mrs. Bill went to quite a bit of trouble, too. Did you notice the lovely way Betty did the flowers in her apartment?"

"Flowers are not my line," Elspeth replied indifferently. "I did think Betty was looking nearly as pretty as one of her magnificient portico. The garden was redone for her over night. same as Madam de Pompadour's. What a view! I'll have to grab a columnbefore they are snapped up like Betty's apartments."
We couldn't afford to do with out Elspeth and Betty was too valuable a citizen to lose. If they tried living on the same place, I was sure one or the other would have to go. I must divert Elspeth's one column mind!

Cypress Gardens

"Have you been out to Cypress Gardens, yet?"
"Of course," Elspeth replied smugly. "You should know when duty calls, I am never wanting there."
"Some duty! I took a boat, and considered it a glorious treat," I concluded, dryly.
"I flew from tree to tree," retorted Elspeth with maddening superiority. "I perched high on a greening cypress and gazed at the reflection of a beautiful white gull in the dark waters below, surrounded by glowing red azaleas, too, too lovely - the bird, I mean, of course."
It was exasperating. Spring had gone to her head. The blasted bird could think of nothing, today, but her wretched personal appearance.
"Elspeth, I hope you noticed how wonderfully the Kittredges planned their gardens. It is so breath takingly beautiful, withall so natural. Our boatman was a handicapped mute, but he paddled our skiff thru the cypress knees like a veteran. Think what it must mean to him to have a self supporting job. The rest rooms are like dainty tea houses,in the woods of the garden. In a neat shady picnic spot, they serve sandwiches and soft drinks. Somehow one never loses the feeling of being in a gentleman's garden. I love that dignity of our great gardens. It is respected for the most part by the paying guests."
"Who is doing the viewing now," sputtered Elspeth indignantly. "You hardly let me get a word in edge wise!"
"Go ahead," I shrugged cooly, "But keep to our point."
"Why am I the one who always has to keep to the point?"
"Because I am the Editor for another long term," I replied in firm fashion.
"The real point is the Kittredges have given their water fairy land to the City of Charleston."
Cocking her head and pausing for dramatic effect, our bird let out a shrewd mouthful.
"AIN'T SOME PEOPLE GRAND, imagine giving away all that loveliness to the City for future generations of Charleston Gulls."
"People, Elspeth," I corrected.
"Birds," she said,"of course."
She is so opinionated, I let it lie.

Porter Military Academy

"Have you heard of the fate of the Porter Military Academy?"
"That is sad Elspeth! To think, it is our own Bishop who will sell it without restrictions to keep the old buildings."
"He is not my Bishop, yet," Elspeth pointed out to me. "Why does he sell it without safegaurds for the historic old place?"
"He is advised they will get less money for the property with restrictions."
"Why not take less, then," remarked our bird very sensibly, I thought.
"What will happen to the Porter school," pondered Elspeth.
"I hear they plan to build across the Ashley River. It seems remarkable. You know, Elspeth, it cost about eight cents a square foot to recondition and modernize an old building, and about sixteen cents a square foot to build a new building."
"Gosh," bleated Elspeth, "that's twice as much!"
"The school must have the buses to fetch the poor boys back and forth across the river. But the cost of the land, the school class buildings, the dormitories, the cafeteria, the gym, reconstructing the chapel, and some teachers' homes will eat up a million dollars in short order."
"They couldn't be very knowing," admitted our bird, "Look at how they placed their one new building. It's half way across the focal center of the magnificent old group of buildings."
"Really, Elspeth, please, please try to be tactful or keep quiet! No doubt there was some good reason like, like....."
"Like," interrupted our incorrigible bird, "a hole in someone's head."
To distract her, I murmured that the Gaud School seemed to turn out successful scholars from just a large old private residence on Broad St. But, Elspeth would pursue the painful subject.
"I feel sorry," she elaborated, "for the owners of the handsome homes on Ashley Avenue and the owners of the pleasant houses on Bee and President Streets. They must have bought their homes, partly for the charming views of old Porter and its park like grounds. Their children will miss the spacious play area."
"Now hold on," Elspeth, I warned, "There is more horror to this revolting development!"
"The plans are to rape the old chapel of its quaint high roof, and also, to take the stain glass windows, and the old bricks."
"No!" Elspeth screamed, "why don't they move the whole building?"
"They can't, Elspeth," I explained, "the mortar will crumble between the bricks. They hope to reconstruct a new chapel across the river out of such bits and pieces."

"Oh! My sainted Uncle! Editor, Editor do something," wailed Elspeth. "We must save the handsome corner of Bee Street and Ashley Avenue that the chapel has formed for over a hundred years!"
"What can I do, Elspeth," I groaned, and began to pull out one of the Captain's wrinkled, but large handkerchiefs.
"Beg them to leave the chapel as it is! Call your Bishop, the school, the medical college, and write your State Legislators!"
"Anyone who goes to the dentist or doctor, needs a chapel," moaned Elspeth with her usual lack of the art of diplomacy.
"Where," she asked oratorically, "are the spiritual values of Dr. Porter's church? Gone!" Elspeth answered herself. "The churches are all money mad like everyone else. I am almost beginning to hate churches," ended our Elspeth.
She was throughly bent on going to hell in her after life, but wished to avoid living in a hell while on this earth.
"Elspeth, now come be fair. We haven't heard the Bishop's side or the school's or the medical college's views. They surely don't want to blight that distinctive block of Ashley Avenue. They won't desire their area to become as common and vulgarly commercial as has much of Rutledge Avenue, and Meeting Street, and now poor Mill Street."
"That's true," Elspeth agreed eagerly, "They

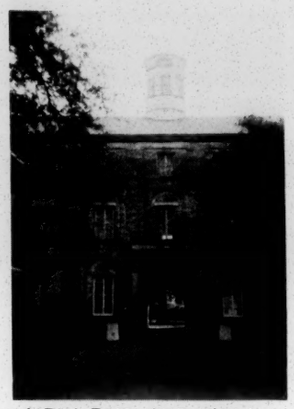
(CONTINUED ON PAGE 9)

ELSPETH _____

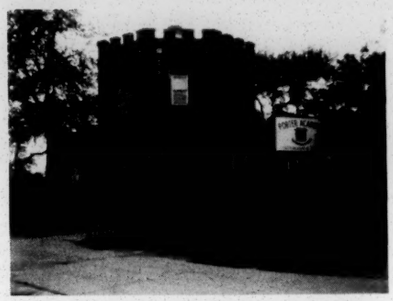
1867

PORTER ACADEMY

"Old Porter and its park-like grounds"



NEW ENGLAND HALL



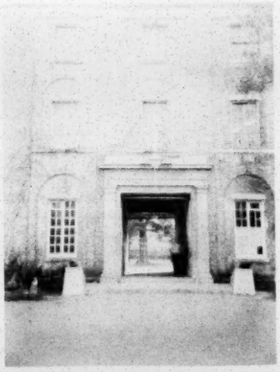
HOFFMAN LIBRARY c. 1893

SUMMERALL HALL (RECENT)
"It's halfway across the focal center"

PORTER HALL (PRESIDENT'S QTRS)

COLCOCK HALL

All the Old Buildings were Standing in 1840



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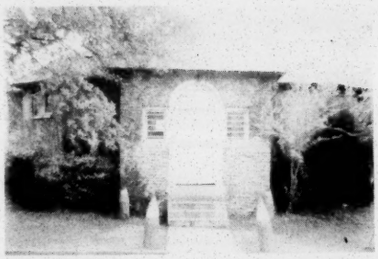


OLD CISTERN

BACK OF NEW ENGLAND HALL

MESS HALL

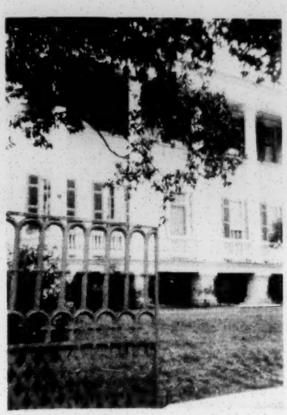
FACULTY HOUSE

PHOTOS BY HART

The Old Chapel

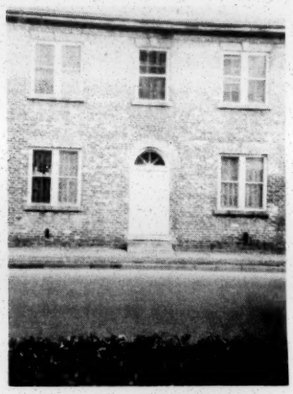
ELSPETH _____

PORTER ACADEMY NEIGHBORHOOD



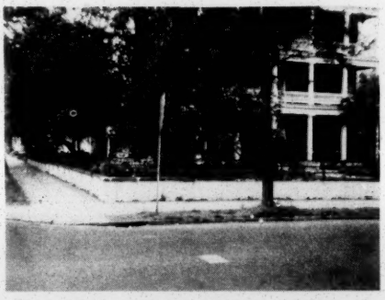
"The handsome homes on Ashley Avenue"

PORTER ACADEMY



41 BEE (COR. OF PRESIDENT)

The Porter Academy buildings (the old U. S. Arsenal) are still a handsome group altho many have been razed. Their story will appear in a delightful article by June Robey in our next issue. It is an amazing story, and one in which General "War Is Hell" Sherman becomes the benefactor of the most Christian of men, Dr. Porter.



EPISCOPAL CHURCH HOME, 12 BEE ST.

This issue we wish to point out to you the beautiful proportions, the symmetry of the Arsenal buildings, the rolling grounds, the color of the old brick rosey with creamy paint peeling off in spots. It is very like a group of buildings in the old city of Pisa, Italy.

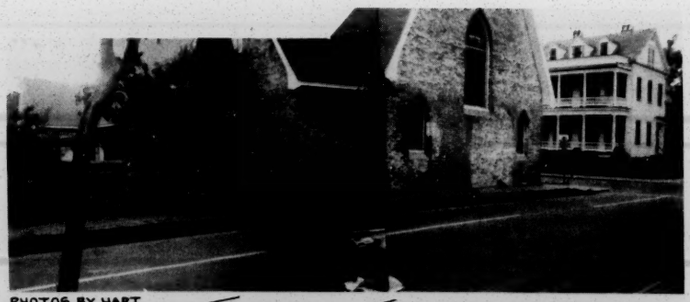
BEE ST

ARTILLERY CAISSON SHED - CONVERTED TO CHAPEL BY DR. PORTER c. 1867

We wish to urge the sensible reconditioning, and use of these unique architectural structures on the future owners, whoever they may be. They can do themselves no greater favor, nor this charming City.

12 BEE STREET

Here Dr. Porter knew his God-like hours. He looked at the bright faces of poor Southern boys. Dr. Porter proclaimed in the North and in the South; "To neglect learning in our youth is to lose the Past and the Future!"



PHOTOS BY HART

BEE STREET

ASHLEY AVE.

NOTE CLOSED-UP CAISSON DOOR BELOW GOTHIC WINDOW

"The handsome corner of Bee Street and Ashley Avenue that the chapel has formed for over 100 years"

can't be so short sighted in this day of 1963. They will see the value and charm of using the old Porter buildings, and fitting the new ones into their style and original plans of the grounds."

I agreed with Elspeth. "There is so much acreage at Porter. Buildings grouped along its borders could look very handsome. The effect of great open space would remain."

"Oh!" Elspeth crowed, "If they do use the old buildings, they will be as proud of the results as Betty is of her apartments, and as you are of the Lining house offices. What a dental college it could be! Doctors and students would love its old-world charm with air conditioning. Another great asset for our city aesthetically as well as medically."

"Elspeth, you have cheered me up," I smiled at her enthusiasm.

"Editor," cried our volatile bird happily, "Suggest to them a good architect like our delightful Read Barnes."

I wanted to change the subject, interviewing Elspeth is like treading on mines. Explosions usually go off the day the paper is received.

Elspeth is far off in the wild blue yonder. I am all too hither, poor, innocent, uncontroversial me! I figured this time I might have to flee to the Kittredge cypress swamps, just because a silly gull had no tact! But, I am hoping the Bishop is still one who turns the other handsome cheek.

Jubalee

"Did you see 'Jubalee', Elspeth?"

"'Jubalee','Jubalee'," Elspeth crowed. "That play was thrilling, even George went twice. My fan, Nancy Stevenson was a femme fatale."

"The whole cast was wonderful," I echoed, "The music,the songs."

"Nancy," Elspeth said affectedly, "Is a true artiste like me." I'd swear the gull gave the same flirtatious little giggle last heard from La Stevenson.

I ignored the ridiculously coy sound, from a gull, I mean, of course. I sang for Elspeth a catchy tune from 'Jubalee':

"See the snowy heron flyin' so free
Tall and free as you and me
The day of promise is now begun
Shared with heroes who fought and won
Great or humble blest is the man
Who finds his life in Carolina Land!"

"It is a fine song!"applauded Elspeth. "Somehow," she added acidly, "I like it best when the singer can carry a tune," and she rudely covered her ears with her wings.

"You're just jealous, cause they didn't mention gulls," I retorted. It really doesn't do to let Elspeth get the best of you everytime.

Elspeth looked offended. She drew herself up and started for the garden.

"I really must be going! George will be quite wild with waiting. Mon Dieu! Le pauvre homme."

I hope Nancy has to read this. The dreadful effect good acting can have on a bird is a serious responsibility.

"Don't go, Elspeth," I begged for the sake of her public, if not my pleasure.

T.B.Clinic

"You haven't viewed the pleasant old house the T.B.Clinic has converted into headquarters.

HART

Miss Jane Wooldridge, School of Nursing Instructor

Each employee was allowed to choose the wall paper and paint in her office. The effect is surprisingly homelike and delightful. The Director, Betty D. Hunt, told the Captain and me, "It is far cheaper than building, yet we have more space and all the modern comforts such as air conditioning, too."

"I saw the new Clinic, "Elspeth was already rising on her strong wings. "Good show," she shouted down in a very British way. Then, switiching in the versatile international manner she has acquired since 'Jubalee', she screeched. "Auf Wiedersehen!"

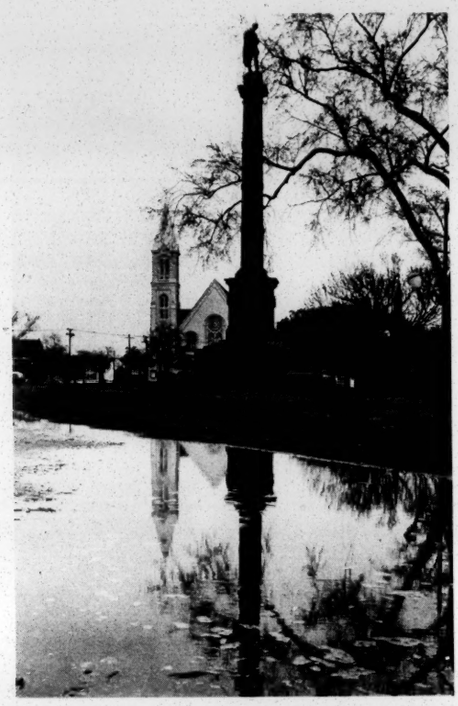
Elspeth had left me; she had failed to cover the wonderful restoration the Tom Huguenins are doing on the handsome building at the south west corner of Church Street. Also, trust Elspeth to forget to mention the vital fact that all the offices in the Lining house are rented. The two offices we have seen are most attractive with lovely old portraits and furnishings. It may be better if Elspeth never sees them.

She is sure to demand Lebensraum, even tho the Lining House has no columns. Elspeth likes to keep it secret, but she is most keen about the dignity of old houses when mixed with central air conditioning.

THE POLAROID CAMERA HAS GREAT ADVANTAGES

It is quick to take a picture. The picture is immediately developed in the camera. The feature that is its unique advantage is that one sees immediately if one has the view one was after, and not a week later when the prints come back from the developer. If you have not what you want, you take another picture while you are on the spot. The disadvantage of the camera is the fact that the pictures are very poor in detail. Recesses in buildings, and intricacies of carving on wood work or moldings in plaster are lost. Therefore you must study our pictures hard, and with imagination to really get the picture. Better yet, we hope you will go to see the many things we write up for you. We wish we could afford commercial photography for our illustrations !

MUCH ADO ABOUT PRESERVATION



CHARLESTON REFLECTS WELL

There Is Money In Restoration....As Well As Beauty And Interest

What Restoration has meant to the Alexandria, Virginia, business man -

The restoration already has given at least $2,716,000 in work to local contractors, carpenters, brick workers, tinsmiths, plumbers, painters, plasterers, electrians, hardware stores, insurance brokers, and attorneys.

In addition the people who live in old houses spend at least $100,000 a year with the same types or firms for maintenance.

And the people of the area, as a whole, spend each year in Alexandria $2,500,000 for food and 3 million for other goods and services - therefore accounting for a regular annual expenditure with local business of $5,600,000.

What Restoration has meant to the city as a whole -

First of all, a large increase in real estate and personal property tax income has resulted.

The number of registered voters in the area is much higher, providing a much broader base participation in democratic government.

A serious trend toward residential blight has been reversed, with great benefits, not only in outward appearances but in improved standards of living with lowering of dangers to health, and diminished crime and delinquency. A general state of low income and impoverishment has been replaced by the families of lawyers, doctors, career government servants, architects, realtors; these are a few examples of the 29 professions now resident in the area.

The attractions of Alexandria as a mecca for tourists interested in its wonderful colonial heritage has been notably enhanced.

Conclusion

The old town civic association respectfully submits to the city government and to the business community, that the restoration of old houses in the port area has been and always will be a great improvement and asset to be carefully considered on a factual basis in relation to planning, zoning, and industrial expansion.

Tax revenue has increased and will continue to increase as the cost of health, delinquency, and other social problems decrease.

Local business already has received and will increasingly receive millions of dollars which would otherwise not be spent. If local business supports the continuing restoration, it can expect 3 million more in building, decorating, and insurance income and an additional 5 million per year in expenditure for food, clothing, automobiles and other goods and services.

Perhaps the greatest value of the restoration of old Colonial homes lies in its contribution to the way of life we Americans believe in and have surfered and died for the past 177 years.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

On 2 April 1963 the Executive Committee approved a proposed amendment which is a complete rewording of section 15(E) of the Constitution.

This change is designed to encourage better restoration work in Charleston by improved public recognition of it.

The following amendment is therefore submitted to the Members of the Society for action:

15. (E) Markers and Awards Committee, whose duties shall include:
(1) Recommendation of appropriate buildings, sites and structures to be identified by markers.
(2) Design and procurement of the markers.
(3) Erection of the markers at locations approved by the Executive Committee.
(4) Maintenance of the markers in good condition.

AWARDS. Each qualified property owner shall be given an "Award" plaque when selected by this committee, and approved by the Executive Committee.

To qualify for an Award, the work accomplished by the property owner must fall within one of the following categories:
(A). Restoration of a valuable building or dwelling in a run-down neighborhood.
(B). Restoration of a valuable building or dwelling in a good neighborhood.
(C). Remodeling of a building or dwelling of no architectural value so that it fits in, and enhances, a good neighborhood.

(D). Construction of a new building or dwelling that fits in with the older structures of Charleston.

The Committee has the responsibility of developing an appropriate, dated, metal plaque for exterior mounting. A letter, signed by the President, stating the reason for the Award, and a plaque will be presented to each Award winner at any regular meeting of the Society.

PRESERVATIONISTS IGNORE PUBLIC BUILDINGS ?

Mr. J. Mitchell Graham does not believe that Preservationists are sufficiently concerned with the use, care, and repair of their public county buildings. We believe that Mr. Graham is correct.

There are in this City, of thousands and thousands of people, just 1200 members of the Preservation Society. Think! Just 1200 willing to pay the dues of two dollars to aid in retaining the charms of their City. Among that 1200, most prefer to let George do the work. Mr. Mitchell Graham himself is not a member.

The Preservation Society is sensible of the compliment paid to it in his implication that we have the influence or the money to take on county buildings. Alas, our only steady income is your few dues of two dollars. Like everyone else, we pay our county taxes on the assumption that our money will be used wisely in preserving our assets as a tourist City, and as a City we our selves love for those assets. However, since we have been publically called to account, we will give you the record. It speaks well for itself. We have also sent our record to Mr. Graham as he will not receive our paper, and may again speak out publically in ignorance of the facts. We have sent a copy to the News and Courier. We hope that it will find space for us to vindicate our selves, publically. We are always greatly concerned with our public buildings. A friendly letter was sent to Mr. Graham by your president, Dr. Linton.

This is the record of Preservation Progress, the Society paper that is free with your society membership of two dollars dues. It is the record on public buildings alone. Articles include capsule histories, architectural discussion, historical incidents, and people, attached to the building. All articles are illustrated with profuse pictures.

Preservation Progress, January 1957
Article on the need of a Historic Foundation, and later, aid in raising money for purchase of Russell House for another house museum, and headquarters of the Foundation.

Preservation Progress, January 1958
Pictures the most beautiful bank building in America. It deplores the proposed razing of it, by the First National Bank for a parking lot. In the same issue, it picutres and has another article on the Fireproof building and urges restoration work.

Preservation Progress, March 1958
Deplores proposed destruction of the west wing of the Old Citadel, and design for new library, gives long reasoned article.

Preservation Progress, May 1959
Short article praising restoration work on City Hall.

Preservation Progress, 1958
Long article on saving Rice Mill.

Preservation Progress, January 1960
Begins series of articles on saving county library building at 94 Rutledge Avenue.

Preservation Progress, March 1960
Contains articles on three handsome public buildings, now lost to the City.

Preservation Progress, May 1960
Articles on Rice Mill, Dock Street Theatre, Russell House.

Preservation Progress, November 1960
Article backing, "This is Charleston." Society puts up one-third of cost. It praises the restoration done on Fireproof building.

Preservation Progress, January 1961
Again publishes article on loss of the Orphan's Chapel - considered one of the finest buildings in America. Here was a fight the Society waged with the splendid aid of the local newspapers before the founding of Preservation Progress.

Preservation Progress, March 1961
Article on Jenkins Mikell House to interest a buyer. The house at this time was used as county library building.

Preservation Progress, November 1961
Article on Calvary Chapel to try to save the unique little church built, in loving concern for the spiritual welfare of our slaves, on Beaufain Street.

Preservation Progress, November 1961
Analysis on Old Citadel building. Engineers and architects state to fix old building will cost eight cents a square foot - against sixteen cents a square foot for a new building. The eight cents includes air-conditioning and a complete reconditioning and modernizing.

Preservation Progress, January 1962
Article on College of Charleston and Preservation by it.

Preservation Progress, March 1962
Article on Historic Foundation and Ansonborough plan.

Preservation Progress, March 1962
Small piece on Powder magazine.

Preservation Progress, November 1962
Article on County Library Building, now apt. house mansion and S. C. State Park Museum House, Rose Hill, S. C. near Union S. C.

Preservation Progress, March 1963
Articles and pictures on Old Citadel with suggestions for use. Article without pictures on old county library building. Article on proposed new avenue named Marion.

Writers

Our writers are local people for the most part. They give much time, effort, and research. From 1920 on, the Society has owed a great debt to the local newspapers. In fact, had they not been cooperative far beyond the call of duty, the Society would be today a dead duck.

From 1920 to the present day, the Society scrap books are full of articles clipped from

both newspapers. These deplored the lack of care of the court house - the wonderful old jail on Magazine Street, last modernized by Robert Mills in 1822 and 1827. The Society urged the use of old buildings and large mansions so that they would survive. It attempted to aid in the sale of old homes. It proposed tax aid, a revolving fund to lend to people fixing up an old house in a presently slum area. It fought the building of ugly unsuitable structures. It fathered a zoning plan. It did all this without one paid worker!

In March 1962, Preservation Progress reprinted Miss Frost's splendid letter of 1928 - published in the News and Courier called "A Voice in the Wilderness." In May 1962, beginning with Miss Sue Frost and painting a canvas of the importance of the whole Preservation movement to this City, was a delightful and scholarly article appearing in Preservation Progress by Col. Alston Deas, President of the Society from 1927 to 1932.

THE END

As I Remember

Hervey Allen and the Appearance of the Sacred Cow

It was about the year 1930. I had been married for years. We lived in a fascinating village in up state New York.

Today my house was as neat and nearly as old as a home in Holland. After all, the skiing was over. It was still too cold for sailing, only the pussy willows were out. What else did I have to do but be a Martha?

I lay lazily upon the sofa with a good book. Occasionally I glanced about with pride in my handwork. From shining floors to shining brass and silver, the place was spotless. The old leaves had been raked from the flower beds and the lawns. The garden, too, was ready to spring into spring. The kitchen was depressingly clean and rather empty of any good food. I felt rather smug. I'd certainly shot the works as far as my energy went on house and garden. Supper would have to be scrambled eggs tonight. But the results were worth it. Happily, I nestled deeper into the old sofa.

The door bell rang, "Oh darn!" I thot, "I just won't go." Then, I heard the front door pushed open, heavy steps in the hall, and into my sitting room breezed Hervey Allen.
"Fine!" He greeted me, "I see you are doing nothing!"
With the stately dignity of my years of married life and twenty long summers on this earth, I was displeased.
"Hervey, I am really working like a dog. I am simply taking a few minutes rest before I start on a Lady Baltimore cake and our usual four course little dinner."
Hervey had the temerity to look some what skeptical; this expression he quickly changed to a winning smile. I now saw he wished me to do something for him. At these times he always smiled with great charm. I also always fell like a ton of bricks.
"Eleanor," Hervey exclaimed dramatically, "We need you! Annette and the ducks are all in the old banana wagon outside waiting for us. We want to buy a cow. This is our first cow. We are depending on taking you along as our consulting expert."

Now that I thot it over, it seemed I had more cow experience than I had realized. "Hervey, I believe I had better go with you. I don't want you and Annette taken in by some clever unscrupulous farmer. I can certainly tell the head from the tail. I believe cows have a very important middle section, too."
"Neatly put," Hervey said. "Delicate and learned," he added, buttering me up as he held my old skii jacket, and waited for me to fall into my galoshes. Annette gave me her usual warm greeting, but complained about the length of time. "I thot Hervey had found the cow and was milking her," she added, some what acidly.

The ducks in royal blue ski suits sat on the back seat of the old station wagon. Their blond hair and round blue eyes taking in everything. I climbed in the front seat of the car by Annette. Hervey joined his little daughters usually referred to as the ducks. Hervey was lame from the first world war so he did not drive. Annette tucked her knitting away. We were off on a real 'bring em back alive cow hunt'.

Spring is beautiful, anywhere, even the northern early spring. There is a hint of green under the sere brown, the birds high on the wing, the bright sun on the melting bits of snow still remaining...The feeling that heaven, and nature and your own heart sings.

However, I was not here to enjoy the scenery, or for my beautiful brown eyes. Oh no, but as a consultant! I must get things in hand before we arrived in Morrisville and began our hunt for the cow.

This attitude was indeed very flattering and properly respectful. But as my distant youth had been mostly confined to the Battery in Charleston, I had seen very few cows. Still my husband's, uncle's, farmer had recently named a calf 'Eleanor' in my honor. My Mother had also once built a stable for a cow. She had a colored housemaid who longed to milk, again. However, she left us before my Mother had completely talked my Father into a cow economy. My Father was often very slow to see economies. It was just as well that we now had the empty stable only, for my Father to complain about. We girls had shuddered at the thot of the language my Father might have used had the gentle art of milking been pushed upon him.

"Hervey," I began, "I have to know what it is you want in a cow to be able to advise you intelligently. Have you a passion for black and white ones, or is a cow nothing in your eyes, unless a strawberry blond like Annette?"

"Annette," Hervey crowed, "I told you Eleanor would be invaluable. Listen to the practical way she goes after facts."
Annette looked suitably impressed, too. Hervey turning to me, continued, "We have three requirements." In a very business like

way for a poet, he listed them in their order of importance.

"First, the cow must be gentle enough for the ducks to ride."

"Of course," I agreed, "A very practical jolly idea, a sort of cow pony for the ducks that also gives milk."

"Exactly," Hervey nodded, "But how do we tell if the cow is truly gentle?"

I pondered for only a second! "Perfectly simple, Hervey," I encouraged, "We will try the ducks on the cow. If she is not honored, but dumps the ducks to the ground, we will turn that cow down."

"Here, here," Annette interrupted. "Please remember my little girls are only four and three, I'd like to keep them a while longer."

"Nonsense, Annette," I shrugged impatiently, "There is no other way. Children fall very nicely at their age I'm told."

Annette looked a little sulky, but she could see I had the point.

"What next Hervey, in importance?"

"Well, the cow can't cost more than fifty dollars, as I haven't any more."

"This is serious, Hervey, you must start dickering at twenty-five dollars and move slowly and painfully up."

"It will be painful any way you look at it," Hervey sighed. Even young and gay Annette looked serious for a minute. We were all wallowing in the depression, but, then, so were the poor farmers.

"The third requirement is milk, lots of it and cream. Annette's Mother specified cream and enough milk for all the Allens and all the Andrews. The Andrews will be in the brick house as usual this summer." Hervey was getting technical, but it did not stump expert Hart.

I was the assistant leader in a girl scout troop. It now came to me that I'd taught a scout just recently about the five kinds of dairy cows and their different advantages, milk wise. Never again would I say any information is useless!

"Hervey, you must ask for a Guernsey cow to meet these requirements." Even the ducks were awed. There was a complete silence. Then, Marcia began to sing, "Guernsey, Guernsey, and Mary Ann Goosey, Goosey," and Annette went "Moo, moo, says our Guernsey cow."

But the ducks would have none of the infantile 'Moo' stuff. Marcia already had an amazing vocabulary and Mary Ann echoed it.

"Now as to color," Hervey said, "I like strawberry blonde in my wives." Annette made a hideous face, and nearly put us in a ditch. "But in my cows, I just don't give a Spanish gulden," Hervey continued.

"Dutch", Annette corrected, as she righted the car also.

"Guernseys are all strawberry blondes," I was happily able to tell Hervey due to my amazing Girl Scout lore. He could remain true to Annette's type.

Now that I had all the brain work done, we relaxed and talked of trivial things. Hervey was coming on well with Anthony Adverse. Annette was typing it. Yesterday, an enterprising, but foolish vacuum cleaner sales man, had driven way out to the Allen's little country house. He had taken Annette for a real secretary. Annette was obviously very proud of this. She was pretty, but no one had ever thot she looked business-like before. It was useful, too. She had just said, Mr. Allen was out, and was not the kind of man to buy even a broom for his wife. He was terribly close, Annette had added wickedly - and so Mr. Allen was, close, very close to them in the other room sound asleep. Annette was sure that was the end of interruption from that 'Eager Beaver'

When Hervey was working well, he often stayed at his desk most of the night. Everything was quiet. Annette would type out his long hand written work the next day. She was to make seven copies of "Anthony Adverse" before it was published. The ducks would play by the hour in the little yard outside her window.

The Hervey Allens were a warm, interesting, and affectionate family. Hervey had wooed and won Annette under the battery of a thousand eyes, and they had kept it secret till the spring of her freshman year at Vassar. Hervey was teaching English literature at Vassar. Annette's red-gold hair, green eyes, and brilliant mind was combined with a sense of fun that always delighted Hervey. She, too, had been married at seventeen. They had honeymooned in Bermuda, living in a house called Amity Hall. Annette talked well, and, more rarely, also was an excellent listener. Hervey, of course, could have talked the birds from the trees. He was a marvelous raconteur. They were both witty and easily amused. We always enjoyed these friends. Hervey had been an old friend of my Mother's and also of my sister Mary. He took great trouble about me, and fortunately, I, too, thot Annette was wonderful.

We coasted down the steep hill into Morrisville. Hervey said we must seek out the Professor of Animal Husbandry at the Agricultural College. I did not care for this idea. What was the use of another expert? Hervey reassured me he just wanted to find out from him the farmers who might have a Guernsey cow for sale. This probably was a good idea, I admitted, but smacked of the intellectual mind.

"Hervey," I cautioned, "Remember, if we want a cow for fifty dollars, we have to find a real dirt farmer, not any professor of Animal Husbandry. I never heard of such a funny title." I laughed scornfully, "Professor of Animal Husbandry!" I was jealous. Here I was doing all the work with no title at all.
"What does a Professor of Animal Husbandry teach animals," I asked scornfully, "domestic relations or grasses?"

Hervey laughed, "I think he is a glorified veterinarian, but I'll tell you after I see him."

Hervey's long figure disappeared into the rather pleasant buildings of the Agricultural

College. Annette's knitting needles clicked. Hervey always said she'd knit in her coffin. The ducks tumbled up for a story. Shortly, Hervey's blonde head reappeared. He had liked the professor. He had the names of several farmers and directions to thier places.

We were off just in time, as the ducks were becoming restless. Hervey pointed out a fountain as we passed the village green. "Fountain rhymes with mountain, Marcia", he instructed.

Quite delighted with the new words, the ducks began - "Fountain, mountain," they chanted as we bumped along a dirt road to our first dirt farmer. No wonder those children had a vocabulary.

The farm we turned into was muddy. The buildings did not look like Marie Antionette's Petit Trianon or like my husband's, uncle's, farmer's farm. But it was the deep mud in the cow yard by the red barn, and the unshaven look of the farmer that made me hesitate. Hervey did the talking. Yes, the farmer had a Guernsey, but he must have one-hundred dollars.

I shook my head vigorously..."Impossible price", I began.

The farmer, taking me for Hervey's wife interrupted rudely: "Let himself speak!"

Hervey looked weak. "Tell him, Hervey" I suggested, ignoring the farmer, "You will try the children on the cow, if she rides well, we will talk price."

Annette protested,"Eleanor, it's so muddy!"

Much softer in case the cow doesn't like the ducks", I reassured her.

Unwillingly, farmer Jones brought the cow out, a lovely soft red tan one. She was named Blanche, he told us. One look at her rolling and rather mean eyes was enough to make you blanche, I thot. Still, we had to be fair and give her the test. Annette nearly upset things by remarking with surprising ignorance and an excess of mother-love, "Blanche looks more like a bull."

Due to her fearful attitude, Marcia would not cooperate. She said it was not a pretty cow! But Mary Ann, all baby smiles, was a willing sacrifice. Poor baby, she lasted less than a minute, but it was not really her fault. That was not the cow a man could ride much less a child. Its bucking hoofs had missed Mary Ann thru pure excess of temper, not purpose. Annette was wiping the mud off her baby, and saying horrid things about a Father and a good friend under her breath. But, Mary Ann was enjoying the lemon drop I gave her. She was always a cheerful child, rather like a blonde cherub, just now half black, slightly bruised, but still smiling at all the world even the evil cow. Farmer Jones had been very disagreeable about this test of his cow. Doubtless, he knew all along that she had his disposition.

Like King Alfred, but with out even a spider to encourage us, we decided, Hervey and I, to keep trying. We skidded down another rutty road. The pastures on either side were a lush green. They were dotted with cows, but the great dairy state of New York was on its knees. Milk was sold by the farmers at six cents a quart. It was cheaper to pour it in the gutter than to truck it to the New York City Market. The farm we now drove into was neat. The farmer in patched blue overalls, but shaved and clean, greeted us in friendly fashion.

"Ayah, the Guernsey was a good beast."
"Ayah," he'd sell one for fifty dollars. Well, would he bring her out of the barn for us to see? "No." He meant he'd sell her if he had her, but his was sold last week!

Our hearts fell. We piled gamely back into the car. Annette turned almost getting stuck in the mud, but then we were off. Downhill thru the cedars, then up another road lined with tall Norway spruces. The day was waning. The dark trees were like sentinels. Failure of mission was staring us in the face. Hervey consulted his notes. He directed so well, that before long we had turned into another farm yard. It was not so messy as the first, nor so neat as the last. We learned the farmer and his son were also named Hervey. At this Annette turned to me, "It's a good omen, Eleanor, I'm lucky with Herveys." She proved to be a sibyl. Sure enough farmer Hervey had a Guernsey. He could be persuaded to part with her for fifty dollars. She was a good milker and a gentle cow.

Maud was led out. This time Mary Ann had to be promised a lemon drop ahead of her ride. Annette made Hervey promise to hold the child more securely.

"Shucks," said little farmer boy Hervey, "I ride Maudie all the time. There is nothing to it." There wasn't, Mary Ann loved it! Maud licked her leg, ski suit and all. Marcia screamed for her turn. Then, Hervey shelled out his fifty dollars - mostly composed of ones. The farmer promised to deliver Maud the next day. We shook hands. The deal was made. We waved a fond lingering farewell to our Maud.

Maud proved to be a great success over the years. She excelled in all three of Hervey's requirements, and, of course, was a lovely strawberry blonde besides. Hervey and Annette gave me all the credit. I thot seriously of hanging out a shingle, "Cow Expert." What other way did I have of earning any money? But finally, my husband persuaded me not to go into the business. He said there were not enough intelligent people like the Allens to make it worth my while.

I did ask Hervey to change Maud's name to Europa. He tried, but the ducks would call her Maud! She was really a famous milker, and became the mother of a herd. Maud inspired one of Annette's young brothers to take up dairy farming. In her younger days, the ducks rode Maud until Hervey's Anthony Adverse was published. After that, he could afford a non milk giving pony for his growing daughters. In her later years, Maud was always referred to by Allens and Andrews as the Sacred Cow.

Now, when people say I'm not expert at anything, I refer them to Annette. She always advises, "Try Eleanor on cows, there is no one can touch her!"

BOOKS FOR SUMMER READING OR REREADING

Charleston, The Place And the People, is our history and antedotes of our people. To read it is to spend time with a lady of charm.

Rumblings of the Chariot Wheels, boyhood memories of I. Jenkins Mikell during days of slavery. I. Jenkins Mikell was a boy at 94 Rutledge and on Edisto Plantation, about 1845-65.

Prides Way, by Molloy

Look Back to Glory, by Sass

Porgy, Mambas Daughters, by Dubose Heyward gives us a sympathetic picture of our colored people as we know them.

Poor Buckra, by Sam Stoney, for the cravan spirit, we pass on the information that this novel is not in Gullah dialect. We found it exciting reading, and humbly call it to the attention of the Emmett Robinsons as theatre material.

Doctor to the Dead, by John Bennett is a collection of delightfully told short stories of a local flavor.

Archibald Rutledge's, anothology of poetry, Deep River is tops. We steal from it as often as we dare, also from our more local Carolina Chansons.

Adventurous Alliance, by Tharp is an interestingly written biography of Dr. Aggasis, and his able and charming wife. Dr. Aggasis was a real influence on Charleston, and America's scientific life in the 1850's. A newer book by Tharp called The General and the Baroness, is fun but has less local interest.

Josephine Pinckney's Three C'Clock Dinner many enjoy,

Hervey Allen's Life of Poe is excellent. His Anthony Adverse still fun.

Mrs. Chestnut's Diary. Written during the War Between the States should never be forgotten. Its superb background, and the unforgettable Mrs. Chestnut make it the best diary to come out of that war.

My Theodosia by Annya Seton is an absorbing novel. Theodosia Burr married Joseph Alston. The scenes in the novel flow from the aristocratic element of New York state to that of South Carolina plantations. Aaron Burr and other historical figures flit thru a novel written by a New Yorker, not too happy with Southern life or Southerners. But still it's a good tale.

Kitty Ravenel's Architects of Charleston has much information, and a certain dry wit.

Her Garden Was Her Delight. A gentle collection of essays. One is about Maria Martin, and Bachman and Audubon: another is about Eliza Lucas.

Owen Wister's Lady Baltimore caused a furor in our grandmother's day. It was felt he violated the rules of hospitality. Reading it today, however, is a pleasure.

Send us your favorite local books with a line about them.

OUR NEXT ISSUE WILL FEATURE

"The Ladies Do It" by Gordon Langley Hall
Dr. Porter and his Academy by June Robey.
The Dr. Joseph Johnson house at 56 Society Street, an article by Sally Daniels.
Pictorial Review of the Lining House.

"THIS IS CHARLESTON"...Order from Mrs. Max Griffith, 19 Gadsden St. Chsn, S.C...By mail to Members $2.20, to others $2.70...If you call for it deduct 20% for postage and packing.

ST. ANDREWS CHURCH JESSIE O'CONNELL - NEWS & COURIER

CAROLINA SPRING SONG

By Hervey Allen

Against the swart magnolias' sheen
Pronged maples, like a stag's new horn,
Stand gouted red upon the green,
In March when shaggy buds are shorn.

Then all a mist-streaked, sunny day
The long sea-islands lean to hear
A water harp that shallows play
To lull the beaches' fluted ear.

When this same music wakes the gift
Of pregnant beauty in the sod,
And makes the uneasy vultures shift
Like evil things afraid of God,

Then, then it is I love to drift
Upon the flood-tide's lazy swirls,
While from the level rice fields lift
The spiritu'ls of darky girls.

I hear them singing in the fields
Like voices from the long-ago;
They speak to me of somber worlds
And sorrows that the humble know;

Of sorrow-yet their tones release
A harmony of larger hours
From easy epochs long at peace
Amid an irony of flowers

So if they sometimes seem a choir
That cast a chill of doubt on spring,
They have still higher notes of fire
Like cardinals upon the wing.

Mail to: The Preservation Society, Box 521, Charleston, S.C.

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION TAX EXEMPT

I would like to join the Society so that I may help preserve the architecture of Charleston. Enclosed is my check for annual dues.

Name.....( ) $ 2 Regular Member

Address.....( ) 10 Sustaining Mem.

.....( ) 50 Life Member

Please CHANGE my ADDRESS

From OLD.....

.....

To New.....

.....

Name _____

(Please print)

Meeting Notice

THURSDAY.....May 9th

Time: 8 P.M.

Place: Gibbes Art Gallery.....135 Meeting St.

Program: "Tax Incentives for Preservation"

Speaker: George E. Grimball, Jr.

ABOUT THE SPEAKER

George E. Grimball attended the University of Virginia. Before he finished his undergraduate work, he went into the Navy in 1943. After Pacific duty, Mr. Grimball returned to the University in 1946. He received his degree and went on to a law degree. George then attended New York University, obtaining a masters in law and taxation.

As trial attorney for the chief counsel of the Internal Revenue Service, Mr. Grimball practiced in New York City and in Washington, D. C.

Mr. Grimball married a Charleston girl, and practices law in our City from an office on Broad Street. He is not yet a member of the Preservation Society, but we believe he knows his onions, tax wise. We hope Mr. Grimball can suggest some constructive method of tax incentive for use and restoration of our old buildings and homes. This is a subject of vital concern to our Preservationists and to those interested in slum rehabilatation, rather than clearance in the sense of demolition.

To build back new, at greater expense is a policy that will hurt our tourist business, and make our City less attractive to us tax payers. We hardly need say that Mr . Grimball is a dyed in the wool Charleston; his antecedents made it after the Indians!

Childs

PRESERVATION PROGRESS

PRESERVATION SOCIETY OF CHARLESTON, INC., BOX 521, CHARLESTON, S. C.

See p. 3.

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
c/o Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3
Ga

RETURN REQUESTED

-Free: Foundations

Mrs. Wood Fd.
" Vernon Eagle 1963

November 27, 1963

Mrs. St. Julien Childs
82 Pitts Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Childs:

Thank you so much for the help you gave on the Old Slave Mart Museum. I had been asked by a potential donor to seek some information, and on the basis of what you told me I did the best I could to help. With this particular donor I suspect it was not enough, but one good try often leads to another.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

December 20, 1963

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive,
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

It was good seeing you last night. I think it's educational, and enjoyable, to go to a party like that once, but that's probably enough for me.

When Happy Lee first began talking about the appointment of a fund-raiser, my inmate conservatism made me shrink from the idea, and I still share your prudent doubts as to whether results will equal expectations. May I say that I feel more comfortable in endorsing Happy's proposal because you have this realistic skepticism?

I think this would be an interesting experiment if you are willing to take a flyer on it. I would like to see the Virginia Council have this chance. There is the possibility that if the experiment is reasonably successful it would be a valuable example for other state councils.

As I said to you last night, I do suggest that if you make the award that you condition payment on notification from Happy that he has the $6,000 in hand over and above his program funds.

With candor, Vernon, I tell you that I have neither steered Happy in anyone's direction, nor have I responded favorably to queries which came earlier from Field and from Norman. Field is the one large sympathetic source at the present time for program projects from state councils, and it seemed to me risky to let this kind of proposal get in the mill over there. At Norman, everything is a little too personal to be able to feel comfortable about something as sophisticated as this. But, as I hope I have made clear, I would like to see Happy get this chance.

Merry Christmas.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dumbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

December 16, 1963

Dear Leslie,

If my memory serves me right, you mentioned to me last August that if we were inclined to help any of the State Councils, the Virginia Council would be first on your list of recommendation.

Happy Lee came in to see me the other day and made a favorable impression on me, both for himself and for the Virginia Council. The attached request was subsequently sent to me with my encouragement.

Fund-raising expectations usually far outdistance the results, but from Lee's description it would appear that the individual he has in mind, a Mr. Henry L. Caravati, has a good chance of pulling it off.

I wonder if I could have your usual candid, off-the-record advice with respect to Lee's request.

Merry Christmas!

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON **HUMAN RELATIONS**

17 EAST CARY STREET RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA Milton 9-0872

Heslip Lee, Executive Director

A council that seeks through fact finding, discussion and action to attain equal opportunity for all people in Virginia.

December 12, 1963

A REQUEST TO THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION OF 475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N.Y. FOR A $5,000.00 GRANT

The Virginia Council on Human Relations is asking for a grant to employ an additional staff member who will be assigned the responsibility of raising necessary funds within Virginia to enable VCHR to expand its services and put its operation on a sound financial basis.

The Virginia Council on Human Relations needs $11,000.00 to plan, promote and carry out this proposal. This amount will cover salaries of the new staff member, a secretary, travel and promotional expenses for six months; a necessary period of time when funds would be raised to make the project financially self-sustaining.

The Virginia Council on Human Relations operates on a $30,000.00 budget for 1964. This money is realized from annual membership dues plus contributions from the total state membership of 3500 persons through the twenty-two local councils which are chapters of the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

Six thousand dollars has been contributed towards this proposal from Virginia Council on Human Relations members over and above the 1964 budget. We, therefore, are asking for a grant of $5,000.00 from you, the New World Foundation, to make this project possible.

We have a person, experienced in fund raising, ready to accept this position, and also accept a goal of $60,000.00 to be raised from Virginians in 1964. We would hope to be able to employ him by January 15, 1964.

Attached are additional Exhibits which will give a more detailed picture of both the present and projected work of VCHR.

This request was adopted unanimously by the Executive Committee of the Virginia Council on Human Relations in session on December 6, 1963.

Heslip Lee

Heslip M. Lee, Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations

OFFICERS Dr. Aubrey N. Brown, Jr., President Mr. W. R. Walker, First Vice-President Dr. C. G. Gordon Moss, Dr. E. B. Henderson, The Rt. Rev. William H. Marmion, Vice-Presidents

Dr. Harry Roberts, Secretary Dr. J. Rupert Picott, Treasurer

Information on Mr. Henry Caravati, proposed staff member for the Virginia Council on Human Relations

Name: Henry L. Caravati - Age: 62

Born and reared in Richmond, Virginia

Retired businessman, having operated two Dixie Sporting Goods Stores in Richmond and Petersburg, Virginia for many years. These stores are now under the management of Mr. Caravati's son.

EXPEREINCES IN FUND RAISING:

For four years, Mr. Caravati was responsible for raising funds and directing the Catholic Hour, a nationwide weekly program featuring Biship Fulton J. Sheen.

For six years, Mr. Caravati was Director of Public Relations and Fund Raising for the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial.

Mr. Caravati was Director of Fund Raising for the Patrick Henry Memorial Foundation.

Mr. Caravati designed, planned and operated "Southern Association", a public relations and fund raising organization which operated for five years in Virginia. During that time, Mr. Caravati conducted fund-raising campaigns for churches, schools, gymnasia, and hospitals, etc.

For four years, Mr. Caravati was organizational Secretary for the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, responsible for raising $125,000.00 per year in Virginia.

Mr. Caravati has been knighted by the Italian Government with the title "Cavalier of the Crown of Italy" for his performance in Virginia, particularly the establishment of a School of Romance Languages at William and Mary College.

Mr. Caravati directed a fund-raising project for the erecting of a monument to Christopher Columbus which stands on South Boulevard, Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Caravati has been Chairman of the financial campaign for the American Cancer Society of Virginia.

Mr. Caravati is listed for many honors and achievements in the American Catholic's Who's Who.

file

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

Report for the Years 1962 and 1963

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027 • 120 SOUTH LASALLE STREET, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60603

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Southern Regional Council continues to develop, guide, and maintain programs designed to promote mutual understanding among persons of different racial, cultural and national backgrounds. Working with church groups, public and private agencies, school administrators and teachers, the Council serves as a clearinghouse of information for the public and the press. It continues to publish NEW SOUTH, a monthly analysis of Southern problems and progress.

A grant of $50,000, payable over a two-year period, was made in 1962 for general support of the Council's program. Another grant of $10,000 was made in 1963 toward support of the Council's special educational programs which cannot be anticipated in its regular budget. These grants continue support previously reported.

THE STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT IN NEW ENGLAND
1145 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

The Northern Student Movement was initiated in June, 1961, at a conference sponsored by The Student Christian Movement in New England. Its stated purpose was to investigate the possibility of creating a Northern students civil rights movement. In October of that year representatives from twenty colleges met in New Haven, Connecticut to organize and to plan a program. As a result of the meeting, a full-time staff began operating, with offices at Yale University.

During the summer of 1962 the Northern Student Movement established and maintained tutorial projects for high school students in depressed areas in Philadelphia and New York City. By the summer of 1963 this program had been expanded to include tutorial programs with offices and full-time staffs in eight major Northern cities: Boston, Hartford, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Chicago, and Detroit and, also, volunteer programs in depressed areas in eight other cities. The national office moved its headquarters from New Haven to New York City.

The tutorial and related community programs are making significant contributions to the solution of some of the most difficult aspects of race problems in urban depressed areas. The Northern Student Movement has benefited by professional support and counsel from many leaders in the field of education, youth work, and community services.

A grant of $20,000 was made in 1963 to The Student Christian Movement in New England for support of the Northern Student Movement's educational projects in urban areas.

TEACHERS COLLEGE, Columbia University
New York, New York 10027

The proliferation of training programs in American universities to prepare Americans for overseas service in the past few years has brought to light a number of problems concerning the integration of work in area studies and the portions of these training programs which deal with American studies, International studies, and Communist studies. In particular, the training programs for Peace Corps volunteers made increasingly clear that a closer integration of the various elements of these programs would be highly desirable. In order to examine these problems, an educational conference was held in May, 1963 under the sponsorship of Teachers College, Colum-

February 25, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Eagle
The New World Foundation — file
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

I am enclosing a copy of a manual we have prepared which I thought you might like to have for your files. This has not been given a general circulation; indeed, we are being rather careful as to who receives it. It was intended as a manual for ad hoc and other lay groups.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Transition Without Tragedy)

File
Foundations -
New World
1964

March 10, 1964

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

E Enclosed are a copy of my annual report and our financial statement for 1963. For your possible interest, I am also enclosing a copy of the "Program Review and Evaluation" which we did last year, and which is now guiding our mighty efforts.

Enclosed also is an ad from last Friday morning's paper by Partners for Progress. It appeared also in the afternoon paper and is the opening public shot in the effort I talked with you about on the telephone recently, and for which you authorized contingency fund support. The ladies bless you. The names of those on the ad are among Atlanta's finest. Among them, as you will see, is Mrs. DeJongh Franklin, and she is, as you may know, a principal in the Norman Fund. As a result, Partners for Progress has some help from that direction, and for the time being we may not have to use the contingency fund. We have, however, pledged the amount which you and I discussed.

I intend to come up to New York on April 13, and will be around for probably the better part of the week. If I could prey on you for some advice, I would like to check with you then the names of several foundations as spotted in the Directory. Would you have some time when I can come by?

Specifically, and if you have any thoughts about this, I would appreciate having them before I come up, what do you think of the possibilities at the Hazen Foundation?

Fay Bennett came in on Monday. We talked a long time, or rather I listened a long time. I have asked her to summarize it all in a letter to me. The NSF has a good bit to offer, and perhaps we can work out something. I rather hope so. Will let you know.

May I have your concurrence in a grant from the Contingency Fund of $900 to the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education? This is a well organized group, chiefly Negro, which, with cooperation though not sponsorship from the local school authorities, has set up and is operating "project tutoring centers" in thickly settled Negro neighborhoods of Norfolk. Two centers are in operation and two more in planning. The purpose is to provide remedial work for junior and senior high school students in reading and other core subjects, enriching experiences, etc. The group has sent me a good bit of descriptive material, and I have also checked its program out with people in Norfolk. I think it looks very good. Their budget runs about $377 a month per center (which meet in churches); this includes $150 salary for a supervisor, and my recommendation of $900 would cover salaries for supervisors at two centers for three months.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

PRACTISING LAW INSTITUTE

A NON-PROFIT EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION ■ 20 VESEY STREET □ NEW YORK 7, N. Y. □ BA 7-0170

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GEORGE THOMAS WASHINGTON
FRANCIS E. WINSLOW

March 18, 1964.

The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York.

Att.: Mr. Vernon Eagle

Gentlemen:

Please consider this letter as an application by the Practising Law Institute for a grant of $50,000 for the purpose of offering scholarships and travel expenses to municipal attorneys, officials and police officers to attend a 5-day program in New York on "The Problems of Civil Disobedience and Racial Tension." This program would be held next summer before the opening of school.

The purpose of the program is to educate public officials on the law of race relations and civil disobedience, and expose them to the techniques successfully used to avoid violence and achieve racial harmony. To do this the Practising Law Institute proposes to bring to bear on the problem the educational techniques and experience it has developed over the past 30 years.

Since 1960, the pattern of America's racial revolution has changed. No longer are Negroes, and other minority groups, content to wait or merely to litigate for equality. Increasingly, civil rights organizations have come to rely on self help to achieve their objectives. Sit-ins, picketing, rent strikes, freedom rides, school boycotts, restrictive buying campaigns and other techniques have been frequent in the United States during the 1960's. In the last 4 years these demonstrations have placed many important and difficult policy decisions on officials at the street level of government. Policemen, teachers and principals, school board members, mayors and town attorneys have been called upon to choose between arresting parents or rezoning schools; open accommodations or sit-ins; strict enforcement of the letter of the law or mediation.

Unfortunately, too often the officials and the attorneys for their agencies have been called upon to make these decisions without any preparation and without a thorough knowledge of the legal issues involved. Under the best of circumstances, the problems admit of no easy solution. It is further

complicated when they must be resolved by officials who are unprepared to face these problems. Some communities have been able to meet the challenge of the demand for equality with reason and dignity. Atlanta, Chattanooga, Baltimore, Kansas City, Louisville, Morristown, N.J. have all made giant strides with a minimum of disturbance and hostility. Their experience should be made available to other communities, if we are to accomplish this great social revolution within the framework of law and reason.

It is the plan of PLI to offer municipal officials, attorneys and police officers the thinking of those who have been meeting these problems with apparent success, to develop a series of typical fact situations and have the panel discuss how they would handle the problem, and why. Examples of some of the areas to be discussed follow:

EDUCATION

Background: De facto segregation in the South and North and its causes, action and inaction; neighborhood school concept, residential gerrymanders, voluntary and enforced ghettos, effecting in-school segregation via intelligence testing and other methods of selecting classes.

Self-Help Techniques: Boycott; sit-in; picketing.

HOUSING

Background: Property rights -vs- antidiscrimination laws; use of restrictive covenants and "gentlemen's agreements"; establishment of ghettos; block-busting by brokers; deteriorated and inferior housing units; public housing

Self-Help Techniques: Planned purchase and tenancy; rent strikes.

BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS AND PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

Background: Private property -vs- public use; public areas; enforcement of trespass laws.

Self-Help Techniques: Boycott; sit-in; freedom ride and freedom march; human chain; picketing.

EMPLOYMENT

Background: Private business -vs- right to fair employment; Craft union selectivity; "customer relation" arguments.

Self-Help Techniques: Boycott; picketing.

The plan of the program is to spend the major part of a day or more on each of these four broad areas. The discussion of each subject would begin with an analysis of the problem in the area including the relevant factual and historical background. Then a professor of law will give an analytical discussion of the current state of law in the area. Case histories of specific demonstrations and other acts of self-help would be presented with emphasis on the techniques of resolving disputes within the confines of the rule of law and with appropriate recognition of the justice of the demand for equality.

The panel of speakers would include representatives of communities who have apparently handled problems of civil disobedience, successfully endeavoring to detail the mechanisms for achieving equality peacefully. Such nationally prominent figures as the former Staff Director of the Federal Commission on Civil Rights and its General Counsel, and representatives of leading civil rights organizations would be among the speakers.

The Practising Law Institute is particularly concerned with the development and offering of this program. The problem area is of immense concern; raising serious issues of law and national values. Because of the nature of civil disobedience, the decision level is often at the lowest level of government. Some means must be found to communicate law, techniques and values to the hundreds of affected government officials. We believe such a program will do the job. We believe that PLI is uniquely equipped to do the job. We need help to do it.

PLI is a non-profit organization which has carried on educational programs for lawyers throughout the past thirty years. The Institute seeks to be self-supporting by tuition charges of attendees at its programs. A grant is needed to support this particular program, because it has been our experience that pro-

grams designed for government attorneys and officials rather than ones to develop private legal professional skills will not attract an audience if the government lawyers and officials must pay their own tuition and travel expenses. We hope that this would be the first of an annual program of this type and that the grant would act as a starter. Our experience has indicated further that if we offer scholarships for tuition and travel to attendees the first year in a public service program, the benefits of attendance will become apparent and provision for attendance at future programs will be included in departmental budgets. The subsequent programs would then be substantially self-supporting.

The program will be designed for a national audience and appropriate steps will be taken to bring it to the attention of government officials and their attorneys in every state in the union, who are concerned with these problems. To the best of our knowledge no comparable program exists anywhere in the nation. The emphasis will be on the practical as well as the ethical considerations in effectively representing the municipality or the school board, etc.

The grant we are requesting would be used exclusively for scholarships and new publications. Scholarships would be for tuition only for enrollees in metropolitan New York and for tuition plus transportation and maintenance, in whole or in part, for those from more distant points who find it impossible to attend on their own resources. Selection will be carefully made on the basis of detailed questionnaires and recommendations.

Our experience in granting similar scholarships to public prosecutors indicates that the average cost per scholarship, including transportation and maintenance expenses, for those who receive such aid would probably be in the neighborhood of $150 a person. We feel we should be prepared to grant up to 300 scholarships. To the extent that the grant is not used in full this year the balance would be available for scholarships for next year's program.

We shall welcome your comments and suggestions and look forward to meeting with you as soon as conveniently possible.

Cordially yours,

Harold P. Seligson
Director

gr

P.S. A leaflet describing our most comparable program, for Public Prosecutors, is enclosed.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

March 19, 1964

Dear Leslie,

In my last letter I referred to your annual report as impressive. I must admit that was prior to reading it and it seemed like a safe word to use.

Having read it, I do not retract but add that it is a superb statement of the present state of affairs in the South.

I think it safe to say that SRC is not only our favorite grantee but the most productive.

More power to your right arm!

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

March 19, 1964

Dear Leslie,

Attached is a request from the Practising Law Institute for support of a proposed program on "The Problems of Civil Disobedience and Racial Tension."

I wonder if you would be kind enough to give me your off-the-record, off-the-cuff reactions.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File: Civil Rights Commission

March 24, 1964

Mr. Richard Shapiro
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Dick:

The VEP staff thinks it may be able to come up with some things of interest regarding federal agricultural programs. So we'll be writing to you later.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File: Foundations: New World 1964

March 27, 1964

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Thank you for your letter of March 19.

The things you asked for in your letter of March 17 have all been sent, and we trust you have them.

In your other letter of March 19 you asked for some comments about the proposal of the Practising Law Institute. I have a general, and pretty strong, bias in favor of ideas which realistically promise to get these problems before public officials at the state and local levels. I have a similarly strong bias for realistic plans that move the machinery in the organized bar toward giving responsible attention to the problems. I think the particular proposal before you is attractive of both these view points. I think it is one which may require some considerable thought to put on. The agenda is crowded, and it is not clear to me how the panel of speakers referred to in the middle paragraph on page 3 will fit in, or for that matter can be made to fit in, on such a tight schedule. I think, moreover, the title is somewhat misconceived; as I read

the proposal they are not really talking about "civil disobedience." I think if this is undertaken there would be value in relating it to other things; in particular, there would be likely value in keeping in close touch with the U. S. Conference of Mayors, which has just set up a community relations service, directed by John Feild. Bill Taylor at the Commission on Civil Rights, who seems to be referred to on page 3, is another person who could helpfully advise. We could also, perhaps, be of some help with materials.

I thought you might like to have the enclosed flyer for your files. The Chattanooga Conference is a contingency fund beneficiary.

Will see you about noon on April 13.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

Cr. Ref - Virginia Council on Human Relations

RA
MJ - file

April 8, 1964

Mr. Heslip M. Lee
Executive Director
The Virginia Council on Human Relations
17 East Cary Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Lee:

I am glad to know that you have raised $6,145.38 toward financing the employment of Mr. Henry L. Caravati, to enable the Virginia Council on Human Relations to expand its services and put its operations on a sound financial basis. Accordingly, the foundation's check in the amount of $5,000 is enclosed.

It would appear that Mr. Caravati has already laid the groundwork for a successful campaign, and I look forward to further reports on the progress of your program.

In due course, we should also appreciate having a financial accounting of how the funds were expended.

Sincerely,

VE

bcc: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar

File
Foundations:
New World

April 21, 1964

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

I intended to call you before leaving the city last week, but as it turned out it took a mad taxi ride to get me to the eastside terminal in time. I have been trying to reconstruct my personality ever since; five days of New York and I am a shattered man.

It was good seeing you. Next time (?) I would like to see you along about the middle of my visit, when I need reviving.

All the best,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File: Foundations New World

April 27, 1964

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

The enclosure is some notes I wrote to myself awhile back. In a couple conversations with various people questions dealt with here have come up. I have given them copies. Because I don't want you to find yourself the only person in New York without this, I am sending you a copy.

Please, this is an un-revised, unfinished draft.

Mr. Stafford of SNCC is coming in to see me later this afternoon.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

File

April 30, 1964

Dear Leslie,

I read your un-revised, unfinished draft with considerable interest. If and when you revise and finish, please send me a copy.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

File: Foundations: New World

May 1, 1964

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

By the time you receive this, you may already have proposals from North Carolina and Georgia. Franklin Williams, president of the North Carolina group, may have called you from the New York hotel where I tracked him down.

As I have told you, both of these applications are, we think, full of merit. Were the staff situations in Alabama clarified, we might have urged its needs upon you, and perhaps you would want to keep that in mind for future reference. We believe too that in a short time the Florida Council may have an interesting situation to help on.

I am enclosing some notes about the councils done last January. They still reflect our thinking.

I am enclosing also a copy of a letter from me to Wiley, addressed to one of his hats. He and I, as you might suppose, talked it over in advance.

You may very well not share my hesitations, and I may be wrong to have them, but the Freedom Schools planned by SNCC for this Summer in Mississippi seem to me risky for tax-exempt funds. I am all for the Freedom Schools, but they will take their own course, and I don't see how anyone outside the SNCC orbit can work with them.

The Work Study Project, unless under active supervision of a forceful college administration, has always seemed to me of dubious value.

On the other hand, there may be considerable merit in the Leadership Institutes. They are to be scheduled after the Summer excitement is over and could be occasions for true reflection; besides, the budget is realistic. You are so right, however, about the problem of guidance. This is only a thought, and may be worth nothing, but it grows from a belief I have that the faculties of Negro colleges should come into closer participation in the movement. Could an authorization be made to SNCC to contract with a college (e.g., Howard, Fisk, or Morehouse) to put on the Institute? This would put on SNCC the obligation of having its ideas tested and challenged by faculty people who are not SNCC's own intellectual camp followers. If they could persuade one of the colleges to do it, both the college faculty and SNCC might learn some fresh points of view.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

See N.W.Fd. - 1964
Cross ref & Contingency Fund

May 28, 1964

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
235 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Received yours of the 25th. May your cup runneth over some day.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

P. S. -- We are sending $700 from the Contingency Fund to the Southern Consumers Cooperatives at request. This is for their Summer scholarships. I didn't check with you in advance, because I understood from your recent call that you were in favor of more help here.

L.W.D.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

PAV
VE
MJ

May 25, 1964

Dear Leslie,

The Board approved grants of $10,000 each to the North Carolina Council and the Georgia Council.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File.
Foundations
New World

June 26, 1964

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Joe Hendricks is one of my fraternity of "great" men.

He has already begun to deepen and extend thinking on the idea outlined in his letter, and I have urged him to go ahead and develop a plan.

It seems to me a program along this line, sponsored by Mercer University, would be pretty exciting.

Your letter of March 17 concurred in a $900 contingency fund allotment to the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education. This has proved to be a very good program, we think, and if you wanted it we could send you exhibits on it. For a special summer program they are seeking funds, and we would like to make a second, and final, grant of $940.00. All right?

It was good seeing you last week. On the whole, I found that a worthwhile conference.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE, *Executive Director*

Rec'd 6/30/64 file

✓ J

MJ - file

June 29, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I'm acknowledging your letter of June 26th because Mr. Eagle is away. I don't think he'll be in the office before next Monday.

Sincerely,

Brooke

Secretary to Mr. Eagle

File
New World Fd.
1964

MEMORANDUM July 23, 1964

To: NM

FROM; MMJ

RE: New World Foundation Board Members

Nobbie,

Please see that the Members of the New World Foundation Board are added to our Category 8 (All-Purpose, #1) mailing list: They are as follows:

Mrs. Gilbert A. Harrison *
3556 Macomb Street, N. W.
Washington 16, D. C.

Miss Katharine Taylor*
41 Hawthorne Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Richard Bentley, Esq.
Penny, Sherman, Bentley & Guthrie
120 S. LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Mr. Charles G. Bolte
The Viking Press
625 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. J. Anthony Lewis
Washington Bureau
New York Times
1701 "K" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

MEMO
To: NM - 2.

and,

~~Whitney&Mpt&&&~~

Whitney North Seymour, Esq.
Simpson, Thatcher & Bartlett
120 Broadway
New York 5, New York

*Mrs. Gilbert A. Harrison and Miss Katharine Taylor already appear on our FCR category -- please ~~aq&~~ switch them to the All-Purpose #1 category with the rest.

file: Foundation
N. World

bc: Miss Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund
New York

~~July 30, 1964~~
~~June 31, 1964~~
July 31, 1964

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

This is to place before the New World Foundation a joint proposal of the National Sharecroppers Fund, the Southern Regional Council, and the state Councils on Human Relations that are affiliated with the Southern Regional Council.

The sponsors of this proposal have faced an area of urgent problems, and have decided that they can contribute best to their improvement by a joint effort. We hope you will find that the proposed Rural Advancement Project merits your support.

Because of the sum involved, we are presenting this proposal to several foundations. As is explained in the proposal, the program is flexible, and depending on funds could be carried on in any number of states up to eleven. We ask, therefore, that you consider it in that light, and we shall, of course, be prepared to keep you advised of fund-raising progress. It is hoped that grants may be for a three-year period, or that, alternatively, renewals up to a third year may be considered.

The proposal is based on experience gained by the sponsors over the past two years in South Carolina. It has, therefore, been tried out, and we think has proved its effectiveness and value.

In addition to the proposal itself, several other documents are enclosed. These are:

1. A descriptive report of the South Carolina project.

2. Copies of programs of conferences held in Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina, illustrating the concerns and resources which the Rural Advancement Project will draw on.

3. A memorandum on the program use made of a Southern Regional Council research study, to illustrate opportunities for cooperative use of research findings.

Both Miss Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund (112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York), and I will be pleased to discuss with you any questions you may have regarding this proposal.

We can only hope that the proposal conveys clearly some of the sense of deep need felt for this program by the sponsoring agencies. This is a very special period in American history, where a keen awareness is supplanting past indifference for the human resources -- for the people -- of the country. Nowhere is attention and intelligent help more imperative than in the rural South, where an over-supply of people (on the basis of present economic realities) will either be re-directed toward useful and dignified pursuits, or will inevitably carry their handicaps with them to already overburdened cities of the South and the North.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE, *Executive Director*

PA
MJ file
file New World Foundation

August 3, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Mr. Eagle is away on vacation so I am acknowledging your letter of July 31st with respect to The Rural Advancement Project. It will be brought to his attention when he returns.

Sincerely,

Brooke

Secretary to Mr. Eagle

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

Rec'd 8/14/64
VAE
PA
MWJ
Leslie

✓ MJ - copy for FB + file

attach this to the following Lord ltr.

August 10, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We shall give careful consideration to the request contained in your letter of July 31st and the enclosed materials, for a grant toward support of The Rural Advancement Project under the sponsorship of the National Sharecroppers Fund, the Southern Regional Council, and the state Councils on Human Relations that are affiliated with the Southern Regional Council.

In due course we shall let you know the decision of the Board of Directors.

Sincerely,

V. Eagle

file

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

Rec'd 8/11/64

August 10, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Since Mr. Eagle is away on vacation, I am acknowledging the copies of your letters to Messrs. William Pincus and Francis Keppel, which you sent on August 7th. They will be brought to Mr. Eagle's attention.

Sincerely,

Philippa Ellis

(Mrs.) Philippa Ellis

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

August 10, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I am vacationing and working at Martha's Vineyard.

Enclosed is our official reply to your request. Our next Board meeting is scheduled for early November.

Best regards,

Vernon

file
New World Fd.

October 2, 1964

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

On behalf of the Council I acknowledge with high appreciation your letter of September 28, 1964 and the enclosed check for $30,000 in support of the Education Program of the Council for the calendar year 1964; our official receipt is enclosed.

With every good wish to the Foundation for the continuation of its truly exciting and creative program.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

Rec'd 9/30/64

September 28, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

On November 1, 1963 I informed you that the Board of Directors of The New World Foundation had authorized a grant in the amount of $30,000 a year for the calendar years 1964 and 1965, for general support of the Education Program of the Southern Regional Council.

I am pleased to enclose our check in the amount of $30,000 which represents the first payment of the grant. CR 9/29/64 RHA

We wish you every success.

Sincerely,

V. A. Eagle

File
New World Fd.

October 2, 1964

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

This is to acknowledge your second letter of September 28 and your check for $30,00. You are, as ever, the good right arm.

I'll be around New York some next week, and will call you. I am coming up chiefly for the NAIRO convention where I am on a panel Thursday morning. The rest of my schedule is getting pretty ratty, but I shall check in with you.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

Rec'd 9/29/64

September 28, 1964

Dear Leslie,

Herewith our contribution toward your good works for the current year, plus my own minor contribution in proportion.

Best regards,

Vernon

$30.00 CR
9/29/64
RHA

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PRACTISING LAW INSTITUTE

A NON-PROFIT EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION ■ 20 VESEY STREET □ NEW YORK 7, N. Y. □ BA 7-0170

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HORACE VAN VALKENBURG
MARLIN M. VOLZ
GEORGE THOMAS WASHINGTON
FRANCIS E. WINSLOW

11/2/64

WB ✓
PA ✓
SW - fab Jew World Found

ADVANCE ANNOUNCEMENT - 3 DAY FORUM ON
"THE COMMUNITY AND RACIAL CRISES"
For Municipal, State and Federal Officials and Attorneys, Public Prosecutors, Law Enforcement Officers, Members and Staff of Community Relations Agencies and Others.

The dangers arising from mounting racial tensions may well constitute the most serious problem you and your community will face during the coming year. This program will help you to deal effectively with civil rights demonstrations and related protest activity, arising from the accelerated demands for equal treatment of the Negro. While the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will do much to assist in resolving these issues, its implementation also creates problems.

The immediate and primary responsibility for responding effectively in cases of demonstrations and the like, and for meeting the conditions which give rise to racial tension, rests upon local officials in the affected communities. In many instances, officials will be faced with such problems for the first time.

To assist those in positions of responsibility to deal with these problems, Practising Law Institute is presenting a special forum, "The Community and Racial Crises", at the Sheraton Atlantic Hotel in New York City, December 3, 4 and 5, 1964.

Government officials and attorneys, professors of law, community relations officers and others experienced in this area will discuss the laws, resources and methods for dealing with critical situations. Talks, panels, workshop sessions and question and answer periods will be used.

Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, now Acting United States Attorney-General, has written in support of this program, as "designed to make available to *** [local] officials information concerning the surrounding legal framework, and the benefits of experience gained by those in other communities which have successfully resolved such problems ***."

Practising Law Institute has for 31 years conducted educational programs for lawyers and government officials throughout the United States on all aspects of the law. It is the nation's oldest and largest continuing legal education organization.

The names of the outstanding speakers are on the reverse of this letter and program details are enclosed. The fee for the three-day course is $50, which includes luncheons on Thursday and Friday, December 3 and 4, and valuable outlines, articles and manuals which will be distributed to participants. A limited number of scholarships are available to qualified enrollees.

Please use the attached enrollment form to register.

Sincerely,

Harold P. Seligson
Director

10/27/64

-over-

THE COMMUNITY AND RACIAL CRISES

PANEL OF SPEAKERS

CHAIRMAN: DAVID STAHL, Professor of Law, University of Pittsburgh School of Law, Former Executive Director of Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law; Former Attorney General of Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and Solicitor of the City of Pittsburgh

BERL I. BERNHARD, Exec. Director, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law; former Staff Director, United States Commission on Civil Rights

DAVID W. CRAIG, City Solicitor, City of Pittsburgh, former President, American Society of Planning Officials

JOHN DOYLE III, Patterson, Belknap & Webb, New York City (on leave); Assistant Director, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law

JOHN G. FEILD, Director, Community Relations Service, U. S. Conference of Mayors; former Exec. Director, The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity; former Exec. Director, Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission

HAROLD C. FLEMING, Acting Deputy Director, Community Relations Service, U. S. Dept. of Commerce; Exec. Vice-President, Potomac Institute

HERMAN W. GOLDNER, Mayor, St. Petersburg, Florida; Chairman, Community Relations Service, U. S. Conference of Mayors

JAMES H. GORBEY, Mayor, Chester, Pennsylvania

JACK GREENBERG, Director-Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund

HAROLD H. GREENE, Chief, Appeals and Research Section, Civil Rights Division, United States Department of Justice

STANLEY H. LOWELL, Chairman, New York City Commission on Human Rights

J. ROBERT LUNNEY, Shearman & Sterling, New York City; member, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law

ROBERT B. McKAY, Professor of Law, Associate Dean, New York University School of Law

ROBERT J. O'CONNELL, Assistant Professor of Law, Marquette University School of Law

GEORGE SCHERMER, Human Relations Consultant, Former Exec. Director, Philadelphia Human Relations Commission; Former Exec. Director, Mayor's Interracial Committee, Detroit.

WILLIAM L. TAYLOR, General Counsel, United States Commission on Civil Rights

GERALD DAVID WHITE, General Counsel, Michigan Civil Rights Commission

JOSEPH P. WITHERSPOON, Professor of Law, University of Texas School of Law

(Additional Speakers May Be Added)

PRACTISING LAW INSTITUTE SPECIAL FORUM

on

THE COMMUNITY AND RACIAL CRISES

December 3, 4, 5, 1964
Sheraton Atlantic Hotel, Broadway and 34 Street
New York City

P R O G R A M

1st Day
Thursday, December 3rd, 1964
(9:30 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.)

A.M. 9:30 - 10:00 Opening Session - Chairman

Objective and Methods

10:00- 10:45 Factual presentation of a crisis in each of three communities:
Three typical critical situations will be presented in graphic chronological sequence; the climate of the community; the alleged abuses protested against; the tactics employed by the demonstrators.

11:00- 12:30 Workshops
The audience will be divided into discussion groups dealing with the problems described in the preceding hour.

P.M. 12:30 - 2:00 Luncheon

Topic of Guest Speaker: Role of the Community Relations Service in the Administration of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

2:00 - 3:00 Summary of Workshop Discussions

3:00 - 5:00 Laws Governing Demonstrations and Other Forms of Protest.
Protest, civil disobedience and riot will be defined and distinguished. Ground rules for police, demonstrators and the public, official policy, and the handling of particular self-help tactics.

2nd Day

Friday, December 4th, 1964
(9:30 a.m. - 5:00 p. m.)

A. M. 9:30 - 12:30 "Tale of Three Cities"

The attempted solutions to the 3 crisis situations previously outlined and how they worked out will be presented.

P. M. 12:30 - 2:00 Luncheon

Topic of Guest Speaker: The Work of the U. S. Conference of Mayors in the Area of Race Relations.

2:00 - 5:00 Laws Against Discrimination, Federal, State and Local.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964

Other Federal Laws, Statutes, Agency Regulations, Executive Orders and Judicial Decisions relating to Civil Rights.

State and Local Legislation

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

3rd Day

Saturday, December 5th, 1964
(9:30 a.m. - 1:00 p.m.)

A. M. 9:30 - 11:30 **Local, State and Federal Resources in Resolving Racial Problems**

Community and State Resources
Federal Programs and Agencies

11:30 - 1:00 Summary

About "PLI" - Practising Law Institute ("PLI") has since 1933 conducted educational programs for lawyers and government officials throughout the United States in many aspects of the law. It is the nation's oldest and largest continuing legal education organization. The members of its Board of Trustees and National Advisory Council are distinguished judges and outstanding lawyers. For 13 years, PLI has presented national programs for public prosecutors. Other PLI community service programs include Urban Renewal and Labor-Management Relations.

ENROLLMENT FORM

Practising Law Institute 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y. 10007

I enclose $_____

Please enroll me in the special forum, THE COMMUNITY AND RACIAL CRISES, to be held at the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel, 34th Street and Broadway, New York City, on December 3, 4 and 5, 1964.

( ) Thurs., Fri., & Sat., Dec. 3, 4, 5 - $50.
( ) Thurs., Dec. 3 only - $25.
( ) Fri., Dec. 4 only - $25
( ) Sat., Dec. 5 only - $15
(I understand the fee will be refunded if I am unable to attend).

_____
Please Print Name

_____
Office Address Street and Number City State Zip Code

_____
Title or Position

If fees will be paid from public funds, please indicate the name and address of the person and/or agency for billing:

_____ _____
Name Title

Address_____

Jurisdiction_____

If your agency or community is unable to budget all of the cost of attendance please indicate the percentage that is available for:

Tuition_____ Transportation_____Maintenance_____

Practising Law Institute is prepared to grant a few full scholarships and a limited number of partial scholarships for this program.

For the convenience of enrollees from distant cities, we have arranged for a number of rooms with bath at the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel during the Forum period at special rates: singles at $10 per day, twin doubles at $14 per day. Please contact the Hotel directly for reservations, mentioning Practising Law Institute.

Confidential

November 2, 1964

MEMO TO: Vernon Eagle
David Freeman
David Hunter

FROM : Leslie W. Dunbar

First, let me say that I know one does not write a memo to three foundation executives all at once.

I do this only because I need advice of a very special sort, and I think you are, by knowledge and interest, best able to give it to me.

My problem has to do with staff salaries.

With the proliferation of federal (and state and local) jobs, as well as the emergence of such outfits as the North Carolina Fund, staff retention has become a basic problem. SRC has always exported staff: Fleming, Routh, Rilling, Hope, Via, etc. etc. (Late last year, a fellow from our mail room was called to be Assistant Director of the official Grand Rapids Council on Human Relations - and he's a darn good man!) What has changed is: 1. the frequency of raids; 2. the greater disparity of salaries; 3. the fact that the people I might turn to for replacements are themselves being sought after.

At the present, I face the distinct possibility of having our staff practically scuttled. Pat Watters had last

month a most attractive offer from the Detroit Free Press; he has been persuaded to turn it down. But still pending - and I have no idea how they will come out - are propositions from the Community Relations Service to Paul Anthony; the Commission on Civil Rights to Vernon Jordan; and the North Carolina Fund to Heslip Lee (Virginia Council director.) In no case, can I offer a competing salary within our established ranges.

I may or may not hold all or some of these men - this time. If I do, the competition will be back, because men like these are scarce. If we lose them we lose SRC's hall mark; viz., an unusually talented, versatile staff.

We cannot keep this kind of staff without paying competitive salaries. By "competitive" I mean salaries lower than the federal ones, but close enough to enable a man to consider other factors. My tentative estimate is that this would mean a general lifting of staff salaries totalling about 15% of those presently paid, or an increase in our general operations budget of at least $20,000. The alternative is a staff of mediocre people (in which case, I would move on).

So I would like your advice (written or phoned) on two questions:

1. Is there still a need for a private agency with a mature staff, of professional quality equal to that of the best federal agencies in this field? I, of course, think there is, but I would not be writing you if I did not count on candid answers.

2. Assuming there is, can we realistically expect to finance it? Do I need to say that I am not asking for commitments from your foundation? (In some measure, I know your problems, as you know mine.) But all three of you know the fund-raising prospects of the Council: Vernon and Dave Freeman through long acquaintance and Dave Hunter well enough. Can I reasonably expect to be able to add upwards of $20,000 to our general operations budget, or would it be unwise, imprudent, to try? Every

budget represents faith; would one committing ~~into~~ to competitive salaries be more of a risk than we should take? (We have recently created a Development Committee - of Board members - to try to stimulate southern support; I can't predict how good a job it will do.)

I am faced with a basic problem, and I have to have a 1965 budget ready for submission by November 20. I know that I am presuming a lot to fret you with these questions, but I need informed advice and counsel, and I do hope you will give it freely.

Best.

November 18, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Vernon:

You are correct that we are doing a report on the Southern Teaching Program of last year. Hopefully, it will be available about the first of the year. The people who are helping me on it convene here December 2 for discussion, and the final report will be written as soon thereafter as possible. I'll certainly get a copy to you at once.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm

Rec'd 11/13/64

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

November 11, 1964

Dear Leslie,

As you know, the foundation gave financial assistance toward last summer's Southern Teaching Program under the auspices of the Yale Law School, and we have just made another grant toward continuation and expansion of the program.

As I recall, SRC was to put together a report on the program. If this is correct, will you be sure to send me a copy.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

December 4, 1964

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Jane Lee Eddy and Stephen Currier came down for our Annual Meeting; also Christopher Edley of the Ford Foundation. I got the impression that it was both a pleasant and profitable occasion for them. For our part, what apprehension I had proved groundless; it was enjoyable having these visitors from New York.

Why don't you think about coming next November; the date isn't certain, but probably will fall just before Thanksgiving.

This of course doesn't mean we wouldn't like to see you sooner.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

Recd 12/18/64

PAV
VEV
VJV
VDV

December 16, 1964

Mr. A. T. Mace
Director
Office of Rural Areas Development
United States Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C. 20250

Dear Mr. Mace:

Thank you for your reply with respect to the proposal of the Southern Regional Council for the development of local rural leadership and community organizations. We are glad to have your positive comments with respect to the proposal.

You will be pleased to know that the Board of Directors of The New World Foundation has approved a grant of $60,000 to be used for the purposes outlined, and we are hopeful that other foundations will lend support in this much needed area.

Respectfully,

VE

bcc: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF RURAL AREAS DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20250

DEC 14 1964

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Mr. Eagle:

A few weeks ago you wrote to Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman regarding the proposal of the Southern Regional Council for the development of local rural leadership and community organization. We were very much interested in reading this proposal and would agree that there is need in many areas for improvement and stimulation of local rural leadership and community organization.

We are all optimistic about the assistance which is being made available under the Economic Opportunity Act. We are encouraging the rural areas to take advantage of these opportunities; therefore, programs such as those that you are sponsoring should help in this endeavor.

We would appreciate your keeping us advised as to the results obtained by your Foundation.

Sincerely yours,

A. T. Mace

A. T. Mace, Director

January 8, 1965

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

1. I'll be at the airport Wednesday, January 20, at 8:25 p. m.

2. You have a room for Wednesday and Thursday at the Biltmore Hotel.

3. Mrs. Paul (Pat) Darian will be more or less in charge of you in Jackson. We have asked her to set up appointments for you with two people in particular, both of whom, in different ways, are knowledgeable: Father Law and Mr. Francis Stevens (an attorney). I have spoken to Wilson (Bill) Minor, and he will be expecting to meet you on the 23rd. Pat Darian will fix a time. Minor is the long-time Mississippi correspondent of the New Orleans Times-Picayune. You will be staying at the Sun and Sand Motel.

4. I have alerted Will Campbell of your probable visit to Nashville.

5. It will be wonderful seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js

Rec'd 1/14/65

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

January 12, 1965

Mrs. Dennis Roberts
P. O. Box 1024
Albany, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Roberts:

I was happy to learn from your December 3rd letter that your nursery school project is progressing.

However, I was disturbed again by the COFO plans for Mississippi for the summer. You may recall that we discussed this when you were here.

I will be taking a brief trip through the South shortly and expect to be in Atlanta on January 21st and the morning of the 22nd. I would like very much to have an opportunity to talk with you and your husband and wonder whether it would be possible for you to come to Atlanta (any expenses would, of course, be reimbursed by The New World Foundation). If this is possible, would you be kind enough to call Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, to arrange for an appointment in advance. The Council's telephone number is JA 2-8764.

Sincerely,

VE

cc: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar

1/15/65

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

January 14, 1965

Dear Leslie,

I'm looking forward to seeing you on Wednesday night and didn't want to come down for a visit empty handed.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

January 29, 1965

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

I am enclosing a copy of the report of the Southern Teaching Program. I would be delighted to have comments from you and/or Frank Jennings. It would grieve me if you thought I was uncooperative in not having sent you a copy of the draft report. My motive was that I rather carefully restricted the reading of it to one person only: Fred Schulze. I never really expect anyone to read a final report after he has read a draft, and was anxious therefore that no halfway comments get remembered. Actually, except for a correction or two, this is almost identical with the draft.

I hope the rest of your trip went well. We did enjoy having you here.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm
Enclosure

Rec'd 2/5/65

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE, *Executive Director*

5 w. pkgs done 2/8/65

February 4, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

If available, would you be kind enough to have seven more copies of the evaluation of the Southern Teaching Program sent to Mr. Eagle.

Sincerely,

Brooke

Secretary to Mr. Eagle

February 23, 1965

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

On behalf of the Council, I acknowledge with deep gratitude your letter of January 24, 1965 and the enclosed check for $20,000 as the Foundation's first year grant in support of the Rural Advancement Project; our receipt is enclosed.

I have delayed acknowledging your letter in order to be able to inform you regarding initial use of the funds. As you knew, we are starting the program first in South Carolina, where an earlier program of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations had furnished the experience on which the Project was designed. Now to the South Carolina program we have committed a maximum of $12,000 annually, to be paid quarterly.

We have decided to withhold for the time being any commitment of funds to any other state or program until a renewed fund raising effort may have a chance to realize some gain. We hope and believe

that we may soon have enough funds so that, added to the remainder of your grant, the Project may be launched in other states on a full basis. We shall keep you informed.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure - 1.
cc: Mrs. Fay Bennett

bcc: Alice Spearman
Frances Pauley

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

Rec'd 1/15/65

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

January 14, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

CR 1/15/65 RHA

In accordance with your letter of December 4, 1964 our check in the amount of $20,000 is enclosed. This amount represents the grant approved by the Board of Directors of The New World Foundation in support of The Rural Advancement Project.

Please keep us informed about the progress of the project, and in due course we shall appreciate receiving a financial accounting of how the funds were expended.

We wish you every success in this very important undertaking.

Sincerely,

V. Eagle

March 8, 1965

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Vernon:

I didn't write a memo for Stephen on Mississippi. I suggested, instead, that I come up and say it all to him and his board. Something was said at one point in the planning about inviting in you and Dave, and I was disappointed that you weren't.

At any rate, I yakked last Tuesday for four hours, and here are the notes I talked from. Some of them you will be able to read, and I'll be glad to supply any of the blanks at your pleasure. Please -- do not circulate.

I might add -- though it isn't called for -- that though I tried to think hard about Mississippi I never succeeded in figuring out the beauty of CCRUL.

All the best,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosures

cc: Mr. David Freeman

March 8, 1965

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

I think what Courtney is proposing to you is valid. The U. S. Office of Education has been holding meetings with some school people, but I do not believe that they have yet had an invitation into South Carolina. At any rate, these talks don't go beyond the school administrators. I do think it makes a great deal of sense to have Negroes and liberal whites throughout the state informed about the law, and alert. I would guess the Office of Education would think so also, and would be glad to supply a speaker.

Incidentally, I don't see a need on the program for speakers from other federal agencies, as the proposal indicates; that would be all right for a longer conference, but the enforcement responsibility is HEW's, and that fact should be kept clear.

The Commission on Civil Rights is planning state or regional meetings in the South dealing with Title VI, open to the general public as well as officials. The first is scheduled in April at Dallas; there will be a later one in Atlanta, but there hasn't been a date set yet.

The Georgia Council on Human Relations, cooperation with the American Friends Service Committee and Opportunity Breadbasket, will be holding in Macon on March 25 a meeting similar to that Courtney is proposing. It is issuing a general invitation for "community leaders" to come, and probably will get fairly good attendance. Those who come to the meeting will pay their own costs. South Carolina could try the same thing, but I amssure they will get better attendance and more thorough follow-up with the plans they have.

All best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

March 4, 1965

Dear Leslie,

I have just received the attached from Courtney. Can I have your reactions?

Sorry I missed your phone call yesterday.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S.C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

March 2, 1965

Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon Eagle:

You will recall that I talked briefly with you over the telephone concerning a proposed conference on desegregation for South Carolina. On Monday, March 1, persons representing the following agencies met to discuss the advisability of this plan: Mr. I. D. Newman, Executive Secretary, State NAACP; Mr. Richard Miles, state director, Voter Education Project; Mr. Ben Mack, State Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Mrs. Alice Spearman, Executive Secretary, S. C. Council on Human Relations; Mr. Charles Davis, Director, School Desegregation Program for the regional office of the American FRIENDS Service Committee. Mr. Walker Solomon, Executive Secretary, Palmetto Education Association (Negro), could not be present since he was out of the state.

Out of the meeting came the following conclusions:

1. That a statewide meeting on the subject of school desegregation should be held in order to insure effective desegregation over South Carolina for the next school term.

2. That the conference should be held over the weekend in order to deal adequately with the subject and formulate specific plans in local communities.

3. That agencies present, while already engaged in some degree in school desegregation, did not have plans to cover the state but could assist both in the recruitment and in follow-up in communities where they presently have responsibilities.

4. That the conference should be held at Penn Center. Although Penn is not central geographically in the state, its availability and the nature of its facilities make its selection advisable.

5. The date for the conference was set for April 9-11. The date would permit time to organize the conference and sufficient time for the participants to return home to encourage Negro applications to the white schools in their communities prior to the close of school.

6. That the conference be limited to 150 participants from as many of the 108 school districts as possible.

7. That a person be hired on a part-time basis to follow up the conference. This person would work particularly where other agencies were not involved and would also serve as a clearinghouse for complaints from applicants having difficulty or where school boards were not acting in good faith.

A general format of the program was adopted, with suggestions for participants and resource persons. This outline is attached and is in tentative form, since none of the people have yet been contacted. The responsibility will be that of Penn to develop the program and contact the suggested participants.

Participants at the planning session who live in Columbia will meet soon to work out plans for mailing out notices and handling registration. All agencies would contribute to the mailing list.

There are several factors which would make South Carolina a good place for a conference to be held at this time:

1. The seventeen school districts having some desegregation have all grades open, with no residential limitations. There is no grade-a-year plan in effect in the state.

2. There is presently relatively little desegregation in the state, since this is really the first year of desegregation. (Charleston school district did begin in January 1964 under court order.)

3. South Carolina has abandoned the "massive resistance" states and there are prospects that a large scale desegregation program would meet little resistance. Of the seventeen desegregated school districts, only six were court ordered.

4. Substantial desegregation of public schools could well occur as a result of the proposed conference, whereas, lacking such an effort, only nominal desegregation might result during the next few years.

The budget attached is a skeletal one. It was felt essential that transportation be provided and no charge made for room and board. It is expected that agencies will provide the travel for the consultants and program participants, with only travel provided for individuals without such an attachment.

It will be most helpful if the New World Foundation will be able to underwrite the cost of this conference. I would be glad to supply any further material or information concerning this that you may like.

I hesitate to mention it, but we would appreciate having your answer as soon as possible, since our notice of the meeting should indicate if transportation and cost of the conference would be provided.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Sieloff

cs/es
enclosures

SOUTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE
ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Penn Community Services
Frogmore, South Carolina April 9 - 11, 1965

Purpose: To seek Negro representation from as many of South Carolina's 108 school districts as possible and to discuss ways to achieve substantial school desegregation for the school year 1965-66.

Friday	8:00 P.M.	Keynote speaker on topic of opportunities and obligation (?) for achieving superior education in an integrated society.
Saturday	9:00 A.M.	Title VI of Civil Rights Law in regard to school desegregation and its implementation in South Carolina. Panel from Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, U. S. Attorney, NAACP, and Commission on Civil Rights.
	2:30 P.M.	Community Organization for Implementing School Board Plans for Desegregation A. Involvement of the Community B. Recruitment of student applicants C. Tutorial Programs Panel of South Carolina adults from communities with desegregated schools
	8:00 P.M.	Emotional and Psychological Factors in Desegregation --Panel of students in integrated schools with psychologist as chairman
Sunday	9:30 A.M.	Break-up of attenders into school districts to formulate plans for own communities. Report of plans and further questions.
	11:00 A.M.	Summary of Conference

Proposed Budget

CONFERENCE ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Travel:		
Pay attenders $.05 per mile for car expenses and transportation for program participants		$ 1,000
Conference Accommodations for three-day conference: 150 persons @ $9		1,350
Postage for mailing out invitations		50
Coordinator to follow up conference participants		
Salary, part-time	300	
Travel, telephone, supplies	300	600
Overhead for organizing conference		200
		$ 3,200

Recd 3/12/65

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

PA ✓
VI ✓
SW-file

March 11, 1965

Dear Leslie,

Thanks for your comments on Courtney's proposal.

I have written to him a modified approval, as outlined in the attached letter.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

March 11, 1965

Dr. Courtney Siceloff
Director
Penn Community Services
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

I realize your timetable is a difficult one, but I have waited until now to reply to your request of March 2nd in order to be able to be specific in my response.

What you are trying to do clearly is important and probably needs to be done in spite of the fact that the U.S. Office of Education has a responsibility to do exactly what you propose to do. The fact remains that they will not be able to do it adequately.

If you are going to be dealing strictly with desegregation (as it appears that you are), I am not at all sure why it is necessary to include speakers from federal agencies other than HEW since it is clearly the responsibility of HEW to enforce Section VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Having said all this, I must inform you that it will be possible for The New World Foundation to supply a maximum of $1,500 toward the cost of the conference. If this is satisfactory to you, you can consider this letter a firm commitment.

Please let me know.

Sincerely,

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

PWV
VJ
PA
WB
SW-file

March 11, 1965

Dear Leslie,

I wish I had been included in the yakking session last Tuesday, but I think I can read between the lines fairly accurately and expand your notes. It's just too bad to have missed your eloquent delivery.

I found it very difficult to justify on priority our grant to LCCRUL. You realize, I trust, that Whitney North Seymour is a member of my Board and is on the Executive Committee of LCCRUL. He has no illusions whatsoever about cooperative efforts on behalf of the Mississippi State Bar. The most expected from them is less harrassment.

We do, however, feel that it is important in the long run to involve the power structure of the American Bar more directly in the field of civil rights. This alone may be worth all of the money invested.

Also, I now am quite convinced that Berl Bernhard and John Doyle, working closely with Jack Greenberg and Marian Wright, will be able to do some constructive work in legal representation. Marian,

particularly, insists that she needs more bodies and has no fear about channelling them in the right direction.

We shall see.

Best regards,

Kenon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

File Foundations - New World.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

PAV
MJ-file

April 22, 1965

Mr. Randolph P. Compton
Trustee
Compton Trust
20 Exchange Place
New York, New York 10005

Dear Mr. Compton:

I was delighted to learn from the copy of your letter to Leslie Dunbar that the Compton Trust has made a contribution to the Rural Advancement Project.

I think this is an important effort and should bring good results.

Sincerely,

Vernon Eagle

Tice — Foundations — New World.

April 28, 1965

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Again, as every year, we come forth with our best sellers.

I'll be up your way on May 11, and shall undoubtedly stay around for a couple more days. I hope you may be in town. I'll call you when I get in, hoping that I will be able to see you.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 3.
(1964 Audit, 1965 Budget, Annual Report, 1964)

file
Foundations — New World.

May 6, 1965

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

Being mailed to you today are seven (7) copies of Mr. Dunbar's annual report for 1964.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

May 4, 1965

Dear Leslie,

I read your Annual Report and accompanying statistical data with considerable interest.

Although there was nothing new to me, you did an excellent job of describing the activities of SRC in low key.

Would you be kind enough to send me an additional seven copies so that I can distribute them to my Board.

I do look forward to seeing you here.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Foundations - New World 1965

May 18, 1965

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

I found when I got home the May issue of the Swarthmore magazine. Coincidentally, there was in it the enclosed article. I don't want to stir up any old chestnuts, but you might want to see on page 21 the college's version.

It was wonderful seeing you. Keep me in your prayers.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

(Article from the Swarthmore College Bulletin, May, 1965
"The Psychiatrist on the Campus," an interview with Dr. Leon Saul)

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

Reb

May 20, 1965

Dear Leslie,

Thank you for sending me the May issue of the Swarthmore Alumni Bulletin.

Attached is my letter asking for more specific information.

God bless you.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

P.S. If I could remember your home address, I would have sent this there.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

May 20, 1965

Dear Gil,

I was very interested in reading "The Psychiatrist on the Campus", An Interview with Dr. Leon Saul, in the May issue of the Alumni Bulletin.

It is clear from Dr. Saul's report that Swarthmore has very good psychiatric counselling service for students on the campus.

However, the Admissions Office's use of the psychiatric consultant raises some very real questions in my mind. At the time my son applied, I was puzzled by the question asking whether or not he had received any previous psychiatric help since, as you know, there is very little enlightenment generally in this country about psychiatry.

I was then further perturbed when a psychiatrist friend of mine told me that at a recent meeting of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry the particular form which Swarthmore's consultant psychiatrist sends to the candidate's psychiatrist was discussed and criticized at some length. It was even stated that the consultant psychiatrist had cautioned the Admissions Officers against the acceptance of any candidate who has received psychiatric care.

I find it hard to believe any such allegation. However, Dr. Saul's reply to the penultimate question on page 21 again raises a few doubts in my mind when he states, "On the basis of this confidential information

the College psychiatrist can then question the advisability of admitting this particular candidate." He does add, "By no means is a candidate under a handicap because he has received psychiatric treatment....", but this seems to me to be a contradiction on the face of it since, if he did not know about such psychiatric care, he could hardly then "question the advisability" of admission. Then, after stating, "In fact, such a candidate may be better prepared for his College experience than the majority of others...." (a comment with which I wholeheartedly agree), he then states that "The question on the application is simply a safeguard for both the College and the student." Maybe I read more into Dr. Saul's statement than he means, but "question the advisability" and "safeguard" have negative connotations for me.

Perhaps you could enlighten me in my areas of puzzlement. We, at the Foundation, are very much interested generally in the problems of college admission and guidance. There is every indication that this area needs considerable scrutiny.

Best regards,

Mr. Gilmore Stott
Administrative Assistant
to the President
Swarthmore College
Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

file
New World
Foundation

June 8, 1965

Mrs. Philippa Ellis
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive,
New York, New York 10027

Dear Mrs. Ellis:

Enclosed are two copies each of the January and February, 1965 New South's which you requested in your letter of May 27. We have also included two copies of the March issue which has just come from the printere.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to Mr. Dunbar

MMJ:js

Enclosures - 6.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

include also March

May 27, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We should appreciate it very much if you could have two copies each of the January and February & March 1965 issues of NEW SOUTH sent to the Foundation.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Philippa Ellis

(Mrs.) Philippa Ellis

Dear Mrs. Ellis
Enclosed are 2 copies each of The Jan. + Feb. 1965 N. S.s which you requested in your ltr. of May 27. We have also included 2 copies of the March issue which has just come from the printer's. Sin. MMJ

file

June 24, 1965

Mr. Vernon Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Vernon:

Enclosed is an advance copy of a pamphlet I am pretty proud to put out.

The big decision is, as you know, made. I have been given to know every since down here that I am the rotter of the century, and it may be so.

I never heard anything from Art Singer as you told me I might. Sometime after your phone call, Frances Pauley received a letter from another member of the Carnegie staff in which he volunteered the information that Singer was in touch with me. What gives?

Could you suggest to me a real estate agent in Rockland County?

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js
Enclosure: 1.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

Rec'd 7/8/65

RHA - please charge RHA 7/9/65

July 7, 1965

PA ✓
MJ - file - New World Foundation "Contingency Fund"

Dear Leslie,

I do recall with great clarity the Vine City Project and the conferences sponsored by the Greater Little Rock Conference on Religion and Race and the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. It would appear that the lowness of the sun that evening only dimmed your recollection of my recollection.

Under the circumstances it would seem to me you had no choice but to come to the aid of the young girl in Americus, Georgia. I fully approve of charging her train fare to the contingency fund.

We do expect you to reserve at least one day with us, to explore the possibility of Rockland County. I'm not sure that we can satisfy your public transportation needs, but it's worth a try.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

File - New World Fd. "Contingency Fund"

July 1, 1965

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation, Inc.
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

We sent you the requested ten (1) copies of Encounter With the Future. Let me know if you ever wish more.

Confirming our telephone conversation of yesterday, we have granted $183.00 to the Camp Fire Girls to sponsor three (3) Negro children at the first integrated summer camp the Camp Fire Girls have held in Georgia.

I am enclosing also a clipping from the Atlanta Constitution of July 1, regarding the Vine City Project. You may not recall (the sun was pretty low), but when I was in your office last month you authorized some help to this project. We have given $200.00, and if needs arise I would favor helping with perhaps another $100.00.

That same day you may recall that we agreed on some help to the conferences being jointly sponsored by the Greater Little Rock Conference on Religion and Race and the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

There were two, and by all reports both were of a high level in attendance and discussion. The purpose of both was to focus community attention on the community responsibilities under the Civil Rights Act. One conference was for the general public and the other was restricted to religious leaders (not necessarily clergy). Copies of the programs of each are enclosed. We contributed $1,000.00.

Last night I got a phone call. One of the four, I believe it was, Negro students who desegregated last year the schools of Americus, Georgia has been arrested on a fornication charge. This girl had compiled the highest academic average of the entire sophomore class in the Americus high school. The belief is that the charge is spurious, and one of the leading white attorneys of Americus is representing her. (If the arrest was intended to intimidate, it boomeranged: when news of it got out, over 80 Negro students applied for transfer.) The attorney has worked out an agreement to drop the suit on condition that the girl go to camp for the summer! The Georgia Council telephoned California, and got a full scholarship for her at the Encampment for Citizenship. She has to have train fare (about $155.00), and in a hurry, I said we would put it up. May I charge it to Contingency?

All best wishes, and I hope to see you during the week of July 19.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 3.

File
New World Fd.
Cr. ref.
Rural Advancement Proj. - re:
Financial Prog. Report to
New World
Done. JS

August 5, 1965

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

This is a progress report from the Rural Advancement Project financing.

We have finally pieced together enough money to start the project in a second state, which will be Georgia. Frances Pauley has already appointed a field man. The Georgia project is made possible because, in addition to what remains from your money, we have pieced together grants from the Hochschild Foundation ($1,000), Compton Trust, ($3,000), and Elliot Pratt ($2,000). Even so, we are able to go ahead in Georgia only because NSF has agreed to forego, for the time being, any overhead tap on the Georgia project; we have not yet taken an overhead tap from the South Carolina project.

We have been discussing RAP informally, but seriously, with the Office of Economic Opportunity. We have run into an unexpected problem, and that is we have ended up at the desk of Earl Williams who was on the National Sharecroppers Fund staff until a blow-up of last spring. Judging from what Earl has said, the

thing is not likely to get his recommendation unless NSF is detached from it! We shall see.

A more hopeful prospect at the moment is that in our Ford proposal we have included an item which would make possible extending RAP to two more states. We have been given reason lately to feel somewhat optimistic about the Ford grant.

We'll keep you informed.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File - Hs
New World

August 12, 1965

Miss Brooke Harris
Secretary to Mr. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Brooke:

Thank you for your note of August 9.

I have been intending to write to you ever since your accusing voice trailed me out the door as I left the office last month. Don't hold it against me for coming to join you and all the other Southerners of New York. We have to be like the Scots, you know. (I am one of those, too.) Ever since the English decisively licked them they have been engaged in taking over and running the country.

Seriously, SRC is the kind of horse that wears out its riders, also is the kind of organization that profits, I believe, from being nourished and cultivated periodically by new styles of thinking and acting. The Field Foundation offers for me one of the few available opportunities to keep working in these problems that I am so deeply interested in, and at the same time keep my hand in southern affairs. I do not want to minimize personal factors which

influenced my move, but only to tell you that they would not have been compelling were it not that I sincerely believe these other things.

I only hope that I can find at Field someone to give me the kind of guidance and up-bringing you give to Vernon.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

Rec'd 8/11/65

August 9, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Mr. Eagle is away on vacation so I am acknowledging your letter of August 5th. I know he will be interested in seeing your progress report on the Rural Advancement Project when he returns.

Sincerely,

Brooke

Secretary to Mr. Eagle

ROOM 1908 • 475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

Rec'd 9/3/65

file - New World Fd. 1965

September 1, 1965

Dear Leslie Dunbar,

How very nice of you to take the time to write me. Your letter was waiting when I returned from vacation on Monday.

I am aware that it is undoubtedly time you moved on from SRC. My "accusing voice", however, was only because I feel you are one of the rare Southerners who can lead and guide white Southerners and just hate to see you leave. There aren't enough Leslie Dunbars to go around as it is!

My attitude is primarily based on being from Harry Byrd's town in Virginia (which is still fairly close to being an 18th century pocket of the Commonwealth) and the frustration I feel whenever I return.

From the foundation world standpoint I am more than delighted that you will be running The Field Foundation and wholeheartedly wish you every success.

Sincerely,

Brooke

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

File

September 13, 1965

Dear Leslie,

"The Group" will meet for lunch on Friday at 12:30 at the Berkshire Hotel, 52nd Street off Madison. I did not invite Max because I thought it would give you more freedom.

Best regards,

Vernon

Rec'd 9/21

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Fine - Newsletter Sept. 1965

VIA AIR MAIL

September 13, 1965

Mr. Vernon Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

I do think it is of first importance at this time to get into the predominantly white schools of the Deep South, and particularly those in Mississippi, as many Negro students as is possible.

A fact is that there are not sufficient encouragements for able Negro students to enroll in southern desegregating colleges and universities. The best of them have got scholarship opportunities at the northern schools. Good students are also in heavy demand by Negro colleges and scholarships exist here. The southern predominantly white schools do not have the same interest. They are not offering scholarships to Negro students and consequently may not be getting the best of the crop.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js
Enclosure - 1.

PA - file
pr - file
file - here 20 Nov 75

September 24, 1965

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

I have passed on your letter of September 22 to Paul Anthony for formal acknowledgement. Thank you for all you say in it.

These have been pretty good years for me and it's almost too much to expect that I can have the same enjoyment and satisfaction from my new work. One of the things that has made this a good job to be in has been the opportunity to work with the likes of you. I am very grateful to you for all the help you have been. It's good to know that we shall continue to be plowing the same fields.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

PA
W.T. file

September 22, 1965

Dear Leslie,

In the waning days of your administration I am delighted to send you the enclosed check in the amount of $30,000. This amount represents the final installment of the grant approved by the Board of Directors in October 1963 for general support of the education program of the Southern Regional Council.

9/24/65
L.K.

It has been a great pleasure to work with you and the Southern Regional Council, and I am certain that Paul Anthony will continue to carry out this important task in equally fine style.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

P.S. I am also enclosing my minor personal contribution. More power to your right arm!

$20.00 L.K.
9/24/65

See New World 7d, 1965

September 28, 1965

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Enclosed is our receipt for the Foundation's contribution of $30,000 for 1965. I trust you know how grateful we all are to you and the Board for this support which has been so vital to the Council's operation.

Enclosed also is our receipt for your personal contribution. As Les has made clear to you, this indication of support has very special meaning for us.

I shall be in New York in late October, and would appreciate an opportunity to see you then. I look forward to having the guidance and advice which Harold and Les found so valuable. Certainly, I shall need it as much as, and probably considerably more than, they did.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Enclosures - 2. (Official receipts)

File - Contingency: Special Fund for Educational Projs - 1965

via air mail

October 6, 1965

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

The Foundation has an accounting of the expenditures of the Special Fund for Educational Projects during the period January 1 - August 31, of this year. This is to request your consideration of a supplementary grant of $5,000 to replenish that fund.

As you know, expenditures under this program are limited to non-SRC matters. It has been of considerable value to have such resources. We are able to consider needs which come to our attention that otherwise we would have no hope of meeting. Generally, these requests are much too small to be considered by other sources, and frequently they must be met immediately.

For instance, we learned this summer of the plight of a young woman in Americus, Georgia. As one of the first Negro students to attend the desegregated school, she was being intimidated on a clearly fraudulent morals charge. The court agreed to release her on the provision that she leave at once for summer camp. A grant to cover

her train fare made it possible for her to attend the Encampment for Citizenship in California.

Also, the existence of this special fund allows us, on occasion, to see that a needed program is continued or expanded. In late summer Mississippians for Public Education needed additional resources for their statewide program seeking peaceful school desegregation. A grant of $200 provided travel funds for several of the volunteers and allowed for an extra statewide mailing. I suspect this indication that their work was respected and supported had its own considerable value.

We feel the best argument for this program is the record of expenditures and the uniqueness and variety of the assistance given. We, therefore, request the Foundation's consideration that this fund be continued.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See New World Fd. 1965 - Vernon Eagle

October 4, 1965

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Perhaps I'll learn not to glibly promise letters the next day. Here, several days later, is our request.

I hope you find it satisfactory, and that the proposal adequately expresses our conviction that such a fund should bring results out of all proportion to the individual small grants.

Thanks for the idea as well as your support.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

1965

MJ

Rec'd 10/11/65

October 8, 1965

Dear Paul,

We shall give careful consideration to the requests contained in your letters of October 4 and 6, for support of a Special Fund for programs of student human relations councils and similar groups and for continued support of the Special Contingency Fund.

In due course I'll let you know the decision of my Board which may coincide with your planned visit later in October.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

October 22, 1965

Dear Paul,

Attached is a copy of a request which we received from Yale on behalf of a bright, young senior.

Since he is still an undergraduate, he is not likely to get support from the usual sources, so I am considering support.

I wonder if you would be kind enough to give me your candid appraisal. Assuming he is as good as Yale says he is, is he likely to be able to accomplish the task he sets for himself?

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Yale University *New Haven, Connecticut 06520*

Department of Sociology

WENDELL BELL, *Chairman*

October 21, 1965

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

Enclosed is a proposal written last summer by a 20-year old Negro student at Yale named Richard C. Tolbert. He wishes to carry out a study of Negro political leadership and conflict in the United States, but being at Yale on a scholarship, he does not have the funds necessary to carry out the project. The purpose of this letter is to seek such support.

Mr. Tolbert is an outstanding student. He has been selected to be a member of the Scholar of the House Program during 1965-66 at Yale. This program is perhaps the most exciting educational project for undergraduates at Yale. A few dozen absolutely top-grade students are nominated by the faculty for consideration for this program. Each student submits a project on which he proposes to devote his entire senior year. About twenty men are finally selected. They are not required to take any formal courses during that year and instead spend full time on their Scholar of the House thesis, meeting together with various members of the faculty once each week. Most of the work produced by the Scholars of the House in the past has been comparable to that of capable graduate students, much has been extremely good, and some of the best work has been published.

The project which Mr. Tolbert proposes is focused upon an important issue in modern American life and is designed not only to be an important element in Mr. Tolbert's further education, but also to be a contribution to our understanding of Negro leaders, their aspirations and their values. The plan requires a good deal of travel, including fieldwork in nine cities throughout the United States, during which time Mr. Tolbert will interview numerous Negro leaders.

In my opinion the proposed project is a good one, and Mr. Tolbert has the necessary capabilities to carry it out. Additionally, several of us on the faculty of the Sociology Department have agreed to cooperate with him throughout the year.

Mr. Tolbert completed a pilot study last summer and is now planning a revision of his interview schedule and general approach for his larger study under the direction of Professor Robert Cook of this Department. The pilot study shows promise for Mr. Tolbert's future work while permitting us to advise him on changes he should make.

Yale is operating at a slight deficit and is unable to finance Mr. Tolbert's project. I therefore hope very much that The New World Foundation will consider making a grant to the University which in turn would permit Mr. Tolbert to undertake this work. I would be happy personally to manage the fund on behalf of Yale: to make payment to Mr. Tolbert at appropriate intervals, to see that an accurate record of expenditures was kept, and to send you a full accounting next June. We would of course send you as many copies of his thesis as you would like to have.

Very truly yours,

Wendell Bell

Wendell Bell
Chairman

WB/loe

Enclosures

PROPOSED RESEARCH PROGRAM
FOR A SCHOLAR OF THE HOUSE THESIS
AT YALE UNIVERSITY, 1965-66
"NEGRO POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES"
BY RICHARD TOLBERT

The Topic

The question I wish to study is the manner in which the increasing Negro participation in politics will affect the position of the Negro in American society, and the changes that this participation will make upon American social structure itself. The future, in some measure, is a function of decisions made today. Decisions are strongly influenced if not determined by the philosophy of the decision maker. My first objective therefore is to discover what the thinking of Negro political leaders actually is.

I propose to interview such men in cities having high levels of Negro political participation (as evidenced by census data, voting reports, re-apportionment studies, and the number of Negro Congressmen). New York, Chicago, and Detroit will be examined as examples of cities with relatively long histories of such participation. Atlanta and Tuskeegee are examples of emerging Negro participation in politics in the South. Kansas City and New Haven are both unrestricted suffrage areas that have experienced a recent increase in Negro political participation. They are included not only for this reason, but also because I live in Kansas City, study in New Haven, and am already acquainted with the Negro political leaders of each.

The following are some of the basic questions the study will examine. How does the rapid growth of militant groups within the Negro community relate to the general increase in Negro participation in politics? How will the Negro political leader respond to the increasing pressures from his own constituents? Are the images of the future held by the Negro political leader optimistic or

pessimistic? To what extent do Negro leaders think they can influence current trends? Will the reform quality of the Civil Rights Movement accompany the increasing Negro movement into the political arena? Will racial appeals become less important or, as some have suggested, more so? What universal appeals are viable alternatives to racial appeals for the Negro community?

Use of the Study

An increased understanding of the sentiments of the Negro community, as reflected by its political leadership, is important to the community service organizations -- planning agencies, poverty programs, and urban and community development groups. The findings of my study, which are to be typed in report form if not actually published, will constitute my Scholar Of The House thesis and will be reproduced in sufficient quantity for distribution to such people as Matthew Rockwell, Executive Director of the Northeastern Illinois Metropolitan Area Planning Commission; W. C. Dutton, Jr., Director, National Planning Commission, Washington, D.C.; and John E. Depout, Director, Urban Studies Center, New Brunswick, New Jersey. It will also be sent to the urban renewal and city planning offices of all cities visited (and to those in many other cities as well). Finally, it will be sent to interested agencies such as the NAACP and the Urban League.

Costs

I should like to request that a grant of $2,688 be made to Yale University for my account, which would permit me to undertake this study and distribute the report. Attached is a statement reflecting what the costs would be. I have no funds of my own, and would greatly appreciate any help which could be given.

Richard Tolbert
Yale Class of 1966
1806 E. 36th Street
Kansas City, Missouri

December 21, 1965

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Vernon:

The South Carolina Council has asked for a grant of $625.00 from the Special Contingency Fund for the purpose of a state-wide effort at recruiting Negro students for the predominantly white colleges and universities in South Carolina. Ten recruiting teams would be put together to visit Negro high schools for that purpose and most of the money requested would go for the travel expenses of the teams.

Like in other states, there are pitifully few Negroes in the white colleges of South Carolina but a majority of those are there as a result of earlier recruiting of this nature. This sounds like another one worth supporting. What do you think?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

file
New World Fd.
1965

October 28, 1965

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Thank you again for your help and hospitality. The second day of my rounds were like the first in that your office was the only place I really felt comfortable.

I spent an interesting 3 hours at the Rockefeller Foundation. Dr. DeVinney and I had lunch, and he later arranged for me to spend about an hour with several people, including Joe Black and Flora Rhind. It was a friendly occasion, though I never figured out whether or not Black showed any interest. It was made clear to me that Rockefeller does not give to "action agencies." Many people down here will be interested to know that we are such an agency. However, they did leave open the possibility of some terminal grant. DeVinney is to let me know in a few days whether it would be appropriate to submit an application.

So it goes. Again many thanks.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

Rec'd 11/8/65 file

November 4, 1965

Dear Paul,

Thank you for your letter with respect to SRC's Annual Meeting. I may just turn up and will let you know definitely some time next week.

In the meantime, I'm pleased to be able to tell you that the Board approved a grant in support of Richard Tolbert's project, "Negro Political Leadership in the United States", which we discussed when you were in the office.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

MS file

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

Rec'd 12/8/65

December 7, 1965

Dear Paul,

I am in full agreement with your recommendation to use $446.80 in support of the Florida Campus Traveler. I particularly approve of placing the funds through the Florida Council.

Unless I hear from you otherwise, I assume that these funds are being taken from the Special Fund for student human relations councils and similar groups.

These young people certainly know how to stretch a dollar!

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

December 22, 1965

Miss Brooke G. Harris
Assistant Secretary
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Brooke:

We were not sending other copies of the Southern Teaching Program report although we certainly are happy to do so. Under separate cover four more are being sent.

The very best for the Season.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures - 4

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

December 20, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Today we received four copies of the report of the 1965 Southern Teaching Program, three copies addressed to Mr. Eagle and one copy to Mr. Jennings.

Unless other copies are being sent separately and have been held up in the Christmas mail, would you be kind enough to have four more copies sent.

Thank you and Merry Christmas.

Best regards,

Brooke

Secretary to Mr. Eagle

P.S. Wilton Dillon, who is my brother-in-law, was asking about you last night.

HCF
MG
RCR

FIRST MEMO ON A TRAINING PROGRAM FOR AN INTERN IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

****

...on the Staff of the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee
105 City Hall, Cincinnati 2, Ohio

NOTE: This is a first draft of work-and-learn experiences which MFRC proposes to provide for its intern, Paul Ertel, Jr., as part of the NAIRO* Internship Program covering some 18 internships in 17 intergroup agencies in the USA. Mr. Ertel began work Sept. 2, 1957.

This memo first outlines all aspects of the 12-months program; then gives a longer sampling (not meant to be exhaustive) of assignments under each heading, designed to give the intern knowledge and skills in each area. Supplementing the training by MFRC will be a NAIRO seminar for all interns, in March 1958.

The memo is shared among knowledgeable and interested persons because it is a tentative, thinking-out-loud first effort. Possibly it has its own virtues of closeness to one local situation. But its authors feel that it cries out for the reactions and suggestions of their friends and colleagues in different situations; to spot the gaps, correct unbalances, suggest other assignments, etc. Thus you, reader, will greatly aid the intern, NAIRO--and two novice teachers:

Marshall Bragdon &
Virginia Coffey

(*NAIRO: National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials)

OUTLINE OF TRAINING PROGRAM

I. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE

A. Of racial, religious and ethnic groups in the USA.
B. Of prejudice and discrimination; nature, causes, remedies.
C. Of intergroup programs and agencies.
D. Working assumptions and techniques.
E. Social science concepts; community organization.
F. Role of government in intergroup field.

II. PROBLEM AND WORK AREAS TO BE COVERED IN TRAINING

A. Housing. 1-General. 2-Private housing. 3-Public Housing. 4-Urban renewal. 5-Changing neighborhoods.
B. Employment
C. Schools. 1-Public. 2-Parochial. 3-Colleges. 4-Business and technical.
D. Churches and Temples
E. Government. 1-Law enforcement. 2-Public employment. 3-Services to citizens. 4-Administration and legislation. 5-Government planning role.
F. Civil Rights, including public accomodations.
G. Health & Welfare Services (public and private)
H. Culture Conflicts. 1-Southern Mountaineer. 2-Southern rural Negro.
I. Interreligious Relations

III. APPROACHES, TECHNIQUES AND SKILLS

A. Fact-Finding. 1-Investigation. 2-Use of research. 3-Keeping records.
B. Analysis and Evaluation
C. Consultation
D. Education. 1-Speaking. 2-Using Intergroup materials. 3-Mass media. 4-Workshop, institute, conference planning. 5-Program consultation.
E. Legislation and Litigation
F. Pressure and Persuasion
G. Organizing Joint Efforts. 1-Interagency teamwork. 2-Community organization and mobilization. 3-Communications.
H. Collaboration of the professional and the citizen leader.

SAMPLE ASSIGNMENTS OF TRAINING

I. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE

A. Of minority groups. By directed reading; contacts with groups; tapping other interns' and professionals' experience.

B. Prejudice and discrimination. By study of the literature; discussion with staff & others; seeing it in action; thinking and writing about it.

C. Intergroup agencies. By reading in MFRC library; scanning their official literature; attending conferences--but most of all by close work with and study of agencies in Cincinnati.

D. "Working assumptions" and techniques. Read what's in print; collect field examples, check against sociological and psychological theories; pester practitioners for their "how" and "why"; try writing up some theory-practice relations as observed; go to NAIRO bull sessions.

E. Social Science concepts & community organization. At University of Cincinnati, do a directed reading program in Sociology, 2d semester.

F. Role of Government. Partly by reading, more by observation, most by talk with astute citizens, officials, and intergroup workers.

II. PROBLEM AND WORK AREAS TO BE COVERED IN TRAINING

A. HOUSING.

1-General. Contact Reid Ross, Better Housing League executive, for his knowledge and file information; "tap" him all year. Review all MFRC library items; with staff aid, pick best for intensive study. Follow current material, Trends in Housing, etc. Learn "official" line, and practices, of organized realtors, builders, lenders. Also informally contact a few in each group (to listen, not argue).

2-Private housing. (Much of above applied here.) Get all possible local data and informed insights on building, selling and lending.

Be part of any fact-finding which MFRC does this year. Tap NAACP, JCRC, UL views. Check local government functions (renewal, relocation, inspection, etc.) for a bearing; talk to officials. Also politicians! Follow pattern & pace of sales to Negroes. From some of them, get the "human side" to flesh out the data. Pay equal attention to white citizens' situation, reactions and needs. Try to develop a "practical" as well as a moral rationale of remedies to meet the problem. P.S.-Also study mountain migrant housing, in appropriate ways.

3-Public Housing. Review MFRC files on consultation; scan library for later study. Tour projects and environs. Interview director for his view of program and problems. Visit some project managers for the same. Then get schools' and social agencies' view of projects and people. Study effect of Ohio's low income ceiling. Read articles on public housing's current problems, dilemmas. Study plans for new projects: site selection, effects on neighborhood, relation to urban renewal relocation, effects on schools, agencies, etc.

4-Urban Renewal. Master highlights of local program thus far, then dig into current events; auditing conferences, following reports, talking to Renewal officials, other close observers, and critics. See UR's place in Master Plan. Identify gamut of group and organizational interests and attitudes toward UR. Dig into relocation --effects on DP's, on neighborhoods, on community relations. Make a close, special study of Avondale renewal program (aspects of this are too many to list here). Throughout the 12 months, study the relevant general literature; get ideas at NAIRO conference.

5-Changing Neighborhoods. (Notes above partly apply here, of course.) Make initial tours of Avondale, Evanston, Madisonville, Cumminsville, Walnut Hills, upper Basin. But first consult staff and think out what to look for. Write up first observations, be ready to discuss (a first effort, against which later observations may be evaluated). Then dig into any available data (census, Master Plan, Renewal, Inspection, MFRC case notes, Police, social research, etc). Review FHA's market analysis of Cincinnati area. Seek "insightful" other sources of observation. Map present lines of Negro occupancy, and from realtors and others get evidence of direction and pace of movement; also hints of probable "next" areas...Take one or two change-tension areas (with our staff) for intensive study of details of change, people's feelings, realty sales practices, price trend if possible, where sellers go, and the varied roles of area leaders and organizations in this whole process. Read the intergroup literature during field work. Study school problems. Cross-relate the churches' possible contributions to achieving peaceful change...Watch social agencies' services and alertness to new needs. Evaluate newcomers' community-organization needs.
(NOTE: We rate neighborhood changes most important of all intergroup problems today; so the training will focus hard on it.)

B. MINORITY EMPLOYMENT

Besides studying Cincinnati Discrimination Report and general lit-

erature (to be selected) get most local information from Urban League (Mr. Decatur) and OSES (Mr. Birch). Get detail of UL placement and counselling. From these and other sources, estimate pattern and pace of progress. Through Sommerfeld, Bilik and others, get the union picture; and management's from MFRC members and others. Study record of failure to pass FEP here; compare to efforts elsewhere. Use MFRC contacts for a look at federal employment; also state's local offices, and county. Study closely City Hall's pattern. Devote special study to "motivation of minority youth", including local project; possibly aiding its further development. Make a less ambitious review of mountain migrants' work situation.

C. SCHOOLS

1-Public Schools. First, review rapidly all files on local schools for general view (parts to be restudied later), and explore whole subject with MB and VC, charting work and study. For tips and ideas talk to Mr. Pierce and other school executives. Begin to read NAIRO, other materials on schools and intergroup education. Visit some schools in "problem" areas, after reading VC's notes of visits. Learn all about and attend meetings of School-Community Committee on Intergroup Relations. Get other agencies' views of and contacts with schools. Relate "motivation of minority youth" to schools as well as to job and community factors. Devise and do some compilation of school data (racial %, distribution, etc). With Mrs. Schloss, get an understanding of the PTA setup, program possibilities, etc. Important: Study and discuss "religion and education" issues. Work on some school problems referred to MFRC.

2-Parochial Schools. Study differences of role, aim and operation as compared to public schools. Talk to Msgr. Ryan and Fr. Franer, then visit a few schools, aided and advised by Fr. Walter, Mrs. Lambert, VC. Pose questions such as "How do parochial schools educate for sound intergroup relations?" Read appropriate general literature.

3-From his own experience, dig deeper into University of Cincinnati practices, climate and contribution--on campus and in the city--to intergroup progress. Spot problems, try to suggest remedies. Make similar but flexible contacts at Xavier and others.

4-Private Business and Technical Schools. Contact Ohio Mechanics Inst., get the picture. Tackle downtown business schools, plus IBM and Comptometer schools, to end present discrimination.

D. RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

Begin by doing the arrangements, under direction, for the Workshop for New Pastors in October; then do individual follow-up, to assure maximum service from MFRC and other agencies to clergy and churches; plan second session in January; utilize contacts for further denominational entrees, clergy meetings, etc. Take church speaking dates, especially to youth groups and couples clubs. At same time,

study intergroup work and materials of various denominations. Work with MFRC's Committee on Churches.

Utilize MFRC's Catholic members to make similar contacts, to give any possible services, and to grasp distinctions of structure, leadership and approach to intergroup problems, between the two faiths. With Jewish contacts, in MFRC and other agencies, similarly appraise temples and synagogues, in terms of both interfaith and interracial situations and problems. In the case of all three organizations, study and work in them as intergroup education instruments.

E. GOVERNMENT (chiefly local, but state and federal too)

1-Law enforcement. Approach police, courts and correctional institutions (a) with close observation of detailed operation; later, (b) generalizing their intergroup significance. Begin by getting to know individuals in police and court staffs who are willing and able to give insights. Review MFRC's Police Academy teaching, with MB. Go on field trips, beat duty. Study areas of special minority problems (actual, or so perceived by police). Contact Juvenile Court, Youth Aid Bureau, Citizens Committee on Youth. Investigate gang incidents. Review MFRC files on citizens' complaints, crowd tensions, conferences. Privately consult some Negro personnel in courts and police.

2-Public employment. Get facts on hiring, promotion in government offices; compare with private employment. Contact Mr. Lyons of U.S. Federal Service on this; also a few state agencies.

3-Services to citizens. Review welfare, recreation, health, housing, fire and police, for intergroup aspects.

4-a. Administration. From a sampling of officials, get their view of intergroup aspects or problems in their operations. Study "how" of ablest operators. (b) Legislation. Review the vain effort to pass FEP ordinance; the bus company employment case. Talk to leading figures in these efforts. Cross-fertilize with library reading.

5-Possibly attempt, near end of year, a small meditative study of the effects of governmental decisions, big and little, upon minority and majority groups; and upon other intergroup efforts in the city.

F. CIVIL RIGHTS. Begin early what will become an informal audit of the local situations; seeking present facts on restaurants, hotels, motels, theaters, amusement parks, pools, bowling alleys, etc. (This will show gaps in our knowledge; salutary!) Study local CR history: work of MFRC other agencies, court cases. Interpolate study of general materials, work of national agencies. Service any new inter-agency efforts here. With staff, discuss new community education the facts call for.

G. HEALTH & WELFARE SERVICES

1-Overview. Starting with H&W Council director, Mr. Walton, get a

grasp of structure of public and private services, with an eye for meaning to minorities. Visit Social Service Exchange. Review Cincinnati Report (1952 agencies appraisal); then check what's happened to intergroup recommendations. Talk to Urban League. Clarify MFRC's responsibility for aiding progress.

2-Health. At Public Health Federation, get studies and knowledge of staff, learn about agencies' number, function, location, etc. Dig further for facts on health and medical problems of the Negro and mountaineer population. Talk to Negro doctors. See how many lack adequate hospital facilities. With such facts, aid MB in renewing admissions efforts. Incidentally, note the distribution of Negroes in different hospital staffs, after reviewing progress since 1945.

3-Welfare. Study total program of Welfare Dept. Interview director and supervisors, go to Welfare Advisory committee with VC. Study state's role and laws in evaluation service here. Weigh criticism and defenses of services. Relate welfare to housing, schools, etc.

4-Recreation & Youth Agencies. Visit public recreation and community centers; report to and discuss with staff, study further as indicated. Watch for underserviced areas, and effect on minority living. Visit, also, Boy Scouts, YMCA, Girl Scouts, YWCA, Camp Fire Girls to compare programs, note intergroup implications, and discuss progress & problems as staff sees them. More discussion with staff, plus reading.

H. CULTURAL ADJUSTMENTS

1-Mountaineer migrants. Take active part in this part of MFRC work, after reviewing it thoroughly. Keep this group in mind in studying varied problems and services.

2-Negro migrant. Similar attention indicated. Part of this attention to focus also on low-income Negro population not fresh from rural South but with similar cultural problems.

I. INTERRELIGIOUS RELATIONS. Study anti-Semitism, scholarly studies and field observation; then attempted remedies and defenses. Work with local JCRC and AJC men, getting both kinds of information. Eye Catholic-Protestant tensions at different levels; through local observation, also readings, such as Herberg, Hager, Kenne, et al. Review "religion-in-education" trends & tensions; talk to educators and agencies on local samples. Write a study memo on differences between racial and religious tensions. Experiment (guardedly) in discussing this problem with varied groups. Try to achieve a tested judgement of what MFRC can, and cannot, do in the area.

III. APPROACHES, TECHNIQUES AND SKILLS

A. FACT-FINDING

1-Investigation. By assignment, investigate situations of increasing complexity. Practice oral and written reports to staff; with eval-

uation each time. Read case files of MFRC, and of sister agencies if possible. Evaluate other staff members' reports as a critical exercise.

2-Research. Discuss readings with Dr. Hinman of UC. Peruse research findings for comprehension, also for practical applications. Read NAIRO Research Conferences proceedings, backfile of Inventory of Research in Race Relations. Also community audits; Detroit health report; work of other agencies doing field studies; etc. Then while on assignments involving local information, note ease or difficulty in utilizing materials; and continue practice if needed.

3-Record-keeping. Begin at once, trying to make clear, meaty entries in worksheets and weekly commentary, and similarly in all other reports. Use dictation-machine, play back or study transcript for wordiness. Develop own system of keeping (and mastering) notes, clips and items of temporary or "maybe" value, and relating them to more permanent work records. Master office files and records.

B. ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION. Learn to apply them, both to information in general and to the elements of a specific assignment, talk or problem. Consciously practice taking in information of varied origin and reliability, digesting it for comprehension and uses in problem-solving. Discuss with the staff examples of this process from the day's work; invite MB and VC's critique of his evaluation of information; raise analytic questions in staff meetings, inter-agencies sessions, etc.

C. CONSULTATION. From the start, realize that much of his important work will be consultation--helping someone to solve a problem. Review MFRC records of consultation; discuss them. In his own work, in professional meetings, contacts and observations, constantly collect examples of consultation to weigh and digest--for the mindset will remind him how much more knowledge is needed, plus practice in applying it to specific situations.

D. EDUCATION

1-Providing Programs. Begin early to take speaking dates, easy ones first, then harder tests of prep, presentation and estimating an audience's needs. Develop his own material experiment with it. Later, advise groups on variety of programs available.

2-Utilizing Intergroup Materials. As internship proceeds, build up a mental file of material appropriate for a variety of uses. See this as important in consultation and other service roles.

3-Mass Media. Begin writing for weekly column. Do press releases, but expect MB's editing. Suggest column ideas to VC. Contact WCIN (Negro station), ponder items it might use. Read material on mass media. Seek grasp of (a) minority press and radio; (b) general medias' availability; (c) dealing with them in tensions.

4-Workshops, conferences. Study and work with forms of programs and meetings likeliest to change people's ideas and behavior. Begin as arranger of '57 New Pastors' Workshop; make pre-session contacts; evaluate workshop in staff; then develop and carry out year-round

service relation to pastors. In contrast, do other one-shot meetings with brief prep. Tap others' experience and ideas on programs.

E. LEGISLATION AND LITIGATION

Study local and state FEP efforts; housing and other civil rights laws; other agencies' experience with such laws; resort to courts by some agencies; and the relation of both law and litigation to other approaches and instruments in this field.

F. PRESSURE AND PERSUASION

Study and discuss examples of both, as much as possible on the local scene, then digging into the literature, and outside sources. Pester his seniors with questions as to their use by different agencies.

G. ORGANIZING JOINT EFFORTS

1-Interagency Teamwork. Visit, confer and when possible work with other agencies' staffs. Establish rapport--or know the reason why it's absent. Study teamwork talk in inter-agencies meetings; try to find out why it sometimes pans out, sometimes peters out. From this and other observations, grasp distinct roles of agencies, and consequent aids or bars to different collaborations. Note other interpersonal factor among agencies' personnel. Bearing both in mind, identify and practice approaches that maximize teamwork.

2-Communication. From this teamwork angle, restudy what exchange of information, plans and "spirit" is necessary in a mobilization or project involving varied groups. Analyze vain and effective ones.

3-Community Organization. Study it a bit from books, but mostly by relating the concept to daily work, local events, and needs of the total job of building good relations in an urban setting. Use the term as another mindset and memo, to test its cash value in digesting experience and observation into usable principles.

H. COLLABORATION OF PROFESSIONAL AND LAYMAN

Recognize this relation as vital to productivity in this field. Study current and past activities of MFRC and other agencies with an eye to the roles of staff members, Board members, other laymen. Note variations in different kinds of agencies. Question staff and Board members as to their concepts of role differences; persevere despite confusing answers! Keep a file on materials, observations and conversations about this. Hammer out tentative hypothesis, as needed in daily work, but keep it open for new insights.

Intern file

INTRODUCTION

This paper is an analytical summary of the Intership training program sponsored by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, under the auspices of the Southern Regional Council.

It will deal with the general objectives, setting, and type of experiences believed necessary to conduct a comprehensive study in the field of human relations. It is a study based on the experiences acquired while employed by the Southern Regional Council, in collaboration with NAIRO's internship training program, and tries to present, as near as possible, a balanced account of the situations described. The detailed information is limited to make room for discussion and analysis of the highlights in my trainning schedule, but they are more-or-less included in the discussions of the major topics in the paper.

I am indeed fortunate to have been among the first group of young people selected to study the field of human relations under the Internship program. A program of this sort naturally has many undetermined factors and problems associated with its initial move, problems which were not provided for in the original plans for the project. I hope that this report will help to eliminate or decrease the problems for the Interns beginning this year.

My thanks and appreciation, go to the professional and secretarial staff of the Council, for without their confidence and assistance in the training program, my present development would have been difficult if not impossible to achieve.

ORIENTATION:

The first phase of my Internship training was spent familiarizing myself with the staff and functions of the Southern Regional Council, learning how the Council fitted itself into the social order, and how it expected to involve my trainning program in its general program.

This included extensive reading of background material in the field of Human Relations, studying the history and organization of the Council, and the present program and method of operation. Because of the numerous methods and techniques of approach used by the different Human Relations Agencies, and the uniqueness of each, definite consideration was given to the significant work of other people and organizations operating in this field. This gave me a more comprehensive view of the broad field of Human Relations, and made it very clear that other Agencies working in Human Relations, although they may use different techniques and operate under different programs, are just as necessary and just as effective as my particular Agency or any other single Agency. The art of communication and the necessity of good interorganizational and intergroup cooperation were expressed as being vital to realize the fulfillment of the general programs of the respective Agencies, regardless of location or special interest.

Fred Routh, my immediate supervisor, and all of the members of the professional staff were very generous with their time and cooperated with my training efforts by scheduling several formal conferences and by making themselves available for frequent chats and professional staff discussion sessions to offer constructive criticism, and to familarize me with their respective jobs and pending projects. Frequent informal talks with members of the SRC's Consultant Service Staff also was an important factor in my training efforts.

Study, Analysis and conduct of research composed the frame of reference in my orientation period on the remaining trainning processes would be predicated.

CONCENTRATION IN SRC.-

Learning about SRC was more or less an individual effort supervised by members of the professional staff and assisted by the secretarial department. The genral functions of the Council are carried on by the entire staff cooperating as a unit working toward an established goal. This means, of course, that all of the staff people, regardless of department or position, would be involved in most of the program particulars and could keep me informed and abrest of current program efforts while trainning or out on field trips. The educational process was a continueous one, not only for me but for the rest of the staff as well, because of the ever-changing social problems and the constant renovation of proposed programs to meet this shift in the social order. The introduction of such a variety of community disturbances and social problems, and the analytical process which is involved to classifying them, is an education within in itself.

I attended all of the regular staff meetings which afforded me the opportunity to participate in discussions concerning different phases of the Council's program, and analysing the developements of current projects. At a later time, Harold Fleming, the Director of the Council, introduced me to the SRC Board of Directors as the Intern for the coming year, and explained just what my trainning program was all about.. At the end of each session I had the opportunity to meet and talk with the Board officers and most of the members who displayed a keen interest in my Internship program and offered to assist me in any way they could.

Meeting Attended-

Other than attending the SRC Board Meeting and other special committees incorporated in the structure of the Council, I accompanied members of the staff to outside, although affiliated, conferences and participated in the discussions, and in some instances, aided in the actual plainning of

proposed projects. The Southern Interagency Cooperative Effort (CCD) conference was among my first outside activity endavors. This group represented the combined efforts of the various human relations agencies which are actively involved in race relations. It was here that, through free discussion and expressed views of individuals representing agency policy, could the role and status of the various agencies be defined and understood for the purpose of giving aid to future projects sponsored by the agencies. Also, there was detailed discussion about the strategy and techniques believed best to be used in the activities for the coming year. I attended all of the open sessions, and sat in on most of the planning conferences.

A counterpart of the above mentioned is the Southern Interreligious Sub-Committee of CCD. This program entails a variety of church groups coming together as a working body to discuss, and if possible, to divise a systematic plan of action which would futher interagency cooperation. Rred Routh and I represented the Council and acted more or less as consultants to the body since we are non-denominational and could not represent a specific religious group.

As I became more attached to the functions of the Council and more proficient in the field of Human Relations, I began to assume more detailed duties and worked mostly on my own initative with the understanding that help was always readily avaible. I was assigned to aid Mrs. Tilly in her annual conference of The Fellowship of the Concerned, a program which cooperated with SRC's department of Women's Work, by assisting her in all phases of the organization of the conference. Every opportunity was gimen me to involve myself in the actual plainning of the particulars of the program. This included assisting in coordinating workshops , acting as a consultant on local affairs, and general trouble shooter. It was very

gratifying to finally put into action some of the things learned in the earlier periods of my training program. The books read, the various staff conferences attended, and the individual attention from my supervisor netted me a well rounded pool of knowledge from which I Drew inspiration and confidense in my first field experience.

Outside Interviews-

To learn about the various approaches being used in the field of Human Relations in the South, I arranged personal, off the record, interviews with staff members of other agencies, public officials, and other interested bodies. Some of the people interviewed are as follows: Mrs. Grace Hamilton, Executive Director, Atlanta Urban League; Mr. W. R. Cocharn, Executive Director, Butler Street YMCA, Atlanta,Georgia; Mrs Buby Hurley, Regional Director, NAACP, Atlanta,Georgia; Dr. R. Brisbane, Chairman, Department of Political Science, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia; Mr. T. M. Alexander, Executive Director, Insurance Company, Atlanta, Georgia; Mr. H. J. Jenkins, Chief of Police, Atlanta Police Department; Mrs. Daisy Bates, President, Arkansas State Branch, NAACP; and Dr. B. E. Mays, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia.

The discussions with the people mentioned above were, for the most part, general in scope and centered around the current problems existing in a specific locality, and the real critical racial disturbances occurring in the Nation as a whole. They also discussed possible solutions to some of the situations with emphasis on the techniques and methods of approach to be used, and some of the things being done by them, or the agency that they are representing, to better the strained conditions of their regions. It was interesting to note the many different kinds of strategy , and mode of operations used to achieved a desired goal, although, in most instance, the desired goals were of the same nature. This, of course, stressed even further the importance and necessity of cooper-

ation between the agencies working in Human Relations and the interested public that are seeking ways to better relations between the races, and will give support to programs devoted to such a cause. The importance of such an affiliation or allience among the agencies and the people working in the field, cannot be over emphasized, and that such an arrangement is essential to any proposed program endavor made in this field. Most of the people interviewed skillfully avoided getting bogged down in a detailed discussion of policy and structure of their organization but gave me the high spots and points on interest that were considered basic to programing efforts. My line of questioning was completely for informational purposes and did not lend itself to investigational or critical analysis of any person or agency. This was very helpful and avoided any unncessary suspicions that could have been created had I used another approach. As it was, the experience gained by these interviews was immeasureably important to my training effort.

EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES-

The process of education is so closely tied up with getting the proper experience which would make the learning process more meaningful, and more pratical, that field trips were considered to be vital to a well-rounded background in Human Relations. With this in mind, it was decided that special field trips should be arranged to give me the opportunity to attend at least two conferences or work-shops, and confer with other professional personnel in Human Relations. Always, of course, with the idea of learning, but also in some instances where I could be of help, to inject constructive comments, or to assist in analyzing certain situations that I was already familiar with.

The contact and companionship with the people at these conferences were very rewarding and proved to be fundamental to my trainning program.

Race Relations Institute, Fisk University-

The Race Relations Institute held annually in Nashville, Tenn., at Fisk University, has always been a milestone in the efforts made by individuals and human relations agencies to bring about a constructive change in the National community relative to the relationships of the races. Interested citizens and citizens ready to accept the responsibility of helping to solve this National problem of racial conflict realize that there is no way to dodge most of the situations produced by racial tension. The racial problems in the [redacted] community can spill over into practically every walk of life and seriously challenge [redacted] our basic Democratic ideals and processes. The effects of such a situation on our established social and governmental Instituations can be diabolitical in nature and which is must not go unanswered. There must be some way to deal with this thorn constantly irritating our security as a Nation, and way of life as a people. The Institute on Race Relations was born out of such a need. This group represented the combined efforts of good solid citizens working together to weaken if not destroy this menace to society, and restore unity and harmony to our troubled racially and split communities.

The task, based on the nature of the problem, is to develop a better understanding of race relations and define the other problems associated with racial conflict. The Institute emphasized the importance of sound leaders, reliable compilation of information, good methods of approach and techniques, high ethical and moral standards and "fair play" while dealing with people that have ideas different to what we believe is right.

The Institute itself is broken down into phases and departments, each dealing with specific problems relative to the natural break down in our

society. This way, concentration can be given to the particulars involving a certain segment of the community without working on the total over-all situation. For instance, problems arising in the field of labor and management will be refered to the seminar on Labor Relations, problems involving morals or religious aspects will be refered to the seminar on Religion, problems concerning tension in the community is given to the Work-Shop on Community Problems. Special attention was also given to the activies sponsored by the various hate groups in connection with the recent surge of mob violence and intimidation in communities faced with Federal Court orders to intergrate public utilities.

The program was thoroghly peppered with well qualified speakers from a variety of different fields of work to give a more composite picture of the situation and the progress, if any, That had been make during the year. Practically all of the speakers told of both good and bad events which had taken place during the year and hinted that the trend was definitely on the up-climb. However, they warned of the impending crises that was sure to come with the legal break-down in the segregationist platform, and that we must be ready to assist the Courts in implementing the decisions handed down concerning OUR social order. They stressed the point that the problem was not yet licked, but rather that we were just in the last stages of the dispute , and that the importance of hard work and "follow-through" on past endavors could not be over emphasised.

It was again repeated in the summary that, good leaders, sound judgements and devotion to duty by the people working in the field will be essential to any future progress made to abolish racial conflict, and that the results of our efforts would be realized in the not to distant future.

NAIRO Seminar, Chicago, Ill.-

The National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials is sponsoring an educational training program for the purpose of introducing talented young people in to the field of Intergroup Relations, with the hope of placing them in permanent positions. This recruiting process involved ~~attainting~~ the cooperation of several social agencies needed to house and accept the responsibility of training the Interns, and also being available for possible employment. Special grants had to be ~~obtained~~ secured for the Intern since this was a paid, "on-the-job" training process, and special accommodations had to be made to ~~xxx~~ initiate a training schedule for the Intern. Sixteen young people were trained in agencies across the nation during the first year of operation. I was fortuante to have been choosen by the Southern Regional Council to work with them as their Intern for the past year.

On or near the half way mark of our training year, ~~the~~ a conference was ~~xxx~~ scheduled for the purpose of bringing together all of the Interns ~~and~~ to have a complete discussion and evaluation of the program and to give personal references as to how the program could be better conducted. Several of the supervisors and professonial staff members of other agencies, served as discussion leaders and speakers to ~~xxxx

that help was always available.

Points Discussed-

The seminar was broken down into sessions, and topics to be discussed were assigned to specific sessions to be debated and analyzed. Any point of interest that required more time that originally planned for could be pursued without difficulty, because the provisions made for discussion were not formally established and the sessions were always subject to change according to the wishes of the discussion leaders or the Interns themselves. In my opinion, the importance of such an arrangement was vital to the success of the seminar.

The sessions generally centered around trying to get an over-all picture of the field of Human Relations and Intergroup Relations, and how exactly has or would the trainning already received apply, to the current problems facing us today. We discussed the approaches and techniques used by the respective agencies to counteract the social tensions and problems in troubled communities. This was done for informational reasons, not to criticize the particular type of operation, or in many instances, motivation. This was a matter of agency policy, and we did not bother ourselves with such an involved subject, or such a useless one.

We had lenghty discussions and several sessions on the integrity and worth of the various social agencies, and the role that they should play in the community. Such questions as, to what extent should the community be involved in the actual planning stages of proposed projects, should there be complete candidness with the community, does the agency work with or for tthe community, and should the agency wait for acceptance by the community,

were discussed.

or superimpose themselves of the community whether they are wanted or not, Thorough examination was also given to the principle of inter-organizational cooperation, and the necessity for such a course of operation to realize and utilize the worth and power inate in the combined efforts of the majority. This does not say, nor do I mean to imply, that individual sponsorship is unimportant and without effect in the community, that is not so. We raised the issue that a larger range of influence can be felt through combined efforts rather than just on the local scene. Other topics discussed were: Federal policy concerning intergration, Federal and State Courts decisions, Federal and State Legislation, Religion, job opportunities, training and type of involvement of each Intern.

The conference was very helpful to the Interns and most of us went back to our respective agencies with renewed interest and anxious to get into the thick of things with the vigor of new ideas and acquired knowledge.

DUTIES PERFORMED:

My assignments carried me to practically all of the departments of the Council in an effort to give me the opportunity to work with the department heads and actually see how proposed programs are initiated and executed. My concentration, however, was in the field services divison of the Council under the supervision of Fred Routh, Ass. Director of the Council.

The duties entailed:

(1)..Liaison work between SRC and eleven state human relations councils.

The state councils included are Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North

Carolina, Georgia, South Carolina, Arkansas, Florida, Alabama, Texas and Louisiana.

(2) Administrative and field participation in SRC's consultant service program. This involves work with SRC's special group of consultants consisting of 16 social scientists from throughout the South.

(3). Administration and field participation in the cooperative interagency effort which SRC services as secretariat. These groups are composed of various social and human relations organizations active in the South.

(4) Work with the Council's Labor Consultant, planning and attending labor conferences.

(5) Work with SRC's Director of Women's Work, planning and attending conferences. This included assisting in coordinating workshops and other details associated with the meetings. These groups are composed principally of women engaged in work with religious groups, such as The United Church Women and the various denominational groups.

(6) Work with the Director of Information, in compling special reports and other informational material.

(8) Work with community leaders(both white and Negro) in various Southern states.

The composite picture of my activities, as indicated in the above listing, will show that more than ample opportunity for involvment did present itself, but time only permitted me to touch on some of the points while pressing on to other points governed by the demand and urgency of a given situation.

FIELD EXPERIENCES:

Routine office procedures and conducting normal research requests are essential to a well rounded background, and was paramount in my training program. However, the real worth and acid test of any social agency working in the community can be seen in its field services and "outside the agency projects." Again, I do not mean to imply that no one function or department in an angency's program is more or less important in respect to the success of a given project, than the agency working as a unit. But, in some cases, certain departments will take the iniative in spear heading given projects with the understanding that the remaining departments will give support when necessary and faciliate the movement as much as possible.

Department Store Project-

In most of the southern states there is an air of uncertainty and divided attitudes concerning the racial issues, this is true of both races. The recent decisions of the Federal Courts, and the current surge of nationalism by the Negroes in the South are both confusing and frightening to some of white citizens living in the south. On the other hand, it is inspiring to the Negro to see that there is doubt in the minds of these people, and that they too can see the necessity of having a unified America. With this in mind and the great appetite for equal citizenship, groups of Negroes began to organize into citizen committees, and community groups to peacefully and intelligently communicate the desire for better treatment in the community. Because of the reactions from the white community, numerous movements and various projects were started to force a change, or in some instances, to pressure acceptance to a court order. The community is a potent element in our social order, and if used properly can be our most able defense aginst social injusticies.

This department store project is the results of such a group.

The idea for the project grew out of unrest and concern about the conditions existing in the accommodations provided for Negroes by a particular department store, and That the actual amount of patronage conducted by Negroes in the exchange of goods, did merit a definite renovation of the store's policy in relation to segreated facilities.

Originally, the group wrote only forty letters to well known social clubs and Fraternities located in Atlanta, and asked them to participate in This move to better the situation at the store in question. A majority of the organizations contacted responded and sent a representive to a called general meeting.

At this meeting, the Steering Committee was formed, of which I was appointed chairman, and charged, along with the rest of the committee, to began work on formulating a plan for organization, and ways by which to expand the group to include a broader segment of the interested Negro community. It was also decided that any action taken before the group was properly organized would be premature, and would perhaps stunt the developement of the movement before actually getting started.

Any group, or movement organized to question or change a condition or conditions in reference to a social order, and involving a mass or race of people, must first gain the sanction and confidence of the community involved. Therefore, we had to seek the best course which would satisfy the many, and still be meaningful and in line with the orginal proposal. Following are some of the important issues that had to be decided.

After the adoption of the organizational report from my committee, the group concerned itself with making plans for future action. This entailed the appointment or election of the committee chairmen, type of membership, body representation, meeting dates, and financial participation. We were fortunate to have a permant place to conduct our meetings. It was also a growing feeling that this organization should remain ~~it~~ in tact to combat other situations ~~similarxxx~~ of similar character.

The ~~dessimination~~ dissemination of material depended on the type of correspondance that was mailed to the people interested in the project. To do this effectively, the group had to have a rather elaborate list of the social clubs active in the area and contact them for possible partiwaption. This involved working with two or three public agencies which had mailing lists and were willing to give us copies of the names and addresses of the clubs for our own mailing list.

The information mailed to these groups included the ~~following~~ Following details: (1) explained exactly what the project intended to accomplish, the purpose, (2) explained how we planned to carry out ~~of~~ the project, i.e., through correspondance and conferences, (3) the importance of their participation, (4) our letter to the store, and the reply, (5) urged them to send a representative to the general meeting, and the time a date of the next meeting.

We drew on the resources of the colleges for experienced personel ~~that~~ who ~~were~~ was qualified to give sound advice and leadership to the project. This was not an official action of the colleges because we did not go ~~the~~ through the administration or the Offices of the Presidents in a request for aid. The professors gave their time and effort because it was a comminity project, not for pay.

It was a determined effort on our part to keep the name, purpose, or anything connected with the project out of Newspapers. The publicity probably would have been good for the dissemination of the idea, but publicity can be both good and bad. It was decided that since we had no formal or informal control over the type of coverage that the movement might receive, and that the wrong type of coverage could be destructive or even fatal to our purpose, that is was best, for the present, to stay clear of the Press. If we made a big enough splash, the newspapers would carry the story anyway and probably favorably.

The Churches, Professional, organizations and Civic clubs were contacted and asked to join forces with this organized effort, and use what knowledge and influence they had to help sponsor our purpose. This proved to be very helpful and aided strongly to the effectivness of the operation.

At present, we are still in the process of negotiation with the officials of the store, but we feel confident that a reasonable solution to the situation will be reached in the not to distant future.

Theatre Chain Project-

The Theatre Chain Project is sponsored by the same organization mentioned the preceding paragrphs. The purpose for this second movement grew out of the same general conditions that prompted actions aganist the department store. The uniquness of this situation, however, is that these are the only movies open solely for Negoes, and located in the Negro communities. All other movie houses are either segregated or will not permit Negroes to attend them. The movie chain definitely holds a monopoly on the all Negro movie houses.

The deplorable sanitary condition of the theatres, bad management, and a continueous show of second rate pictures clearly outlined this as a situation

serious enough to merit the attention of some community effort. It was therefore decided to start making plans to initiate this program while we were waiting for futher developements from our first project. The project is still in the planning stage, but contact has been made with the Management of the theaters and negotiations should begin in the next few weeks.

Urban League Project-

I was released for six weeks from my duties at the Council to work directly with Mr. Robert A. Thompson, Director of Housing, Atlanta Urban League, Atlanta, Georgia. Atlanta is now in the midst of a tremendous Urban Renewal and developement project which will involve both white and Negro comminities. For the purpose of obtaining first hand information about unban renewal and housing , both for the Council and myself, I was given a free hand to work with Mr. Thompson.

I was first assigned to work with the General Supervison of the urban renewal program, who is located in the City Hall Building. My job was to pull all of the files on Negro applicants for public housing, and on the Negro communities that would be included in the redevelopement program, for the purpose of conducting a research project to determine the extent of Negro involvment in the urban renewal program. I had to work with the files in the office because they could not be removed from the City Hall.

After I had gathered the necessary information, I went back to the Urban League Office and proceeded to break the data down into census tracts according to the addresses of the people involved. The next step was to prepare a chart showing the address before the urban renewal developement, the present address while waiting for housing arrangements, the address of his employer, to show if there is a transportation problem, and the reasons for dislocation, i.e., express way, condemned, renewal or zoned.

The findings were then evaluated and expressed by statistics to be used in a report at a later date.

I also worked with representatives from the Federal Housing Authority, Atlanta Housing Authority, Department of Urban Renewal and independent contractors to go into some of the worse Negro communities to determine the condition of the housing and give examinations on the type and amount of developement believed to be necessary to bring them up to the standards set by the City building code. As a Negro, my presence gave the men an entree into many sections that would have otherwise been very difficult to approach.

Several conferences and discussion groups were held during my time at the Urban League, many of which I attended, along with Mr. Thompson, and took part in the discussion when I had some point pertinent to the issue under deliberation. The experience gained while working with the League was invaluable to my training program.

NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF INTERN-TRAINNING AT SRC

The negative aspects of my internship training does not mean to imply that this section is a ment to give a critical analysis of the Southern Regional Council, or its program and staff and affiliations, but to show the association of my training program with the three points mentioned above.

The fact that the Southern Regional Council is located and, for the most part, functions in the South, my training and involvement was some what handicapped by the racial restrictions and laws governing this section. Therefore, the events that were held in public places, and informal lucheons could not be included in my training schedule.

In some instances when the staff of the Council would become bogged down in routine office work, or in the midst of promoting a project, or answering request for out-of-town visitations and speaking engagments, guidance and supervision of my training schedule often went lacking for the proper leadership and supervision. This, of course, is due to the demands made on the staff of the Council, and the fact that the Council's staff is under strength, and over worked for the type of work that it is attempting to do. Perhaps some allowances can be made to rectify this situation for the next Intership program that the Council may sponsor.

The element of time has been the greatest disavantage of the training program. One year is simply not enought time to adaquately cover the material and knowledge available readily avaible in this field. Through self-examination, I realize that if more time could have bee alboted to the training period of the Intern, his understanding and chances of remaining in the field as a professional staff member of an agency working in human relations, would be more stronger.

POSITIVE ASPECTS OF TRAINNING AT SRC-

Any time an opportunity persents itself that will give a young person the chance to approach a new area of knowledge, and at the same time prepare himself for possible employment as a professional staff member of an established organization, is positive in itself. I am indebted to the Southern Regional Council for accepting the responsibility for trainning an Intern, and accepting me for the position.

My training schedule had the complete cooperation of the entire staff of the Council, and the staff accepted me and all of the irritating problems that accompanied the sponsorship of the training program. Each department of the Council gave me permission to use the materials and facilities of their particular administration, and made themselves available for conferences at my request. Only on exceptionably busy days was I ever asked to postpone a visitation.

I had a prepared reading list for days when most of the staff was preoccupied with their duties so that I wouldn't lose time while waiting for them to assist me in some project. When I started to write papers and help with special reports, I was given access to a secretary and filing space.

Special efforts were made and additional money was alotted for the purpose of scheduling field trips and interviews with agancies in other sections of the country. This gave me the opportunity to meet the leaders of other goups and discuss the racial situation from both points of view. The experience was quite broadening.

The cordial reception and cooperation afforted me by the members of the Southern Regional Council's staff was paramount in my training effort. The progress that I have made is due primarily to the willingness and readiness of these people to give their time and efforts to the promotion of my program.

CONCLUSION-

In reviewing the experiences of the past year as an Intern for the Southern Regional Council, I am convinced that a more productive study could not have been conducted in any other place. Of course, I did work under a few handicapps that worked some hard ships on my training program, but, perhaps, they acted as an incentive for me to concentrate even harder on my training schedule and get everthing out of it that I could.

Although the year of training is complete, I am by no means a finished product. There are still many things to be learned about this fieldthat are already known, and just as many things unknown about the field that are yet to be learned. The answer lies in the continuing efforts by the professionals of the field to pursue these unknowns until a reasonable solution is reached.

Job Placement-

Because of the training received in Human Relations, and the emphasis placed on race relations, I have been offered a job with an all white Insurance Adjusting Company which will start on the first of Octomber. The employment opportunity is a direct results of the Internship training program, and the type of training received from the Southern Regional Council.

I think that this is indicative to the worth and effectiveness of the program, and clearly stipulates the need for youth involvement in the field of Human Relations. It may be the answer to a lot of the problems facing us today, and reduce the possibility of the same kinds of problems in the future.

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

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PRIMARIES AND PARTIES

THE ILLINOIS STORY

See N.W.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Schultz, Prof. Raymond E.
Department of Higher Education
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

REGARDING:

Financial support for special project at Dade County Junior College in Tallahassee entitled, "Phased Educational Integration: A Case Study."

DATES

Correspondence dating from
May 4 - June

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Schultz, Raymond E.